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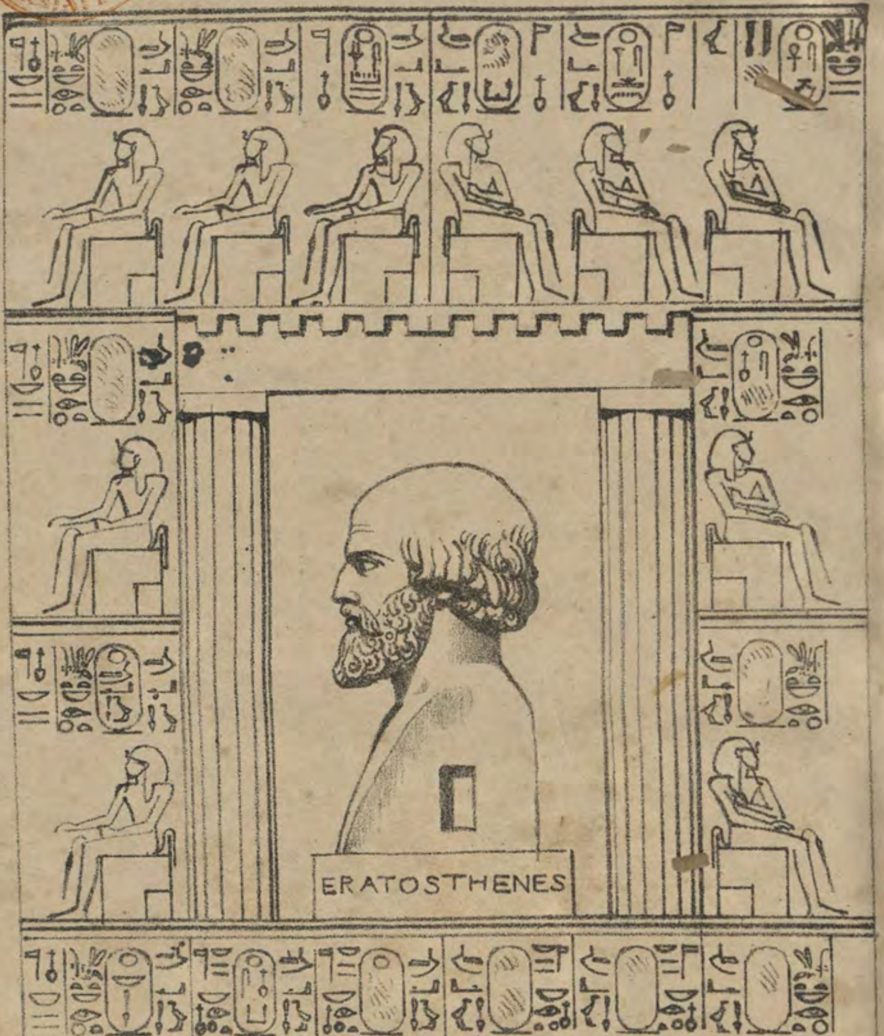
ERATOSTHENES

J BONOMI

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

EGYPT'S

PLACE IN UNIVERSAL

HISTORY:

286

AN HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION IN FIVE BOOKS.

48785

BY

C[redacted]D. Ph. & D.C.L.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY CHARLES H. COTTRELL, ESQ., M.A.

VOL. II.

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LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.
1854.

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ERATOSTHENES.

Gently age stole o'er thine eyes, no enervating pangs had unmann'd thee,
When at the summons of Fate, musing of loftiest themes,
Calmly thou sanks't to repose, Eratosthenes. Nor did Cyrene
Offer thy ashes a tomb deep in her rocky abode,
Aglaus' Son; but belov'd in the arms of the stranger thou sleepest,
Close by the edge of the shore, Proteus' primæval domain.[1]

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[1] [illegible] ἀμαυρὴ
ἔσ[illegible]ν, εὐνήθης [illegible]ον,
ἄκρα με[illegible]ριμνήσας, Ἐρατόσθενες· [illegible] Κυρήνη
γαῖα[illegible] σ' ἐπ' ἀτρύτων ἐντὸς ἔδεκτο τάφων,
Ἀγλ[illegible]ιοῦ υἱέ· φίλος δὲ καὶ εἰν ξείνῃ κεκάλυψαι,
[illegible]ὰρ τόδε Πρωτῆος κράσπεδον αἰγιαλοῦ.

Dionysius Cyzicenus.
(Brunck, Analect. II. p. 255.)

PREFACE TO THE SECOND VOLUME

OF

THE ENGLISH EDITION.

I AM aware that I must claim the indulgence of my English readers for having allowed so long a time to elapse in the continuation of this work, the First Volume of which appeared in 1848. The Second and Third Books contained in the present Volume were indeed printed in German in 1845, as the First Book was in 1843, being the result of researches into the authorities upon Egyptian Chronology and History commenced in 1834. It was, at that time, my intention to have sent the Fourth to press in the following year. I soon, however, became convinced that it was due, both to my readers and myself, to publish the two remaining Books, the Fourth and Fifth together, in order to remove as much as possible all questions and misunderstandings which these researches might occasion on various points. The Second and Third Books, moreover, required a thorough revision. It was very naturally my wish not to conclude that revision for the English edition, until the main results of the great Prussian Expedition to Egypt and Ethiopia should be promulgated. I wished especially to be able to appeal as evidence and authority to the "Book of Kings," prepared and announced by Lepsius before he set out on his expedition to those countries, the purport of which is to offer a complete and critical collection of the Scutcheons and Monuments of all the Kings from Menes down to Alexander. He had communicated to me the principal Monuments with Royal names, collected by him, and I had frequently contented myself with briefly stating facts, without going into the philological proof. This detailed proof indeed did not appear to me to belong properly to a work on history, and could only be given in a satisfactory manner by Lepsius himself, in conjunction with a critical examination and interpretation of all the Royal Scutcheons and genealogical notices of the individual dynasties which the Monuments supply. The arduous duties, however, which have devolved upon my indefatigable friend since his return from Egypt (duties generally assigned to a body of learned men), have prevented him hitherto from satisfying the impatience of the friends of Egyptian philology; and both the Book of the Kings and the Text to the Monuments continue to be a *desideratum*. In the mean time, I have never lost sight of the obligation I had contracted towards the public, to carry out the specific purpose of my work, which is historical and philosophical, on a philological basis.

The object I announced in 1844 was this, to exert all my powers in bringing to light the treasures which Egyptian research furnishes us for arriving at a more correct knowledge and a clearer view of the ancient and most ancient history of Man, considering the Monuments merely as means for effecting that purpose.

Such being my aim, I have, in this revision of the work, entered into closer detail as to some portions of it, especially in the Second Book, in those cases, for instance, where the two main points are treated of, which are to be established in the first Four Books. I allude to the assumption that Egyptian tradition from the earliest times is of a chronological and historical character, and that we have the means at our disposal of establishing a consecutive series of dates, which carry back the chronological history of our race to something more than 2500 years before the building of Solomon's Temple, the earliest epoch which scientific Chronology had hitherto been able to define. On the other hand, I have omitted everything in this revision, which appeared to me doubtful or not absolutely indispensable to the main object of the work.

As regards the historical inquiry into the New Empire, which was originally announced as the conclusion of the Third, I have reserved it for the Fifth Book, after the Book of Synchronisms. For it is these Synchronisms, after all, which give to the monuments of the New Empire and the historical notices they contain their real importance, so far as Universal History is concerned.

The number of men of research in this department has been increased since the appearance of the first volume, particularly by the works of Viscount Rougé at Paris. This ingenious inquirer and learned Egyptologer has, in a series of articles published in the Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne, submitted my work to a connected and detailed criticism, to which I have given the fullest consideration in the present volume. In performing the pleasing duty of tendering him my thanks for the information he has afforded me in these articles, and in his Egyptian publications generally, I cannot help expressing my particular admiration for one of the most brilliant achievements of Egyptian scholarship which have been performed since the discovery of the hieroglyphical alphabet, I mean his successful and elaborate decipherment of the Egyptian novel of "The Two Brothers." It is the first translation that has been made of a long, connected, Egyptian text; and it exhibits, in spite of the chasms (or rather in consequence of its very chasms), a fair and authentic proof that the literary treasures of Egypt are no longer sealed books to us. Within her first thirty years, Egyptian philology has been enabled, on the sure foundations of Champollion's discovery and grammar, to obtain successes which surpass the expectations of those who never doubted the solidity of those foundations. Important historical inscriptions have been satisfactorily explained by Rosellini, and more fully by Birch; and the text of Lepsius' commentary to the Monuments will exhibit still further progress in this decipherment, including a complete translation of the Rosetta stone. "The Book of the Dead" has not yet found its interpreter, but we have now before us a regular novel, written, comparatively speaking, at a modern period, still, however, in the time of Moses, under the King of the Exodus, by one of his official writers. It is a popular tale of olden times, conducted with all the punctilio of Chinese formality, and all the machinery which the belief in the migration of the soul could suggest to an Egyptian author. The hero, the victim of the revenge of his brother's wife, a perfect counterpart of Potiphar's consort, survives many deaths, and continues to be the instrument of divine retributive justice, whose decrees are carried out at last most satisfactorily.[1] A philological edition, giving the text and translation, with short notes and an alphabetical Index, would form the auspicious beginning of an Egyptian Chrestomathy, and a worthy Appendix to Champollion's immortal grammar. The arrangement for alphabetical printing, devised by Lepsius, and carried out by him under the auspices of the Academy of Science at Berlin, facilitates such an undertaking; and it must be gratifying to every sincere friend of our common European civilisation, to see French Egyptology maintain its eminent place in a field of inquiry in which the world owes already so great a debt of gratitude to the government and learned men of France.

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[1] Revue Archéologique, 1852.

Among these an honourable place is due to the illustrious mathematician and astronomer, M. Biot, on account of his researches respecting the Egyptian year and its months. I must, however, protest, from a philological point of view, against his recent attempt to overrule not only positive historical but even astronomical dates, by certain assumptions which are anything but certain in themselves. He thinks that he can obtain absolute dates from some monumental calendars and similar notations which occur in the works of the eighteenth and nineteenth Dynasties, and which may be found complete in the Monuments of Lepsius. His calculations are given in a treatise entitled "*Recherches de quelques Dates absolues qui peuvent se conclure des Dates vagues inscrites sur des Monumens Egyptiens*. Paris, 1853." In order to establish his calculations he is obliged to give up the date of 139 A.D., which he, in common with all other astronomers and chronologers, had hitherto considered as the beginning of a new Sothiac Period, making the year 1322 B.C. the first of the preceding one. He maintains that there were different calculations as to the heliacal rising of the dog-star for different places in Egypt, and that the term "from Menophres," by which Champollion and all others had hitherto supposed the name of the reigning sovereign at the beginning of the cyclus of 1322 to have been expressed (in perfect analogy with the expression "from Diocletian" or "from Augustus") is merely intended to denote Memphis as the point of observation. Now, were we even to admit that Greek writers called Memphis, Menophres (the hieroglyphical name of that city as Men-nufre) of which there is no example, every Greek scholar must certainly agree that Menophres, in such a context, can signify nothing but the name of a King. If therefore M. Biot is not satisfied with our emendations of Menophthes, adopted by Lepsius and, I believe, very generally admitted, he must look out for a royal name; which I am afraid he will never find, either for 1322 or for any other year. Besides, as Lepsius has observed in his communication on Biot's treatise to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin (Monats-Berichte, Januar 1854, pp. 33—36.), it is not even proved that the monument in which the name of Tuthmōsis III. is mentioned belongs to that King: still less that it bears the interpretation given to the astronomical representation by M. Biot. According to him there would be only about 140 years between Ramses III. (representation at Medinet Haboo) and Tuthmōsis III. His results agree still less with the chronological system of Champollion and Rosellini, than with that of Lepsius and myself[2], and I do not think he will make many converts to a system incompatible with any with which we are acquainted. I individually persist in believing that the Egyptian monuments contain chronological notations; but that we do not yet understand them sufficiently to build any system upon representations of so problematical a character.

I cannot conclude these remarks upon French etymology without noticing particularly a series of very instructive articles on the first sections of the second Book of my Egypt, by M. Raoul Rochette in the Journal

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[2] His dates are :

1445.	28 Epiphi, heliacal	rising	under	Thothmes III.
1301.	1 Thoth	„	„	Ramses III.
1241.	18 Thoth	„	„	Ramses VI.

des Savans, and I have only to regret that these have not been continued beyond the fourth Dynasty.[3]

As regards German Egyptology, I have nobody to quote excepting Lepsius; but his work and name are a host in themselves. Interesting results however may be expected, especially for that important branch of it the Demotic writings, from the philological journey lately undertaken into Egypt, by M. Brugsch of Berlin, under the auspices of the Prussian government, with that particular object.

As regards England, Egyptian literature has, during the six years which have elapsed since the publication of the first volume of this edition, received many highly valuable contributions from the pen of Mr. Birch, to whose constant friendship and kindness this work and the translation are so much indebted.

His particular attention has been bestowed upon the admirable facsimiles which the Trustees of the British Museum have continued to order to be made of the Egyptological Papyri which that magnificent collection possesses: an enlightened liberality deserving the grateful acknowledgment of Europe. Should he enjoy the requisite health and leisure which so gigantic an undertaking demands, the world may hope to see at no distant period a complete explanatory catalogue of all the Egyptian treasures in the British Museum.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson's valuable edition of the Turin Papyrus deserves also a distinct acknowledgment; it is made with all that accuracy which distinguishes the productions of one of the Nestors of Egyptian research.

The work of Mr. R. S. Poole on the Chronology of Egypt (1850), evinces a competent knowledge of Egyptology, and considerable critical talent. In subscribing to the severe but just admonition which

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[3] His recent death, since these pages were in type, makes this the more to be regretted.

De Rougé has addressed to this distinguished young author[4], I cannot help expressing a hope that he will not abandon these studies, but follow them up, after mature preparation, with perfect freedom of mind as regards the historical inquiry.

In proceeding to offer a few remarks upon the contents of this volume, and the relation it bears to the German text of the second and third books, of which this is a thoroughly revised and partly re-arranged new edition, I must beg to begin with recalling to my readers what has been done in the first. It has been attempted in that introductory volume to give a general and preliminary proof of the historical character of Egyptian tradition, and of the possibility of restoring it, first, by showing the antiquity and concordance of the authorities on essential points; and secondly, by exhibiting the primeval facts of Egyptian history which alone are deserving of that name. By this I mean the philological analysis and historical interpretation of language and writing, mythology and religion, for these records are not only older than our oldest monuments, and even than Menes, but they form the ancient history of Egypt, as compared with the history of Egypt as an empire, which commenced with Menes. It is only these records and those original forms of the Egyptian mind which represent the basis of what is commonly called the history of Egypt, and enable us to determine her epochs, and her position in the history of mankind.

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[4] Mémoire sur quelques Phénomènes célestes, lu à l'Académie des Inscriptions le 24 Décembre 1852, p. 13, note: "M. Poole est du nombre des jeunes travailleurs qui méritent qu'on leur dise la verité tout entière. Ou il n'a pas lu ce qu'ont écrit sur ce sujet les archéologues récents, ce qui serait inexcusable, ou il les a lus et ne les cite pas, ce qui serait plus grave encore. Je n'ai pas lu le nom de Lepsius une seule fois dans ce livre, à propos de toutes les questions traitées si longuement dans l'*Introduction à la Chronologie.*"

The business of the Second Book will be to carry out in detail the proof of that historical character, and show the possibility of restoring the lists of Kings and annals of the Old Empire, which have come down to us. This is done according to the method laid down in the former volume. Consequently our method is based upon a connected critical analysis of the lists, that is to say, a conclusive collation of them with each other and with the monuments, and afterwards of these two records with the statements of Greek writers.

The point in question, therefore, is to gain for historical chronology a period of not less than 1076 chronological years, to which about thirteen centuries in Manetho correspond. My predecessors in Egyptology had not made the Old Empire the subject of connected chronological and historical research; and the period I have assigned it in the history of the world lies so far beyond the extreme limits of previous critical historical knowledge, that supercilious idleness, professorial bigotry, and proud dilettantism would have had it rejected at once as fabulous, or at all events would deny the possibility of any accurate chronological restoration of that Empire. On the other hand, many well informed Egyptologers think Eratosthenes' Chronology too short, or too uncertain, and would rather adopt the 1300 years of Manetho, or even the 2000 years of his unanalysed Lists.

Under these circumstances I undertook to establish, as far as the present monumental knowledge of Egypt would seem to admit, the proof of that main point upon as solid a foundation as possible, as clearly and yet as concisely as was practicable, discarding more and more all useless or, now at least, unproductive antiquarian inquiries.

The basis of the system here pursued is in all essential points that laid down by me from 1832 to 1835. Lepsius' critical collection of historical monuments from 1836 to 1840 and his researches in this department enabled me to enlarge and secure the foundation. His discovery of the monumental names of the 12th Dynasty in the year 1841, completed the system. At the very time when my study of the monuments was brought to a close in 1842, Perring's investigations supplied me with the names of several additional Kings, whose tombs he discovered in the Pyramids. My book has since had to stand the test of Lepsius' journey, and more especially of his systematic excavation of the field of the Pyramids of Ghiseh and Sakkara, the discovery of the labyrinth, and the exploration of the Fayoom. Since that period, likewise, various monuments have been discovered and explained which belong to the Old Empire. The most important results of my researches, however, have not only not been thereby invalidated, but have on the contrary been corroborated and confirmed, particularly by the discoveries of Lepsius. The principal points to which I allude are the following six.

First. That the List of Eratosthenes gives a series of Kings who, from Menes down to the end of the Old Empire, reigned in unbroken succession at Thebes. By this method we obtain a connected chronology of the Old Empire of 1076 years.

Secondly. That Manetho's historical work was based upon authentic dates, as were the labours of Eratosthenes; it was less critical, however, and made the duration of the Old Empire somewhat longer in consequence of misunderstandings, which we can even now partially clear up. All we possess, however, with the exception of a few extracts, are Dynastic lists, into which some scanty remarks from the historical works have been interpolated. These contained, in the Old and Middle

Empires, a registration of the different royal families that had reigned in Egypt, either by right or usurpation. The Dynasties and Princes were introduced in the order in which they were invested with Royal titles. There are consequently not merely contemporaneous Dynasties, but we find, besides, in some of the Royal families contemporaneous reigns, owing to Regencies and Co-regencies. This was the original form of the lists, but there are in addition misunderstandings and even perhaps wilful corruptions on the part of the Epitomists. The lists, therefore, though they contain invaluable remains of historical tradition, require the light of Eratosthenes' register to furnish the historico-chronological key, and guarantee their authenticity.

Thirdly. That half of the Tablet of Karnak which belongs to the Old Empire, and the Tablet of Abydos from the 18th Dynasty upwards, are of a genealogical not a chronological character: that they represent, not all the Royal names, but only the generations of Royal families from father to son, perhaps with the exclusion of Kings, condemned after their death. The Tablets representing sacrifices to the dead and the dynastic Lists mutually illustrate and complete each other, and equally confirm the system which I have adopted.

Fourthly. That the Pyramids are the tombs of the Kings of the Old Empire; the Royal names discovered in them are all those of Eratosthenes. The number even indeed of the Great Pyramids accords well with that of the Kings in Eratosthenes.

Fifthly. That the lake of Mœris and the Labyrinth are works of the Old Empire.

Sixthly. That the tradition of the Old Empire, when submitted to criticism, is found to be historico-chronological, although in a state of great obscurity and confusion during the long Hyksos period. From the 4th century of the æra of Menes there are contemporary monuments, with the names of the Kings to whose reigns they belong, to confirm the lists: there are also statements of regnal years from the 12th Dynasty. None of these statements contradict the list of Eratosthenes, a fact which indeed of itself must be looked upon in the light of a confirmation; but most of them supply direct corroboration of it.

The first five of these six points are entirely independent of newly discovered monuments. They are based upon philological and historical research, which in essential points can never be invalidated. The last point, the testimony of contemporary monuments, can indeed never be said to be completely closed. The systematic excavations of Lepsius, however, which have produced such important results, constitute a certain finality; and their results are a most satisfactory and surprising confirmation of my assumption. These discoveries, and Lepsius's deductions from them, have naturally led to many corrections of detail. He succeeded, for instance, in finding the funereal chamber in the pyramid of the Labyrinth, which Perring sought for in vain. In it he discovered the name of the third Amenemha, the same king with whose scutcheons all the fragments ofthe Labyrinth itself are ornamented. I had connected that pyramid with the last king of the first Dynasty. In like manner Linant's views as to the site of the lake of Mœris, which I had combated, have been so materially explained and corroborated to me by Lepsius, that the difficulties I had encountered seem in all important points to be overcome. I agree with Linant and Lepsius that the lake of Mœris, the work of the glorious 12th Dynasty, has disappeared, with the exception of some remains of dykes and canals. I admit the site proposed for it by Linant, but I do not believe it to have been formed by excavation, and consider the lake as a natural one, which was simply cleansed and increased by introducing into it an arm of the Nile, after its banks had been strengthened by dykes.

I have therefore, in the present revision, entirely abandoned my original assumption, that Apappus, the chief of the 6th Dynasty, is the Mœris of the Greeks.

Contemporary monuments are still wanting for the whole of the first Dynasty; although its chief and founder maintains so great a name in Egyptian tradition, that we meet with frequent mention of him, even among the Greeks.

For the rulers of the third Dynasty monumental authority had been discovered as early as 1843; but the lists were in so doubtful a state and in such confusion that I at once stated the details of the restoration to be merely provisional, and entered upon the subject solely with the view of showing the historical character of that epoch. I believe I have now carried this most difficult part of the inquiry considerably farther. The fifth Dynasty has been the real stumbling block. It was held to be necessarily Memphite, and not (as I assume) an Elephantinean one, contemporary with the Memphite Kings. I am, however, more than ever convinced by monuments published since that time, and by a closer study of the Turin Papyrus, that Eratosthenes was perfectly right in not including those kings in his register.

I likewise think I have strengthened the proof that the period from the seventh to the end of the eleventh Dynasty did not occupy more than 166 years.

Lastly, the importance of the twelfth Dynasty has been increased by establishing its claim to the improvement of the Lake of Mœris; and the general representation of its principal features has been more carefully and historically worked out.

The portion of my conclusions, the confirmation of which gives me the greatest satisfaction, is that connected with the Labyrinth, which, as a whole, I had from the first correctly explained and restored. After Jomard's researches, no doubt ought ever to have been entertained as to its being anywhere but where it is. In spite of all the assertions of later writers, even of Perring himself (see Pl. III.), I had constantly insisted, on the authority of Strabo and Herodotus, that it must be a tolerably equilateral square. Moreover, in conformity with the genius of Egyptian architecture, and the authority of a few coins and amulets, I had contended that the building must be constructed in strictly rectangular lines, without any so-called Labyrinthian curved passages. Lastly, I had stated it to be the work of Amenemha III. Such has Lepsius found it — a square, with rooms and passages in straight lines, and covered in all parts with the Scutcheons of that Monarch. This date was always one of the fixed points of that historical harmony between the Lists of Manetho and Eratosthenes, on which this work is based. According to it Amenemha III. must have been Amenemes-Mares (instead of Lamares or Lachares), and the Labyrinth itself the Greek version of Ra-Mare, or tomb of Mares, as this King must have been called, to distinguish him from the other three Amenemhas, and evidently after his own throne-name. This restoration, which my own papers assert, and my friends Lepsius and Abeken can certify, might, therefore, perhaps be considered as a proof of the correctness of the method by which I was led to make it.

The third Book gives first a similar examination of the period of the Hyksos, or the Middle Empire, and then the chronological arrangement of the New or restored Pharaonic Empire, from the 18th Dynasty down to the accession of Alexander the Great.

Respecting the plates of the present Volume, I will only add, in conclusion, that those of the Royal names were extracted from Lepsius's MS. of the "Book of the Kings," and are drawn by his assistant, Mr. Weidenbusch of Naumburg.

The plate prefixed to the second Book represents Eratosthenes in the centre of the Tablet of Karnak. The pillars on each side of him are from the marvellous archetypes of the Doric column in Benihassan, of the time of the first Sesostris.

The portal in which I have enclosed the (somewhat Egyptianised) bust of Niebuhr in the First Volume, was copied from an ornament in the great pyramid of Sakkara, as a memorial of the most ancient times, and a specimen of the Pharaonic titles. Lepsius has since brought that venerable and beautiful monument itself to Berlin, and the copy of it, given in his "Auswahl," is republished in the great work of the Prussian Expedition to Egypt.

The plate prefixed to the third Book, inscribed to Manetho, represents the learned Priest with the symbol of the Scribe, the inkstand and stylus, which is found already in the time of the fourth Dynasty. The monumental inscription surrounding the immortal restorer of the chronology of the New Empire, refers to its great hero, Tuthmōsis the Third.

I cannot conclude these introductory remarks without giving a short synopsis of the splendid monumental work of the Prussian expedition to Egypt, which has since appeared. I think myself the more bound to do so as I have not made separate reference to it in the course of the work itself. It surpasses everything that has hitherto appeared upon the subject, not only in the truthfulness and accuracy of the drawings and inscriptions, but also in its systematic historical arrangement. The same may be said as to the completeness of its contents, although it gives no monuments previously published, except in cases where the inscriptions were so inaccurate, that the corrections could not be marked in any other way. We may venture to say on the whole, that it is a work second to none yet published upon Archæology and Ethnology. We will, therefore, first offer some remarks on the lithographic tables or the Monuments, and then on the text by which they are illustrated.

They will consist of six parts, in imperial folio, and contain more than 800 lithographed plates, many of them coloured, in ten Volumes.

The *first part* is geographical, topographical, and architectural; arranged from north to south, of course in strictly topographical order. Their object is to give a general view of the Monuments, according to their geographical position. The first six plates accordingly contain maps of Egypt, Ethiopia, and the peninsula of Sinai, referring throughout to the hieroglyphical names and drawings. This part occupies the first two volumes, and contains about 140 pages. More than half of it appeared in 1852; but the preparation of some of the geographical and topographical maps required more time than the subsequent parts. The publication of the six maps has been deferred on account of some points which require new astronomical determinations. They and the text of the whole first part will follow in the course of the year.

The *second*, *third*, and *fourth parts* give the historical monuments in chronological order. The *second* contains the Monuments of the Old Empire, in two volumes, already published, as Vol. III. (Plates 1—81., with a duplicate of Plate 64.), and Vol. IV. (Plates 82—153.). The *third* part, which contains the Monuments of the New Empire, in three volumes (V., VI., VII.), goes down to Ramses the Second. It will conclude with Alexander. The *fourth* part will represent the monuments of the Ptolemies and Roman Emperors (Vol. VIII.).

The *fifth part* is to contain the Ethiopian Monuments (from Sabako downwards), and forms the ninth volume.

The *sixth part* (Vol. X.) will contain the inscriptions, with the exception, of course, of the hieroglyphical inscriptions, because these are given in the preceding volumes with the Monuments to which they belong. The others, here published complete, are the Hieratic, Phœnician, and Sinaic, and lastly the Greek and Roman inscriptions.

These ten volumes of Monuments, with the text in addition, are published at the mere cost price, which is an unparalleled low one. The work was undertaken by the command of the King of Prussia, and the expenses provided for by a grant made for that purpose. The Chambers have since appropriated a considerable annual sum for its accomplishment, in order to exhibit to the world, in a suitable form, the treasures which the first expedition to Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia, ever conducted on an historical basis, and carried on throughout systematically, has furnished to Egyptian research and to the ancient history of mankind in general. Only 180 copies were struck off for sale before the stones were destroyed, about eighty of which are now unsold.

The text will be printed in quarto, in the same type as the "Einleitung" of 1849, and the "Vorläufige Anzeige" which appeared in 1850. There will be about 20 sheets of text to each volume. The first, very shortly to be published, will contain the first part. The text to the subsequent volumes will follow without interruption. I express in conclusion what I know to be the general wish, that the Book of the Kings may precede all the other publications.

My concluding volume, which I have prepared for the press during the last month in the German edition, treats, in the Fourth Book, of the synchronisms, astronomical and historical, and, in the Fifth, of the historical restoration, first of the primeval, and then of the political history of Egypt. The restoration of the modern Empire is preceded by a complete analysis of the historical monuments of its first and most intricate as well as most flourishing period, from Ahmes to Sheshonk, or from the 18th Dynasty to the chief of the 22nd.

It will appear almost at the same time in German and in English, and, I hope, not later than Easter 1855.

BUNSEN.

Abbey Lodge, London, 29th May, 1854.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

Page
PREFACE - - - - - - - vii

BOOK II.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS UPON THE AUTHORITIES AND MONUMENTS OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

I. The Egyptian Authorities for the Old Empire down to Manetho.—The General Relation between them and Eratosthenes, and the principal Features in his Method of illustrating that Period - - - - 1
II. The Greek Version, Transcript, and Mis-spelling of the Egyptian Names of Kings - - - - 8
III. The Monumental Names of the Kings.—Gradual Establishment of Royal Titles in the Old Empire.—Egyptian Origin of the Title of Pharaoh - - - 11
IV. The Value of the Historical Tradition transmitted by the Greeks in reference to the Old Empire - - 15
V. Method of our Research in the Old Empire, especially for carrying out the Proof of the Historical Character and unbroken Chronological Succession - - 19
VI. Connexion between my own Researches and those of Lepsius.—The Excavation of the Pyramids by General Howard Vyse, and Perring's Labours.—The Great Prussian Commission to Egypt - - - 26
VII. The Egyptian Measures, and a Comparison between them and those of Greece and Rome, as well as Modern Times - - - - - - 29
The Three Epochs of the Old Empire - - - 37

FIRST DIVISION.

FIRST PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

SECTION I.

THE LINE OF MENES OF THIS.—FIRST DYNASTY.—UNITED EMPIRE, 190 YEARS.

A.

Page
The Lists, and their Chronological Juxtaposition - - 41

B.

Historical Tradition and Monuments.

I. First Reign: Menes - - - - - - 47
II. Second and Third Reigns: The Two Athotis - - 54
III. Fourth Reign, and the Pyramids of Kōkōmē - - 57
IV. Fifth Reign: Sempses, Semempses, compared with Smenteti of the Tablet of Karnak - - - 61

C.

Survey of the Period of 190 Years—The Period in which Egypt was formed into one Empire - - - - 62

SECTION II.

SECOND AND THIRD DYNASTIES.—DIVIDED EMPIRE, 224 YEARS.

A.

The Lists of the Second and Third Dynasties - - 68

B.

Restoration of the Series of Kings of the Third Dynasty.

I. The First Reign.—Dislocation of the Names in Manetho's Lists, and General Result of the Restoration - 71
II. The Second, Third, and Fourth Reigns - - 74
III. The Fifth and Sixth Reigns - - - - 76
IV. The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Reigns - - 79
V. Retrospect and Review of the previous Parallelism - 83

C.

Historical Notices of the Third Dynasty and its Monuments.

Page
Introduction. Preliminary Survey of all the Groups of Pyramids - - - - - - - - 86
I. First King: Sesorcheres the Giant - - - 89
II. Third King: Sesortosis the great Lawgiver - - ib.
III. Fourth King: Mares-Sesorcheres II. Sasychis the Legislator: his Brick Pyramid, and the Inscription on it, the oldest determinable Monument in the World - 94
IV. The Pyramids of Abouseer. The Great Pyramid of Abouseer, probable Tomb of Snefru-nub-ra (Gold Sun), the Sixth King - - - - - 101
V. The Central Pyramid of Abouseer, the Tomb of Rasesur, the Eighth King - - - - - - ib.
VI. The Northern Pyramid of Abouseer, Tomb of Sahurâ, Ninth and last King - - - - - 103
VII. Conjecture as to the Great Pyramid of Abouseer, and the unfinished One - - - - - - 104

D.

A Glance at the Kings of the Second Dynasty, and the Monuments which belong to that Epoch - - - 105

E.

The Tablets of Abydos and Karnak, and the Turin Papyrus 113

F.

Complete Synoptical Adjustment of the Lists and Monuments of the Second and Third Dynasties.—Critico-historical Collation - - - - - - - - 116

SECTION III.

FOURTH DYNASTY. THE UNITED EMPIRE, 155 YEARS.

A.

Introduction, and Review of the Lists - - - 120

B.

Preliminary Comparison of the Names in the Lists and Monuments - - - - - - - 126

C.

The Succession in the Royal Tablet of Abydos - - 134

D.

Page
The Royal Names in the Pyramids and on other Contemporary Monuments, compared with those of Manetho and Eratosthenes 138

E.

Greek Traditions - - - - - - - 142

F.

The Pyramids of Gizeh and Field of Pyramids - - 147
I. The Second largest Pyramid, the Tomb of Cheops or the First Khufu - - - - - - 150
II. The Great Pyramid, the Work and Tomb of the Two Kings of the Second Reign, Cheops II. (Khnemu-Khufu) the Brother, and Chabryes-Shafra the Son, of the First Cheops - - - - - - 155
I. The Tomb of Cheops II. (Khnemu-Khufu), the Brother of Cheops I. - - - 159
II. The Tomb of Chabryes-Shafra, the Son of the First Khufu - - - - 161
III. The Third Pyramid, the Tomb of Mykerinus-Menkera the Holy, the Third King of the Dynasty. His Sarcophagus and Bones, the oldest Royal and Human Remains to which a Date can be assigned in the World - - - - - - - 165
IV. The Middle Pyramid of the small Southern Group (the Fourth), the Tomb of the Second Mykerinus, the Fourth King - - - - - - 171

G.

Historical Restoration of the Section - - - 174
Conclusion: Retrospective Glance at our main Assumption, that there is no Chronological Series extant but in Eratosthenes - - - - - - 181

SECOND DIVISION.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

SECTION I.

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH DYNASTIES. — ERATOSTHENES, XX. XXI. XXII., 107 YEARS.

A.

The Fifth Dynasty of Manetho. Elephantinæan Kings.

I. The List of Manetho - - - - - - 187

Page
II. The Connexion between the Royal Tablet and Monuments, and Eratosthenes - - - - - 189
III. The Turin Papyrus: Merenher, Tet-Tet, Unas, the last Three Kings of Manetho's Fifth Dynasty - - 192
IV. Contemporary Monuments: Nefrukar-ra, Unas - 193
V. The Two Royal Tablets of Karnak and Abydos - 195
VI. The Succession of Ases and Unas in a Tomb near the Great Pyramid - - - - - - [197]

B.

The Sixth Dynasty (Memphites).

I. The Lists and Monuments - - - - - 199
II. Phiops-Apappus and Nitōkris in Greek and Roman Tradition, and the Pyramidal Tomb of Nitōkris - - 209
III. Turin Papyrus - - - - - - 212
IV. Historical Synopsis - - - - - - 214
V. Historical Restoration of the Period of the Sixth Dynasty - - - - - - - 216

SECTION II.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH (MEMPHITE), AND ELEVENTH (DIOSPOLITAN), DYNASTIES, AND THE TWO HERAKLEOPOLITAN CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES (NINTH AND TENTH).

THE PERIOD OF THE SEPARATION OF THEBES AND MEMPHIS: 166 YEARS.

A.

Comparison of the Lists of the Seventh, Eighth, and Eleventh Dynasties - - - - - - - - 217

B.

The Royal Series of Karnak, the Stele of the Sesortesen at Leyden, and other Contemporary Monuments - - 228

C.

Survey of the Results - - - - - - 238

D.

The Two collateral Dynasties between the Eighth and Twelfth; the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties, Herakleopolitans.

Octhoes IX., and Othoes VI. in Manetho.—Actisanes the Ethiopian—the Ammōsis of the Old Empire - - - 240

THIRD DIVISION.

THIRD PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

SECTION I.

CRITICISM AND RESTORATION OF THE LISTS OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

A.

Page
History of Research from Champollion to Lepsius - - 249

B.

Decisive Importance of this Dynasty for the Chronological Character of the List of Eratosthenes - - - 255

C.

General Comparison of the Lists and Tablets - - 258

D.

The Length of the First Two Reigns: Amenemha I. and Sesortosis I. - - - - - - - 265

E.

The Length of the Third Reign: Sesortōsis II. and Sesortosis III. - - - - - - - 269

F.

The Length of the Fourth Reign: Amenemha III. and Amenemha IV. - - - - - - - 272

G.

Reduction of the Data of the Papyrus and Manetho to the Chronology of Eratosthenes - - - - - 274

SECTION II.

HISTORICAL CRITICISM AND RESTORATION OF THE FIRST TWO EPOCHS OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

A.

The First Epoch of the Twelfth Dynasty: the Foundation

Page

of the Sovereignty: Amenemha I. and Sesostris I.: 49 Years. The Obelisks of Heliopolis and Krokodilopolis, and the Tombs of Beni Hassan with the "Great Strangers" - 282

B.

The Second Epoch of the Twelfth Dynasty. Sesortōsis II. and Sesortōsis III., the Great Sesostris. 55 Years - 286

I. Sesortōsis the Second (Ra Sha Kheper) - - 287
II. Sesortosis the Third (Ra Sha Karu); Sesostris the Conqueror and Constructor of Canals, and his extant Monuments - - - - - - - 290
III. Sesortôsis-Sesôstris in Manetho, in popular Legend, and Greek Tradition - - - - - - 292

SECTION III.

HISTORICAL RESTORATION OF THE SOLE REIGN OF AMMENEMÊS IV., MARES (RA-Ṅ-MA): THE LABYRINTH AND ITS PYRYMID, HIS TOMB.

Introduction: Proof that the Greeks knew Ammenemês-Mares by both Names, and that Mœris is merely the popular Pronunciation of Mares - - - - 305

A.

The Notices of the Greeks and Romans upon the Labyrinth and its Pyramid, from Herodotus to Pliny the Elder.

I Herodotus - - - - - - - 313
II. Strabo - - - - - - - 314
III. Comparison of the Two. Fundamental Idea of the Restoration - - - - - - 316
IV. Explanation of the Passage in Pliny upon the Labyrinths - - - - - - - 319
V. Diodorus's Description and a Critical Examination of it 321

B.

The Re-discovery of the Labyrinth, and opening of its Pyramid by the Prussian Commission: Measurement and Description of it by Perring - - - - - - - 323

SECTION IV.

HISTORICAL RESTORATION OF THE FOURTH EPOCH OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

The Lake of Mœris.

Page
Introduction : The Controversy and History of the Researches 328

A.

The Form of the Nome and its Connexion with the Nile - 334

B.

The Canal-and-Dyke System in the Fayoom - - - 338

C.

The Old Dams North and South of the Upper Step - - 344

D.

The Statements of the Classics as to the Position of the Lake of Mœris.

I. Astronomical Definitions. Ptolemy - - - 350
II. Geographical Notices in Pliny - - - 351

E.

The Notices of the Classics about the Lake of Mœris generally, given in Chronological Order.

I. Herodotus's Description of the Lake of Mœris - - 352
II. Diodorus's Description of the Lake of Mœris - - 355
III. Strabo's Description of the Lake of Mœris - - 357
IV. Pomponius Mela - - - - - 363
V. Pliny the Elder's Account of the Lake - - ib.
VI. The Notices of Claudius Ptolemy - - - 364
VII. Aristides Rhetor - - - - - ib.

F.

Result of the whole Inquiry, and Historical Restoration of the Work of Mœris in the Fayoom - - - - 365

SECTION V.

THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE: THE LAST THREE KINGS IN THE LIST OF ERATOSTHENES, THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.

I. The last Three Kings of Eratosthenes - - 369

BOOK III.

THE MIDDLE AND NEW EMPIRES.

Page
General Introduction - - - - - - 395

FIRST DIVISION.

THE MIDDLE OR HYKSOS PERIOD.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HYKSOS PERIOD AND THE TREATMENT OF IT.

A.

The Old Empire and its Decline.

I. Synoptical Table of the Chronology of the Old Empire - 406
II. Survey of the Epochs of the Old Empire. Explanation of its apparently sudden Downfall - - - 408

B.

Critical Introduction to the Treatment of the Hyksos Period.

I. Prejudices of those who have not made Egyptology their Study against the Hyksos Period — especially the Indo-Christian Theologians — and the Futility of their Lucubrations - - - - - 415
II. Critical Objections raised against the Hyksos Period having been of long Duration - - - 420

SECTION I.

CRITICISM OF THE ANNALISTS.

A.

Manetho's own Statement about the Hyksos Period in Josephus 424

B.

General Criticism and Preliminary Collation.

I. Restoration of the Text of Manetho's Lists, from the Thirteenth down to the Seventeenth Dynasty - 427
II. Restoration of the Text of the Seventeenth Dynasty - 428
III. The Collation of Manetho's Lists in their Chronological Order - - - - - - - 431

C.

Analysis of the Series of Shepherd Kings in the Epitomists and Josephus (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties) - - 438

D.

Page

Critical Examination of the first two Egyptian Dynasties of this Period (XIII., XIV.), and the General Chronological Result of a Criticism of Manetho's Lists - - - 445

E.

Summary of the Results of the Criticism of Manetho's Lists as to the Length of the Middle Empire, and the Computation of it as a part of the 3555 Years, assigned by himself as the Chronology from Menes to Alexander - - - 451

F.

The Fifty-three Theban Kings of Apollodorus who follow immediately after those of Eratosthenes.

I. Proof that the Fifty-three Kings of Apollodorus are those of the Hyksos Period - - - - 455
II. Results deduced from the List of Apollodorus for the approximative Computation of the Middle Period - 461

SECTION II.

CRITICISM OF THE EGYPTIAN RECORDS AND CONTEMPORARY MONUMENTS.

A.

The Right Side of the Tablet of Karnak.

I. The Tablet as a Representation of Thirty Generations of the Hyksos Period - - - - 464
II. The Right Side of the Tablet of Karnak represents the Theban Kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty - - 469

B.

The Offering to the Dead at Gurnah, and cognate Monuments which represent the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty as the immediate Predecessors of Amos - - - 472

C.

The Fragments of the Turin Papyrus, which belong to this Period.

I. Fragment with Names of Theban Kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty - - - - - - 477

D.

General Comparison of the Scutcheons at Karnak and the Theban Fragments in the Turin Papyrus.

Page
I. The Scutcheons at Karnak, 1—14. - - - 483
II. The Scutcheons at Karnak, 15—30. - - - 484

SECTION III.

THE RESTORATION.

Introduction: The Restoration of the Right Side of the Tablet of Tuthmosis, after the Royal Papyrus and Monuments - 486

A.

Restoration of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Theban Kings.

The House of the Sevekôphises and Nefruôphises - - 490

B.

Restoration of the Seventeenth Dynasty, Theban Kings.

The House of the Mentuôphises - - - - 494

SECOND DIVISION.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW EMPIRE.

I. Introduction: The Peculiarity of this Part. — The Method of the Criticism and Historical Restoration - 499
II. The Principle of the Division in the Treatment of the New Empire: the Epochs of Historical and Chronological Research - - - - - 503

FIRST SUBDIVISION.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE XVIII. XIX. XX. AND XXI. DYNASTIES, FIRST AND SECOND HISTORICAL EPOCHS.

SECTION I.

BASIS OF THE COLLATION OF THE MONUMENTS IN THE XVIII. XIX. XX. AND XXI. DYNASTIES.

I. Survey of the previous Attempts to make the Lists of the First Four Dynasties of the New Empire in Manetho harmonize with the Tablet of Abydos - 509

Page
II. Error in the French and Insufficiency of the English Restoration - - - - - - 516
III. Method of the real Restoration - - - 517

SECTION II.

RESTORATION OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

I. Closer Application to the Names and Dates of the Eighteenth Dynasty of the Method adopted for comparing the Lists with the old Series of Kings and the contemporary Monuments - - - 526
II. Lepsius' own Monumental Researches: his Restoration of the Genealogy of the Tuthmoses - - - 530
III. Conjecture as to the Origin of the Insertion of the Name Chebros. Complete Unravelling and Restoration of Manetho's List of the first five Reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty - - - - 534

SECTION III.

THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH, AND THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY. THE COMPLETE RESTORATION OF BOTH.

I. Horus and Ramesses I., or the End of the Eighteenth and Beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty - - 537
II. Amenōphis III. proved by Lepsius to be the maternal Grandfather of Ramesses I. - - - - 539
III. Reading and Dynastic Connexion of the Royal Names of the Nineteenth Dynasty, after Ramesses I. - 543
IV. Restoration of the Length of the Reigns, according to the Lists, from Horus to the End of the Nineteenth Dynasty - - - - - - - 549
V. Sethos (Sethōsis, Sethōthis, Sesōsis), and Ramesses the Second, his Son: neither of these is Sesostris, but the most celebrated Hero of the New Empire was Sethōs, and not Ramesses - - - - - 554
VI. Manetho's own Testimony in favour of the Succession of Ramesses the Great (II.), Menephthah, his Son, and Seti II., his Grandson, against the present Lists 562

SECTION IV.

RESTORATION OF THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTIES.

I. The Twentieth Dynasty - - - - 571
II. The Twenty-first Dynasty - - - - 576

Page
III. Tabular Synopsis of the Egyptian Chronology from the earliest historical Synchronisms up to the First Year of Menes - - - - - - - 577
IV. The Chronology of Menephthah, or the Beginning of the last Canicular Cycle of 1461 Years, under Menephthah, the Son of the Great Ramses - - 579

SECOND SUBDIVISION.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. AND XXVI. DYNASTIES, THIRD AND FOURTH HISTORICAL EPOCHS. FROM THE END OF THE REIGN OF SOLOMON TO THE YEAR BEFORE CAMBYSES.

SECTION I.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE XXII. — XXIV. DYNASTIES.

I. The Twenty-second Dynasty - - - - 590
II. The Twenty-third Dynasty - - - - 594

SECTION II.

I. The Connexion between the Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, and Twenty-sixth Dynasties - - - - 596
II. The Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Nine Saite Kings - - 601

THIRD SUBDIVISION.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LAST FOUR DYNASTIES OF MANETHO: XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX., FIFTH HISTORICAL EPOCH - 607

Series of Royal Scutcheons - - - - - 615

APPENDIX.

Perring's Manuscript Communications on the Measurements of the Pyramids - - - - - - 633

LIST OF PLATES.

BUST OF ERATOSTHENES - - - - - - *Frontispiece.*
BUST OF MANETHO - - - - - - - *facing* p. 393

Pl. I. The Fayoom - - - - - - - - - 334
II. Plan of the Plain of Pyramids and of the Fayoom - 86
III. Pyramid of the Labyrinth - - - - - - 325
IV. Pyramids of Dashoor: Ground Plan and View - 94
V. Northern Brick Pyramid of Dashoor - - - 97
VI. Pyramids of Abouseer - - - - - - - 101
VII. Middle Pyramid of Abouseer - - - - - 102
VIII. Northern Pyramid of Abouseer: Plan and Section - 104
IX. Plan of the Pyramids of Gizeh - - - - 147
X. Second Pyramid: Plan and Section - - - 150
XI. Great Pyramid: Section from North to South - 155
XII. „ „ Plan - - - - - - 159
XIII. „ „ View of the Entrance - - - 162
XIV. Third Pyramid: Plan and Section - - - - - 165
XV. „ „ Plan and Section of Chambers and Passages - - - 166
XVI. „ „ Plan and Section of both Burial Chambers - - - - 168
XVII. „ „ View of the Sepulchral Chamber - 212
XVIII. Fourth Pyramid: Plan and Section - - - 171
XIX. Pyramids of Biahmoo: Plan, Section, and View - 352
XX. Sepulchre of Mœris and his Wife - - - - 373
XXI. Labyrinth: Restoration - - - - - - 319
XXII. Pyramids of Sakkara: Plan - - - - - 379
XXIII. Great Pyramid of Sakkara - - - - - 380
XXIV. „ Plan and Section of Great Chamber - 382

BOOK II.

THE OLD EMPIRE.

EGYPT'S PLACE

IN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

UPON THE AUTHORITIES AND MONUMENTS OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

I.

THE EGYPTIAN AUTHORITIES FOR THE OLD EMPIRE DOWN TO MANETHO. — THE GENERAL RELATION BETWEEN THEM AND ERATOSTHENES, AND THE PRINCIPAL FEATURES IN HIS METHOD OF ILLUSTRATING THAT PERIOD.

It has been shown in the first book that we possess three Egyptian monuments relative to the Old Empire, which belong to the 13th and 15th centuries B.C.

The first is the Tablet of Karnak, or Ancestral Chamber of Tuthmosis III., with portraits and names of sixty-one Kings, his predecessors, to whom that King of the 18th Dynasty is sacrificing. Lepsius has made the valuable discovery, that one half of these, or thirty-one Kings, belong to the Old Empire. The second monument, the Tablet of Abydos, represents Ramesses-Sesothis, the great King of the 19th Dynasty, receiving homage and blessing from fifty of his royal predecessors. Thirty-nine of these belong to the Old Empire. The third monument is a List of Kings of the Old and Middle Empires, written on Papyrus in

Hieratic characters, composed under one of the Kings of the 19th Dynasty, and representing, in sixteen fragments, seventy-four names at least of Kings of the Old Empire, half of which are still partially legible.

We have given in the first book a general explanation of the chronological and historical contents of these three monuments. A complete and accurate facsimile of them has been published for the first time by Lepsius in his "Historical Monuments."

The Lists of Manetho we showed to be extracts from his great historical work. The first twelve of his thirty Dynasties belonged entirely to the Old Empire.

With these Egyptian authorities the Alexandrian researches were compared, especially those of the great Eratosthenes; and the result proved that his List of so-called Theban Kings, beginning with Menes, whose reigns comprise a continuous series of 1076 years, was a chronological register of the Old Empire, which fell under the Hyksos. The last of these Kings was consequently that Pharaoh who preceded the first of the Shepherd Kings on the Imperial throne in Memphis.

According to this hypothesis, the following connexion between the two Lists was established. Manetho's Chronology of the Old Empire, as well as that of Eratosthenes, commenced with the Menes-Dynasty of This, a primeval city of the Thebaid, but was afterwards continued exclusively in the royal lines of Memphis and Thebes, in the first 12 and part of the 13th Dynasties; comprising the 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 11th, 12th, and eighty-seven years of the 13th. The latter of these was of Theban, the others of the Memphite race. It was shown that such was Manetho's own calculation, and its apparent result went to fix the number of Kings at about fifty, and the length of the period at fourteen centuries. This was the first crude chronology of the Old Empire. Subsequent investigation left scarcely any doubt that its real length is not the mean between Eratosthenes and Manetho, but the exact number of the former. Manetho's Lists of the Old Empire were swelled to the higher sum by palpable repetitions, which, upon a comparison with Eratosthenes, proved to be owing to misunderstanding. From certain indications we were led to believe, that the Lists of the Old Empire to which Manetho had access, were not chronological, but historical. We showed the probability that the Egyptians, who seem to have taken especial pride in a long array of royal names, introduced into these Lists those of each individual Prince, who, if only a co-regent even, and that for a short time, bore in his family the title of Pharaoh. The Lists necessarily annexed to each of such Regents the full number of his regnal years. Supposing, therefore, that several reigned co-ordinately— two brothers, for instance, or a father and son, forming a joint sovereignty, and all the numbers to have been added together, the names as well as years of reign might easily have been doubled, or even more than doubled, in any given period; for instance, one of 60 years, with three co-regents, might swell into 150. By such a mode of proceeding, the chronology was necessarily thrown into confusion. This confusion arose also from the circumstance of all the Dynasties of the Old and Middle Empires being registered in the succession in which they ranked as Pharaonic races in any part of Ancient Egypt. Manetho's own calculation of the duration of these two Empires proves this to have actually been the case, and that the Old Empire of Menes was more than once divided and broken up, before it fell altogether upon the inroad of the Nomads, who established themselves in the Imperial city of Memphis. In the New Empire there are no contemporaneous Dynasties, because, during it, Egypt always formed one undivided realm. It would be, however, a most illogical inference that, because this was so in the

New Empire, it must always have been the case. Egypt, on the contrary, was incorporated into one Empire by Menes, through the union of more than twenty originally independent provinces; and the very names of the country, "the two Egypts," "the Upper and Lower Country," show that the idea of a Double State was never lost sight of. The monuments themselves testify that the Old Empire was more than once divided. As regards the Middle Empire, it would betray utter heedlessness, or total scepticism and misunderstanding of Manetho's Lists, did we not admit that the Hyksos-Dynasties were contemporaneous with Egyptian Princes, or some of the latter even with each other. It is true that his Lists of the Old Empire do not furnish us with the means of ascertaining these synchronisms without further research, nor even of establishing the continuous chronological succession. They are predominantly Dynastic, and so were the oldest Egyptian Lists of Kings, as proved by the Turin Papyrus. Upon a closer examination and comparison of it with the monuments and Manetho, we find that it contained many more Dynasties and Kings, than were recorded in his critical and Helleno-Egyptian register. It is probable that it contained as many names of Kings, from Menes to Mœris, as the book shown to Herodotus by the Priests, namely 330 or 340. We possess, therefore, in the Papyrus, a picture of the condition in which the information respecting the Kings of the Old Empire and its chronology was transmitted to the New. This was a state of confusion. The method of the Egyptian Priests was an imperfect one. A so-called Æra, i. e. a continuous chronology, they did not possess in their history, but merely sums total of regnal years. The key the Priests kept to themselves. It was too closely bound up with all their mysteries, especially the arrangement of their festivals and the Canicular Period of 1461 years, for them to permit it to attain general publicity by means of books. Their patrician colleagues in Ancient Rome did not allow it for many centuries among a far more advanced, and a free people!

We have, therefore, a good right to term this the *Egyptian Method*, on account of the predominance of the Dynastic over the Chronological principle in the arrangement of the Lists. It explains why the transmission of reigns from the Old and Middle Empires may be perfectly historical, as it evidently is, and yet not be strictly chronological. Originally, indeed, with such a mode of proceeding, there must have been a historical and chronological key, by means of which the place of each King mentioned might be ascertained, and the connexion between the sum of the regnal years and the chronology, as regarded each individual dynasty as well as the whole Empire, be established. Probably, even in early times, historical remarks, a sort of annals, were annexed to the Lists — these are implied by the Papyrus as well as Manetho. Such historical illustrations, however, as we possess, were only made by the Epitomists, who culled them from Manetho's history. The Hyksos-period, from the beginning of the New Empire downwards, produced almost the same effects upon the annals of the Old Empire, as did the destruction of the Tsin dynasty upon the Chinese annals.

The application, therefore, of the clear *Greek Method*, was the means by which the lost key must have been discovered. This was done by Eratosthenes for the historical succession of the Kings of the Old Empire, by Apollodorus for those of the New. Their method would appear a very simple one, but it was precisely on that account that the first critics of the age required some time to discover it. They said to themselves, there exist in the archives of Thebes the registers of the Kings who reigned there; assuming that the chronological length of the reigns can be made out, the sum total must give the true chronology of the Old as well as Middle Empire. Manetho himself knew that the first 17 Dynasties did not form a consecutive series, and that the Empire, from Menes to Alexander, lasted 3555 years; an assumption which in no wise tallies with the Lists extracted from his work.

The calculations on the back of the Turin Papyrus of the 14th century B.C., might have been supposed to have had some reference to such a historical key. But Wilkinson's publication has not realized such a hope. We have, however, proved that this List is formed on the Egyptian plan, and that it contains an entry of more Kings (more Dynasties even, perhaps,) than Manetho.

Regarding his Lists of the Old Empire, as compiled by our Epitomists, their historical notices at all events were copied by Eusebius from Africanus: but, wherever chronological fidelity and accuracy in dates are concerned, in case of discrepancy the general inquiry in the first book obliged us to side with Africanus. This, as a general proposition, is admitted, indeed, by all Egyptologers. It must be, however, acted upon in every instance. Nothing appears more uncritical, nothing more sure to divert us from the path of historic truth, than upon the occurrence of the first convenient difficulty in its prosecution, to resort to some easy expedient for getting over it, and to abandon a tried guide for one confessedly untrustworthy, simply for convenience sake. Eusebius is unsettled, unscrupulous, and dishonest. He did not seek for truth, but for a canon of synchronisms with the Jewish chronology. He even altered the dates of his own historical works in the canon, when it suited his purpose. No confidence therefore can be placed in his statements, even where he had no inducement to falsify dates. His unscrupulous levity peeps out on all occasions. This need not prevent us from assuming that names and dates may not be sometimes more correctly transmitted in his text than in Africanus. The latter has only come down to us in two MSS. of Syncellus, while we possess also the Armenian translation of the former entirely independent of Syncellus, and probably of a more ancient date.

For the Old Empire, Eratosthenes created the Menes-Chronology, or rather restored it out of the confused traditions which were rescued from oblivion, and handed down from the Old to the New. The monuments of the former establish the fact that a continuous chronology of this kind could no more have been in use then than it was in the latter period, or than it ever was in China. We find no certain dates of reigns on the monuments earlier than the 6th Dynasty of Manetho. Names of Kings, on the other hand, are found on contemporary monuments at a very early stage.

The primary object in prosecuting the chronological researches of the following book must be to ascertain how far our fundamental proposition can be verified in each particular section. In so doing, the nature and origin of the difference existing between the Lists of Eratosthenes and Manetho must be investigated. This can be effected mainly by means of the monuments. Especial attention must consequently be paid to those of Egypt, contemporaneous monuments, where such exist, and the hieroglyphic mode of writing the names of the Kings. Such monuments exist, not only of a much earlier date than persons not conversant with the course of Egyptian study suppose, namely, from the 3rd Dynasty of Manetho, but they are even of far greater historical importance than Egyptologers themselves have hitherto demonstrated. Nor are they mere mutilated fragments of small tablets and portraits with Royal names. THE PRINCIPAL MONUMENTS OF THE OLD EMPIRE ARE THE WHOLE OF THE PYRAMIDS; and among these pyramids the world-renowned tombs of the 4th

Dynasty prove not to be the most ancient. The monuments, however, will generally guarantee the authenticity of the names, and give them the weight of palpable reality. They fill up in the most satisfactory manner the outline of the Lists.

II.

THE GREEK VERSION, TRANSCRIPT, AND MISSPELLING OF THE EGYPTIAN NAMES OF KINGS.

The names of the Kings have, as might be expected, been misplaced in the Lists, owing to errors of transcript of more or less serious character. The discrepancy between the Lists also frequently originates merely from their giving a different version of them. Whether in any particular case the discrepancy be owing to textual blunders, or a different, perhaps equally correct, conception of the Egyptian pronunciation, the monuments alone can decide. It must be the aim of this inquiry to ascertain in each particular instance which of the two is to be adopted on the ground of probability. In so doing it will be necessary to take into consideration the obvious difficulty the Greeks experienced in rendering Egyptian names. Alphabets were unknown, and the Egyptian pronunciation made it difficult to discover of what elements a word was composed. The orator Aristides informs us, for instance, that he requested a learned priest to pronounce the Egyptian name of the god Canōpus, but that he found it impossible to express what he heard in Greek letters, as the sound of the word turned round, as it were, in a circle. We now know from other sources than the Greek orator's explanation of it, that the word was written in hieroglyphics *nb*, and doubtless pronounced *nub*. It signifies gold, and is evidently the root of Nubia, the land of gold. The god him self, here spoken of, is called in the hieroglyphics *Nubei*, the golden: of which the Greeks and Romans made *Canōpus*. In Scripture Nubia is generally called *Nub*, but Ezekiel seems to have written it *Gnub*.[1] The Egyptians therefore pronounced the initial *n* always, or at least sometimes, with a strong nasal sound, or nasal breathing, which foreigners either could not imitate, or, in doing so, were obliged to employ one of their own aspirated letters. The *m*-sound necessarily created a similar difficulty. The Egyptians always expressed the Latin *v* by their *m*, as an inherent sound. The town of Beneventum, for instance, they wrote *Benementus;* just as the Jews wrote Ecbatana, *Akhmeta*. The town of Sebennytus, after which one of the arms of the Nile is called, was pronounced in Greek *Sevennytus*, in Egyptian *Semnut*. In this case, therefore, the Egyptian *m* sounded to the Greeks like their own aspirated *b*, and the Roman *b* sounded to the Egyptians like their *m;* whereas the Modern Greek expresses our *b* by *mp*. We must here recollect that the Egyptian alphabet contained not only a *p* and *f*, but also a *b*, and that in Coptic *b* and *û* are frequently interchanged, on which account, in Champollion's Grammar, both are given as equivalents to the hieroglyphics for *b*. The Egyptian *m* consequently could not have had our modern European sound, or at least, not always. In comparing the different versions of hieroglyphical names, and especially the date of the writing itself, analogies of this kind must be carefully noticed. We know that the *Sieve*, in later times pronounced *sh*, had in earlier times the sound of *kh*, indicating thereby its history, well known to every philologer, that in the lapse of ages it has grown out of a palatal into a sibilant. With reference to the peculiarity of Eratosthenes' mode of writing, we see at once that he was not guided by the hieroglyphics, but by the sound of the written word. This indeed is the natural inference from the statement "that Eratosthenes compiled his Lists from the historical books of the Old Egyptians." We may consequently expect him to transfer an Egyptian name into his Register according to its sound, rather than the sense of the hieroglyphics. Egyptian names contain a meaning, as all names did originally. Their mere sound, however, may apparently be very significant, and yet it is only by examining the hieroglyphic that we can ascertain what that original meaning really was. This is the case with the greatest part of the Egyptian roots. The original signification of many of our names, indeed, was totally different to what their present pronunciation would seem to indicate. Lastly we must bear in mind, that Eratosthenes has clearly endeavoured to render a royal Egyptian name by a Greek name; so much so, that where there was no corresponding Hellenic name in use, he invents one that sounds like Greek, in order not to be obliged to paraphrase it by one or more words. Considerable license is required in transcripts of this kind. If this in some degree increases the difficulty of discovering the original name from the Greek version of it, the translation on the other hand, according to the sound, is a stronger confirmation of the pronunciation. Eratosthenes may, and must sometimes have mistaken the original meaning of a name, even where it could still be ascertained. We may be the more convinced, therefore, that his translation gives us the sound in the most natural manner. It was necessary to say thus much upon the connexion between the names in Eratosthenes, and those on the monuments.

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[1] xxx. 5. נוּב is derived from גנוּב. The present text gives כוּב, a perfectly unknown name.

III.

THE MONUMENTAL NAMES OF THE KINGS. — GRADUAL ESTABLISHMENT OF ROYAL TITLES IN THE OLD EMPIRE. — EGYPTIAN ORIGIN OF THE TITLE OF PHARAOH.

THE earliest Kings have only one name, which contains the germ of the two borne by later monarchs, generally designated their *prœnomen* and *nomen.* This distinction was introduced in the 6th Dynasty, the 4th of the Empire. As early as the second Imperial Dynasty — the 3rd of Manetho — this one name generally assumes the form of the so-called prænomen, inasmuch as it has the Sun's disk (*Ra*) as its first sign, and is for the most part preceded by the plant and wasp, the well known signs of Upper and Lower Egypt. The sign *Ra*, however, i. e. Helios, was, as indeed the names of gods usually were, prefixed to the other signs merely as a title of honour. In pronunciation it came last. This is most clearly proved by the hieroglyphical mode of writing the name of King Mekerinus, or Mykerinus of the Greek historians. It is written on his coffin-lid Ra-men-*ke* (or -*ka-ru*), and therefore must have been pronounced Men-*ke-ra* (or Men-*ka-ru*). This pronunciation again indicates a peculiar hieroglyphical arrangement. If *Ra* is to be pronounced at the beginning, the genitive prefix (ǹ, *en*) is placed before the other signs, in order to show that *Ra* is the word by which the rest are governed. But it does not follow from this, that the grammatical sound was pronounced. It is more probable that it was not, inasmuch as it is sometimes omitted.

Generally speaking this name is placed within a scutcheon, like a name on a seal. Sometimes we find it without any sign of royalty either before or over it; but in some instances it has over it a plant, not yet identified, which betokens Upper, as the papyrus does Lower Egypt, and this was subsequently invariably connected with the scutcheon of the Sun. It is pronounced *Suten*, i.e. King, or strictly speaking, King of the Upper Country. By the side of it stands the wasp, *kheb*, the sign of Lower Egypt. We sometimes find also the vulture and uræus (basilisk), two other signs for Upper and Lower Egypt, as well as the goose and Sun's disk (*si-ra*), son of Helios. The latter, of which we shall speak forthwith, in later times is only found before a Dynastic name. Lastly, the scutcheon of the Sun is occasionally preceded by the so-called standard-name, a sign which by itself even probably signifies King, and is always placed before the other titles. The standard-name, as a general rule, contains one or more symbolical signs merely, never a word written in pure phonetics. The hawk or Falco nobilis, the sign of Horus, is placed over it, sometimes with the Egyptian crown on its head, the so-called *Shent*, or, with the article *p* before it, *Pshent*.

In horizontal inscriptions—as contradistinguished from the usual vertical columns—the standard-name is only marked by this Horus-hawk, but is not itself written after it. As early as the 3rd Dynasty of Manetho we find two titles of honour, interposed between the standard scutcheon and that of the Sun. These are:

1. The Vulture-Uræus title: a vulture and basilisk, each of them sitting on the sign "Lord" (*neb*), and signifying "Lord of the diadem."

2. The Gold-Horus title: that is, one or more Horus-Hawks, or even the Sun's disk instead (either plain or winged), or the hawk and hatchet, or the hatchet alone (the sign for God, *neter*): always upon the sign of gold (*nub*), and *sitting*.

Both these titles are afterwards *standing*, in which case they are followed by the particular royal titles and names of honour. The scutcheon containing the name is invariably at the end.

This, however, soon grew into two. Apappus, the chief of the 4th Imperial Dynasty (the 6th of Manetho), added another scutcheon after that of the Sun, containing the family name; such as the Sesurtesen, Tuthmoses, Ramses, and Psammetici.

This family name has, above and before it, the goose with the Sun's disk, that is, son of *Re* or *Phre.* The complete order of the titles of the Pharaohs of the Old Empire is as follows:

1. The Standard-name, with the Horus-hawk: above it a banner, with fringe or tassels.
2. The Vulture-Uræus name: above, the vulture and basilisk, in that of Apappus without any additional symbols: but in that of his immediate successor they are both sitting, as usual, on the symbol of lordship.
3. The Gold-Horus: Hawk (Horus), the Disk (Ra), or Hatchet (God), on the sign of Gold.

Down to the 12th Dynasty these three were generally followed by the same hieroglyphics as occur in the standard-name; but, subsequently to that period, by other symbols.

4. The Throne-name: above, *Suten-kheb* (Plant and Wasp), beginning with the Sun's disk, or prænomen of the King, which he received on his accession, and by which he is usually mentioned.
5. The Family name; that is, the personal name.

As a general rule, the public monuments give the titles complete, but invariably the scutcheon containing the throne or family name, or both. Where Kings are only mentioned incidentally, the monuments exhibit merely the latter scutcheons, or, still more commonly, only the throne-name, and always in one scutcheon. This is the practice likewise where the name is represented in a seal ring, or on the flat part of the Scarabæus.

With so elaborated a system of royal names it is probable that the Egyptians had the power, as they always must have had, of marking, either in their traditions or conversation, the personal distinction between their sovereigns, otherwise than by their family name; which was frequently one borne in common by them and their predecessors of the same Dynasty. We find few traces on the Egyptian monuments of a specification as "first," "second," "third," &c., nor is it yet ascertained what substitute they employed. Nothing but an investigation of individual cases, especially in the Old Empire, can throw any light upon the point. There is a passage in Pliny where Egypt is mentioned, the corrected text of which is given in our "Appendix of Authorities," which furnishes one unimpeachable proof, at least, that the Egyptians used the prænomen to mark the distinction between individual Kings, namely, in the 26th Dynasty, in the names of the Psammetici.

The most important thing to be borne in mind, however, is the fact, that the Kings of the first three Imperial Dynasties have no distinction of prænomen and proper name; but that from the commencement, as far as contemporary monuments go back, they likewise bore the standard-name: and, lastly, that, as early as the 2nd Imperial Dynasty, the other titles are introduced between the standard and name scutcheons.

We must take this opportunity of saying a few words on the origin of the name *Pharaoh*, by which all the Egyptian Kings are designated in Scripture—Pharaoh Hophra, for instance. We think it impossible to agree with Wilkinson[2] and Rosellini[3] in deriving it from Phre, Phra, independently of the fact that the King is not called Phre, but Son of Phre. We find it written Pharaoh, with the vowels used in the Septuagint; and the Hebrew mode of pronouncing Ra and Phra, is known from the spelling of two words in which Ra occurs. Ramesses, a town in the land of Goshen, is written with *R* and *ain*, consequently *rah*:

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[2] Wilkinson, Thebes and Egypt, p. 5. note. Manners and Customs, i. 43. note.

[3] Rosellini, Monumenti Storici, i. 112. seq.

and Potiphra (i. e. *Pet-phra*, belonging to *Phre*) with *ph*, *r*, and *ain*. There is consequently no way of explaining the final *h* in Pharaoh upon their hypothesis, which we think for that reason philologically untenable. Champollion has, to a certain extent, proved the antiquity of the modern Egyptian word *erro*, *uro*, signifying King, &c. (whence Uræus, i. e. the Royal Serpent, is derived), by the circumstance of *ara* occurring in the Hieroglyphics, followed by the sign of the basilisk. But why should the word Pharaoh be derived from the sacred, and not from the popular language which we find in authentic Demotic MSS down to the time of the Psammetici, and which certainly must have been distinct from the old, sacred language, at a very early epoch? We concur, therefore, with Josephus in deriving the Pharaoh of Scripture from *errô*, *urô*.[4] With the article prefixed, it was pronounced *pi* (or *pe*, or *phe*) *erro* or *urò*. It is very probably connected with *ra*, *phre*; and the word *errô*, *urô*, of the popular language, was, perhaps, formed from it. At all events Pharaoh cannot be derived from anything but *urô*; and it signifies, as it ought to signify, King, whereas *Phre* only means *Helios*. After the foregoing remarks upon the origin and pronunciation of the prænomen, we think there will be no further attempt to prove that the Egyptian Kings were called Phre, merely because their prænomens usually begun with *Ra*. We have offered these prefatory remarks in elucidation of the monumental names.

IV.

THE VALUE OF THE HISTORICAL TRADITION TRANSMITTED BY THE GREEKS IN REFERENCE TO THE OLD EMPIRE.

Having shown how the Lists of Kings harmonise with each other and with the monuments, we shall in the last place proceed to examine into GREEK TRADITION. We have already seen that, although we must admit its insufficiency as a basis for Chronology prior to the Psammetici, Greek tradition is nevertheless invaluable for restoring history. We possess no old Egyptian historical work. Manetho's Lists contain only meagre information and allusions extracted from his great work. Syncellus's epitome of Eratosthenes gives hardly any at all. The monuments, even where they contain historical matter, which is the exception and not the rule, are without the living word of historical tradition. But when once these have supplied us with solid arguments for believing in the historical reality of a King, and with an explanation of the different versions of the names, we may hope, by patient and judicious investigation, to unravel the isolated traditions in Greek historians, and other ancient writers, most of which have from the first been misunderstood. We think, indeed, that in almost every case, the order of the Kings may be discovered.

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[4] Antiq. viii. 1. *ὁ Φαραῶν κατ' Αἰγυπτίους βασιλέα σημαίνει.*

Our inquiry, therefore, will be divided into three heads—the Royal LISTS, Monumental NAMES, and Greek TRADITION. We shall occasionally be able, in addition to this analysis, to give a description of the works of some of the Kings, and even to bring them into prominent notice. Each section will conclude with a review of the historical results of our investigation. The sections themselves will comprise sometimes one, sometimes several Dynasties, according as the Empire was undivided or divided. The arrangement and treatment of details will necessarily vary in almost every section, according as the weight of evidence preponderates towards one or other element of the inquiry.

This brings us to the most important point in our introductory remarks. Before we commence the detailed examination, it is necessary to come once more to a thorough understanding with our readers upon a point which, in our opinion, it will be requisite to prove, and upon the method of establishing the proof. In one place we have to adduce CHRONOLOGICAL, in the other, HISTORICAL proof. The former consists in showing that there was, during the Old Empire, an Egyptian chronology, which has been transmitted to us, and that in the most accurate form, by Eratosthenes. By historical proof we mean the demonstration of the historical reality of the information we possess about those Kings and Dynasties. This implies, therefore, that Egypt was then an organised Empire, and in possession of writing, as well as those sciences and that degree of civilisation which are requisite for forming an historical tradition. The two proofs are variously interwoven, but still to a certain extent independent of each other. The existence of authentic Lists of Kings, extending over several centuries, is assuredly a presumption that, during that period, the nation had an idea of history, and, consequently, annals in which the names of their Princes, although in the simplest form, perhaps, were registered. These registers, however, may be still in existence, and yet all history, and their authenticity and value be lost with it. In this case the historical character of the period and of the tradition must be proved by the existence of chronological data to which we cannot refuse our confidence on other grounds. A proof of this description is naturally very difficult to obtain, and generally inconclusive, because it moves in a circle. On the other hand, we may possess historical accounts of persons and events which are actually true, though incomplete, and yet no chronology. Facts and personalities are not necessarily fabulous, simply because their date is not accurately defined. This renders their historical character complete indeed, but is not essential to prove their existence. The main point to determine will always be, whether the times were such as to furnish both the inclination and means of transmitting their history. If this proof fail, and with it consequently all proof that they are historical, it will be impossible to establish the authenticity of Chronological Lists; they will cease indeed to have much or any value at all. The Legend of Hercules clearly belongs to an unhistorical tradition, for Hercules himself is not an historical personage, and therefore the facts and events connected with him must be considered as mere fables, although they may have some foundation either in mythology or forgotten historical facts, or in both. In the former case, the historical features are a later addition, which becomes the stronger in proportion as the mythological elements are thrown into the background. Were not even the genealogies of the Heraklidæ as unintelligible and contradictory as the pedigree of their ancestors is mythological, no sensible man would now attempt to form a chronology from the number of the generations. The older and the purer the mythological element is, the more unhistorical will be such computation by generations. If, on the other hand, monuments of any period exist containing historical names and events, and if a chronology be offered us, which not only professes to be derived either from contemporaneous monuments, or from records based upon them, but which even really harmonises with the monuments transmitted to us—such a chronology is supported by the whole weight of historical authenticity. It may, perhaps, be urged against it, that there are other chronologies extant of the same period, wholly at variance with it. The answer to this will be, that these seeming discrepancies in the chronological statements, such at least as are deserving of credit, can all be shown to rest upon one common tradition. We shall then merely have to decide which of them deserves the preference, being guided in our decision by the superiority of the method pursued, the authenticity of the traditions, and their agreement with the monuments. Having thus ascertained which is the most authentic chronology, and making it the groundwork of our system, we may hope to succeed in reducing to and explaining by it all the data as to persons and events which possess historical warranty. By so reducing them the positive proof will be complete.

V.

METHOD OF OUR RESEARCH IN THE OLD EMPIRE, ESPECIALLY FOR CARRYING OUT THE PROOF OF THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER AND UNBROKEN CHRONOLOGICAL SUCCESSION.

Everything that we can require, as regards superiority of method and authenticity of notice, is found combined in Eratosthenes' List of the Old Empire.

About fifty names in the Epitome of Manetho correspond with the thirty-eight contained in his List, setting aside all those Dynasties which are not either Theban or Memphite. Wherever the Epitomists, however, have recorded the names of individual reigns in Manetho, two things can be proved in respect to them; first, that those of Eratosthenes follow in the same order; and secondly, that they are real monumental names, and were registered on Royal Tablets and in written Lists thirteen or fourteen centuries B. C. Lastly, there exist contemporary monuments to prove the direct historical character of these reigns—evidence which is hardly to be found anywhere else in ancient history. This latter proof commences as early as the 2nd Imperial Dynasty, the 3rd of Manetho, which comprises the Eratosthenian Kings VI.—XIV. It is not the want, but the superfluity of monumental names, especially in the Turin Papyrus, which creates the difficulty for inquirers not sufficiently familiar with historical criticism. The following consideration, however, will solve this latter difficulty. Egypt, to a far greater degree than China, grew into an empire by the union of previously independent provinces, of which there were more than twenty in the time of Menes. There were at the head of each province Princes, who had their genealogical registers, as well as the Imperial Kings. Menes was one of these. After five reigns the government of Egypt, with the exception of the ancestral residence in the Thebaid, or all the Thebaid, perhaps, passed into the hands of Memphites—in all probability owing to intermarriages between Thinite and Memphite Princes. In process of time, however, other princely families necessarily contracted alliances with the reigning Sovereign Line, or younger branches of it, and in consequence claimed the titles and privileges of Imperial Princes. Some even threw off their independence when the prestige of the Imperial power [illegible] on the decline, just as was the case in China. When the Lists of Kings were compiled in the New Empire, the old Princely Houses, which had made a stand against the Hyksos, or at least preserved the national life in Upper Egypt, were naturally held in high estimation. In the fragments of the Turin Papyrus, a fuller list of them even than that of Manetho is given; on which very account they are still further from furnishing a chronological series. On no extant contemporary monument, however, yet discovered, is mention made of Princes in the Old Empire, whose names Manetho did not give wherever the Epitomists have not omitted his names. But it is impossible not to see that these monumental names are those of Eratosthenes, and that they follow throughout in the same order. Where again, as an exception, the monuments contain names which do appear in Manetho, but not in the List of Eratosthenes, they can even now be shown to be, either those of coregents who of course could have no place in a purely chronological series, or Memphites not recognised at Thebes, or else repetitions arising from misunderstanding. The causes of these misunderstandings are in the main as follows: First, the name of a King was written in more ways than one; the consequence of which was, that the Lists made several Kings out of it. Secondly, different dates of years were annexed to the same name. This indeed might happen without any blunder being committed, as soon as they ceased to insert the odd months of the old Lists. Take the instance of a King who had reigned, according to the full date, ten years and six months. It is clear that ten years might just as easily have been assigned to him as eleven. But there were also other sources of error. In the original historical work, a particular year of a King's reign was especially noticed, on account of some historical fact, a warlike expedition, for instance, or a treaty of peace. This notice was copied into the Lists, and might easily have been mistaken by later Epitomists or copyists for a separate reign, and so recorded by them. Lastly, there existed, as can be shown, joint-reigns; and in times of disturbance, moreover, as can also frequently be shown, contemporary and hostile sovereignties. Where these were introduced into the annals, a confusion might easily arise in short registers, which were compiled by the Epitomists from the Lists and the historical work.

The chronological proof in favour of Eratosthenes, has for the most part been adduced in the former volume. We have there shown that his List furnishes the key, hitherto sought for in vain, for understanding the first 17 Dynasties of Manetho in accordance with the dates assigned by him to the duration of the Empire from Menes to Alexander. The general harmony of the two chronologers, although independent of each other and following different systems, can only be explained by supposing that they were both guided by a genuine historical tradition in regard to the Old Empire. In corroboration of this proof it now remains to be shown, that the avowed difference between them of about 300 years, is owing to blunders on the part of

Manetho or his Epitomists. This chronological proof will be rendered complete by the fact of our finding, not only the names in Eratosthenes on contemporary monuments, but of their very order being confirmed by the old Royal Tablets of the 14th to the 16th century B.C.

The chronological proof, thus completed, is evidence also of the historical character of the information derived from the Old Empire. If a comparison of Manetho's Lists with those of Eratosthenes, and the harmony of the latter with chronological records and contemporary monuments, on one side, and the remains of an historical tradition, hitherto misunderstood, on the other — if this body of evidence force upon us the conviction, that we are standing upon solid historic ground, then may the problem here proposed be considered as satisfactorily solved. It forms no part of our proposition to prove the correctness of each individual statement in Eratosthenes by means of the monuments or historical tradition or the Lists of Manetho, or by them all together. The negative proof would suffice, namely, that no facts occur in any of these which contradict the Lists of Eratosthenes. No historical student of any reflection will believe that this can be an accidental circumstance. But neither is positive proof wanting, namely, that the remaining data are capable of explanation from the series of Eratosthenes. It is most conclusive, on the contrary, at the very point where a great mass of information and even records exist, and where, on a superficial view, there seems to be a real discrepancy in the original tradition. The historic reality of the Old Empire, however, which is obvious from the existence of contemporary monuments of the same Kings as the Lists mention as early as the 2nd Imperial Dynasty, constitutes in itself a positive proof. For, if contemporary monuments exist in sufficient numbers to enable us to point out from them almost all the Kings of the Old Empire after so many ages of desolation and ignorance, no systematic search after those monuments having been instituted prior to the Prussian expedition, there must also have been genuine Chronological Lists of the same Kings from whence those of Eratosthenes were compiled.

To propose to make the solution of the question before us — namely, whether there was an old historic Empire of Menes of 1076 years, which fell upon the invasion of the Shepherd Kings — dependent upon our being able to point out every King in Eratosthenes on contemporary monuments, would be to require from Egyptian chronology more than is done either from historical Greece or Rome. We possess no contemporary monuments of either of them till long after the period which we assume to be both historical and chronological. No authentic names of Kings are extant on monuments even at the close of the Roman monarchy, barely an authentic list of consuls prior to the conquest of Rome by the Gauls. Our present knowledge of the Old Egyptian Empire, from its own immediate monuments, is naturally still very incomplete, and will remain so for twenty or thirty years to come — quite complete, indeed, it can never be. Did we even possess contemporary monuments of every King from Menes to Amuntimæus, the whole altogether would no more prove the chronological data of Eratosthenes, than they would supply the want of them. According to what we have said, the proposition should rather stand in the following shape. We have in our hands a chronological series, formed by a person, like Eratosthenes, who enjoyed such advantages, esoteric and exoteric, in his search for truth, as no man before or after him ever possessed. As far as figures are concerned, it has been transmitted to us faithfully and without chasms. It establishes the fact that the Old Empire lasted 1076 years, under thirty-eight Kings. Were there even no contemporary monuments of the Old Empire extant, we must still have considered it a trustworthy record. But there are contemporary monuments in existence containing the same names, from the seventh or ninth King downwards. There must certainly, therefore, have been many more in the time of the Ptolemies, and probably other sources also, from whence materials might be supplied for an historical chronology of the Empire of Menes, which Eratosthenes undertook to make — a task he accomplished with a critical acumen and scholarship of no common order. With regard to Manetho's tradition, we have only to show, in order to complete the chronological proof, that it is based on the same solid groundwork of historical annals. In the former volume we have shown that he has himself, to a certain degree, furnished the key to his chronological system of the Old Empire. His statement of the length of the Egyptian empire is capable of verification from his own Lists, by admitting into the chronology of the Old Empire such Dynasties only as are identical with the Theban Kings of Eratosthenes. If, however, the series of the latter be the key to the chronological order of Manetho's first 13 Dynasties, must it not also be the test of the real duration of each Dynasty?

It is this connexion between the two works alone which furnishes an explanation of the labours of Eratosthenes. By the King's command that great chronologer undertook the task, probably late in life, for which purpose the archives of Thebes were placed at his disposal. The royal command, and his readiness to execute it, arose from the very fact of the method pursued by Manetho and his researches having left much still to be cleared up.

If lastly, in addition to this, the historical tradition of the Greek writers be elucidated by our hypothesis — if the apparent discrepancies be explained away, and the isolated data, like scattered members of one body, dovetail in to each other, the proof of the authenticity of the dates of Eratosthenes, as well as the historical notices, is completely established. Any supplementary matter in regard to individual reigns must be considered as surplusage, but we trust not without its utility. It is the duty of an inquirer, when he has taken up a strong position, from which a retreat cannot be cut off, to throw out piquets into the empire of history which is to be conquered, as far as his means will permit. He must, however, fully understand the nature of the position, so as not to mistake the difference between *possibility* and *reality*, or lose sight of it on the murky road, where many an ignis fatuus is shining. Successful as he may have been, the points, of which he has laboured to establish the probability, have lost their interest at this advanced post. His task as an historian loses at the same time some of its importance, because that of which he was in search is actually discovered. No one, however, will on that account consider his researches as useless, for without them the truth would never have been reached with certainty. It was the circuitous and even wrong road he took which led to the discovery. It is easier indeed, as Bacon says, to extract truth from error than from confusion. However faulty the research, and materially as it may be corrected by subsequent circumstances, it must never be considered as made in vain. Every honest investigation possesses a value in itself, not merely as an exercise of the mind, but likewise as an argument for or against the method pursued. No age, without great injury to itself, can dispense with vital criticism; and no age can exercise it, unless it be conversant with the method of criticism. Historic proofs, moreover, are seldom sufficiently complete to make it superfluous to correct them by other appliances.

Let it not therefore be supposed that we flatter ourselves with the hope of being able to establish the correctness of the researches of our guide by any other means than by showing that the tradition to which he had access, relative to the period of his chronology, was of an historical nature. Still less let it be supposed that the gratuitous association of all the positive proofs at our disposal with the negative evidence, is labour in vain.

Our aim is to show that an Egyptian chronology existed for a period of more than 3000 years prior to Alexander the Great, and thereby to lay a foundation for determining the position which Egypt occupies in Universal History. This proof we endeavour to convey in such a manner as to make it independent of any circumstance about which all doubt cannot be removed. Whatever we advance beyond this, is a challenge to further research, and, as such, we trust will meet with a favourable reception.

VI.

CONNEXION BETWEEN MY OWN RESEARCHES AND THOSE OF LEPSIUS. —THE EXCAVATION OF THE PYRAMIDS BY GENERAL HOWARD VYSE, AND PERRING'S LABOURS. — THE GREAT PRUSSIAN COMMISSION TO EGYPT.

I PROJECTED the restoration of the Old Empire upon the principles here developed in the summer of 1835. The plan, beyond the establishment of the general proofs of the period of 1076 years, was naturally not only defective, but faulty in many particulars. My researches were favoured by two especial circumstances. I have here again to account it as one of these fortunate events that Lepsius should have applied his ingenious and clear method of research to Egyptian antiquities, and that since 1836, in pursuing the thorny but remunerative path of investigation, I should have had the advantage of the critical and complete collections, which he had formed by a thorough study of all the monuments extant in Europe. When royal munificence enabled him in 1842 to crown his labours by systematic excavations on the spot, I constantly received from him most valuable communications. The other fortunate circumstance was, that prior to the Prussian Commission to Egypt, thanks to the enterprise of an English gentleman, on a scale of magnificence and with a success beyond that of all previous excavations in Egypt, the whole thirty-eight Pyramids, that is, the Tombs of the Kings of the Old Empire, had been explored, many of them opened, and drawings and descriptions of their internal construction published.

It now remains for me to explain in greater detail the connexion between my restoration and Lepsius's researches. It has been already mentioned, in the former Volume, that it was the aim of our joint researches to restore the antiquities of Egypt in an historical form. The arrangement we made was, that Lepsius should dedicate himself to the attainment of that object by an examination of the monuments, keeping principally in view the history of art; whilst I should endeavour to obtain a knowledge of the external and internal position of Egypt in relation to Universal History, by means of a critical survey of the sources of historic tradition. Two discoveries which he made have been productive of most important results in regard to the Old Empire. One was, that the 31 Kings who occupy the right side of the Tablet of Karnak belong exclusively to it; the other, that the so-called Osortasid Dynasty is merely the 12th of Manetho, and that it is found in the Turin Papyrus, as well as the Tablets of Karnak and Abydos. This fact has since been as well authenticated as any in ancient history.

The undertaking of General Howard Vyse, alluded to above, has produced no less important results for the researches into the Old Empire. It was reserved for our day to witness the first complete systematic excavation and examination of these Royal Tombs, as well as the other Pyramids. French scholars and engineers had failed in the attempt; even after the discovery of the hieroglyphical system indeed, vitally important as it was to chronology and history in general, no European government had felt any call to embark in so noble an enterprise. The task which no government undertook, the generosity of a private English gentleman accomplished, at a princely outlay, in the year 1837. The Pyramids have been thoroughly examined, and accurate measurements and drawings of them published on a magnificent scale. The relics they contained have been presented with honourable patriotism to the British Museum. We are credibly assured, that this undertaking, which General Vyse superintended in person for a whole year, cost him 10,000*l.* In the prosecution of his enterprise he had the good fortune to obtain the assistance of Mr. Perring, a skilful, intelligent, and zealous engineer. After he had taken measurements and drawings of the great Pyramids of Gizeh, he explored all the others at the expense of General Vyse, in the years 1838 and 1839, and was fortunate enough to discover, in almost every instance, the entrance, and their whole internal structure. One single circumstance will show how important the results of that grand undertaking were to our inquiry. It has furnished us with the names of six Kings, who were the builders of as many Pyramids. We consider it therefore as one of the most fortunate circumstances for this work, that the results of those labours were made known before it was completed. It is no less fortunate, however, that we can congratulate ourselves upon having had personal explanations and communications on the subject from Mr. Perring. Many of them we shall introduce in the course of the inquiry, and give in an Appendix his very instructive and unpublished memoranda upon the original measurements of the Pyramids.

As regards the work itself, we have borrowed from it every fact it contains relative to the Pyramids, the history of which is fully established. The most valuable of his engravings we have copied in our plates.[5]

Since that time the first volume of Lepsius's great work, giving the results of the Prussian Commission in the years 1842–45, and containing plates of the historical monuments of the Old Empire, on a magnificent scale, has appeared, arranged according to the Dynasties. In it the whole of the extant monuments of the Old Empire (principally in the tombs of the Pyramids) have been for the first time published, and we must refer to it throughout as indispensable to their understanding. The plates from General Vyse's work, above alluded to, have also been made use of in this edition to explain the text.

VII.

THE EGYPTIAN MEASURES, AND A COMPARISON BETWEEN THEM AND THOSE OF GREECE AND ROME, AS WELL AS MODERN TIMES.

As regards the unit of the Egyptian measure, the notion that it could possibly have been based upon geometry, is now probably universally abandoned. Such a supposition, like the mythological and astronomical reveries of Dupuis, was suited to the extraordinary excitement of the European mind in the 18th century. Here, on the contrary, the truth of the much abused and much mistaken proverb, that man is the measure of all things, is apparent in the case of the Egyptians, as well as all the nations of the Old World, who were civilised or capable of civilisation. The Greeks and Romans measured by the foot (pes), the hand (palma), the palm (παλαιστή), and the finger (digitus, inch), which mode of calculation passed down to the Romano-Germanic races. The Romans at the same time had a particular measurement of their own, the *pace*, in which the national, practical, and military turn of that people is characteristically portrayed. Co-ordinately with the foot and hand measurement, there existed also among the Greeks and Romans, in the earliest times, a measure from the elbow to the point of the middle finger (cubitus), equivalent to a foot and a half; and the measure of the distance from the extremities of the middle fingers of a man's arms stretched out at right angles to the body (ulna, in the later sense *fathom*, tesa, toise). But in both these nations the length of the foot continued to be the unit measure.

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[5] The Pyramids of Gizeh, by Col. Howard Vyse: large Atlas in folio, London, 1839, 1840, after drawings by Perring. Each of the three parts contains one of the three great Pyramids: views, plans, and sections of great beauty and effect. The view of the great Pyramid is a masterpiece of lithography. The principal plans, with the General's Diary, and a compilation of all the previous information upon these Pyramids, will be found in the first two volumes of the work in large 8vo, entitled "Operations carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh, in 1837, with an account of a voyage into Upper Egypt, and an Appendix by Col. H. Vyse, London, 1840." The third volume contains Perring's excavations in the other Pyramids, and the Quarries of Turah and Massara, and (thanks to the late Earl of Mountnorris, formerly Lord Valentia) Salt's plans and description of the excavation of the Great Sphinx, made by Caviglia in 1816. The title of the third volume is: Appendix to Operations, &c., containing a Survey by J. S. Perring, Esq., Civil Engineer, of the Pyramids at Abu Roash, and to the Southward, including those in the Fayoum: by Col. H Vyse, London, 1842.

The ancient inhabitants of Asia, on the contrary, as well as the Egyptians, adopted as their unit the length from the elbow to the end of the finger, the *ell*. It is the traditional unit of the Babylonian, as well as Jewish measure, and Newton discovered it to be that of Egyptian architecture. He found this out from the calculation of the measure assigned by Greaves to the so-called royal chamber of the Great Pyramid. The subdivisions of the ell, given by Herodotus, in his description of the colossal figures of the Mœris Lake (II. 149. 175.), are clearly Egyptian, and were as follows:

1 Ell makes - 2 spans (σπιθαμαί) = 6 palms = 24 digits.
1 Span - - 3 palms (παλαισταί) = 12 „
1 Palm - - 4 digits (δάκτυλοι).

As the foot was two thirds of an ell, it was divided by the Greeks in the following manner:

1 Foot made - 4 palms = 16 digits.

In old Samos, also, according to Herodotus, the ell (πῆχυς)[6] was the prevalent measure, which in itself makes it probable that the Phœnicians used it. The word *ell* (elle) likewise extensively pervades the languages of the Indo-Germanic stock. The Sanscrit term *aratni*, to which Pott refers on this point, signifies etymologically, as I learn from Müller[7], only from the elbow to the end of the little finger. The short ell is *ratni*, or *saratni* (with the fist), to the end of the clenched fist.

If we connect Perring's measurements and calculations with the comprehensive views laid down in Böckh's Metrologie, we obtain the following result:

1 Egyptian cubit is, according to Perring, 231·447 Fr. lines.
1 Babylonian „ „ Böckh, 234·655 „

Böckh (p. 227.) considers the mean of six Egyptian cubit measures now extant, 232·55 French lines, to be the unit of Egyptian measure, which approaches nearer to the Babylonian. A difference of 3 lines is certainly no reason for doubting the original identity of two measures which has been established by independent systems, and with different materials for making the calculation. The cubit, on the nilometer at Elephantina, which is divided into fourteen parts, evidently, as Böckh remarks (p. 228.), of 2 inches, or half a palm each, according to the measure of the royal cubit of 28 inches or 7 palms, would be 233·617 French lines.

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[6] According to Professor M. Müller, equivalent to *bâhu* (Sanscr.), which signifies *arm*, but is not used as a measure.

[7] Confer ar, ul, ôl, el (see also the German word ar. m, etymologically *to bend*), *Aratni* is a compound word, and comes from *ratni*, fist. It signifies, therefore, *without fist*, and indicates the intermediate ell, in Greek, *olenē* (ὠλένη); Latin, *ulna*, in its oldest meaning; Gothic, *aleina;* old High German, *elina;* Anglo-Saxon, *elu*. Elle, ell, is therefore an abbreviation; *ellbogen* (elbow) still retains traces of the old form.

He reckons the original cubit at 6 palms or 24 inches, which is equivalent to 204 lines. The Greek cubit contains 205. This would give 136·057 lines to the foot, consequently a trifle less than the Greek one contains. In millimetres, therefore, the proportion of the two cubits, according to him, is as follows:

Royal Egyptian cubit - 524·587. The small one - 460·383;

or, according to the measurements of the pyramids (p. 238.), exactly 461·8. Although we think, from the result of Perring's measurements, that the great cubit must be the unit measure, and neither the small Egyptian one of Böckh, nor the Greek one of 462 or 468 millimetres of Jomard, at least not during the Old Empire; still every investigator will doubtless derive great benefit and pleasure from the ingenious disquisitions of that master of philological research.[8]

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[8] The proportion between these Egyptianised measures, and the Greek and Roman, and those of modern times, will be seen in the following table:

If we make the old French foot (pied du Roi) our basis (the mètre being equivalent to exactly 30·785), it contains - - - - -	144 lines;
the Greek one, according to Perring, - - -	136·5 „
The old Roman foot, according to my "Description of Rome," contains -	130·8 lines;
according to Perring, - - - -	129·7 „
giving a mean of - -	130 lines;
Now as the English foot measures 135 lines, the old Roman foot corresponds, according to my "Description of Rome," to -	0·969 English ft.;
according to Perring, to - - -	0·961 „ „

Seven Egyptian ells may be considered equivalent to 12 English feet (exactly 12·033); and 21 Egyptian ells make precisely 35 feet of the Rhenish provinces.

Measures of Distance also, among the ancients, were clearly borrowed from human action. In Greece, 600 feet, the length of the Olympic course, made a stadium, a resting-place; and every passage in the classic writers must be understood to mean Olympic stadia, where the contrary is not expressly stated. The Romans, who were pre-eminently a military people, made the unit of their measure of distance the double pace, i. e. the length covered in marching by the movement of one leg, measured from the point where the heel of the hinder foot leaves the ground, to the spot where the toe of the same foot touches the ground when extended forward. This implies the length of the extended foot measured both before and behind, the length of the stationary foot, and the two intervening spaces of one foot each. The step (passus) thus measured makes 5 feet. A thousand of such steps (mille passuum) they made the resting-place or break; out of which, in after times, grew the word *miliarium*, or mile. From these the Italians derive their *millio*, and the English their *mile*, both of them approximating very closely to their Roman prototype; the German *meile*, equivalent to five ancient miles, is a proof of their innate love of wandering. A complete geographical degree is 75 old Roman miles, 60 geographical or sea miles; in ordinary conversation 69 English statute miles go to the degree. According to the old French computation upon which D'Anville based his calculations, the old Roman mile is 756 toises (hexapode).

The Celtic word *leuga* signifies, among other things, *a stone*, which is its most natural explanation. Expressions such as *ad lapidem tertium*, meaning thereby three miles, must have been as commonly used in Roman as in Cisalpine Gaul. The idea of increasing the unit from one to three is Celtic: perhaps as being the measure of one hour's walk. The old Gallic *lieue* (leuga Gallica) of Jornandes, the λεύγη, μέτρον Γαλάτιον, of

Hesychius was 1500 feet; the French *lieue* is 2500. Of the latter 25 go to a degree, as do 15 German geographical miles in German books.

The Romans calculated a Greek stadium at 625 feet, according to the proportion between the Greek and their own foot, i.e. = 125 double paces. Eight stadia, therefore, make a *millium.*

The Egyptians used as a measure of distance, the space which a man, or several men together, could tow a ship or boat with a rope (*ha-ti*, Ideogr. 457. ; conf. Determ. 130.) called *s.katen*, along the shore or canal—in other words, a *stage*. The Greek translation of this, therefore, Schoinos, Schœnus (σχοινός), was very accurate. According to Herodotus (ii. 6. 149.), this was a distance of 60 stadia, or 7½ miles; according to Eratosthenes, 40 stadia, or 5 miles. The latter is evidently an official statement, according to the usual or Imperial measurement. Strabo and Pliny prove that in Egypt the length of the *schœni* varied considerably. The latter and Athenæus speak of them as *Persian* measures, which we know from other writers by the name of *Parasangs* (Ferseng). D'Anville reckons the *Parasang* at three modern Persian miles, the *Schœnos* at four.

The land measures still remain to be noticed. In giving the dimensions of the Pyramids, and in making similar calculations, the classical writers use the words PLETHRON and JUGERUM. The plethron is a square of 100 Greek feet, consequently ⅙ of a stadium, and contained, therefore, 10,000 feet. The JUGERUM is 240 by 120 Roman feet, or the double of an *actus*, 28,800 square feet. The Romans sometimes translate the Greek PLETHRON by JUGERUM; but this is very inaccurate.[9]

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[9] An English ACRE measures 43,560 square feet, consequently almost double an arûra. It is divided into 4 ROODS, each equal to 40 POLES. Five acres are equal to 8 Prussian morgen, or 8·163 JUGERA.

The Prussian MORGEN is 180 roods of 12 feet each, consequently a square of 45 roods; and it contains 24,300 square feet. 30 MOR-

The Egyptian land measure, however, was a square of 100 cubits on each side, that is, 10,000 square cubits. Herodotus calls it (ii. 168.) ἄρουρα, and states it to be the very measure above mentioned. This, however, was not Greek measurement, for the Greek ἄρουρα seems, according to Suidas, to have been a square of 50 feet. Indeed we find in Ptolemaic inscriptions a measure of land called AR.[10] Pliny makes use of the same measure (*arûra*) in giving the dimensions of the Pyramid of the Labyrinth, in the 36th book. On the same occasion, he gives the measure of the height in fathoms (*ulnæ*). Was the fathom a subdivision between the cubit and *arûra*, as a measure of length? If so, the proportion would be as follows:

4 Cubits - - = 1 fathom.
25 Fathoms (150 feet) = 1 arura, in length.
100 Cubits square - = 1 Egyptian acre.[11]

GEN (acres) make a HUFE (hide); 50 JUGERA make 49 of these (Magdeburg) MORGEN.

The ARPENT ROYAL contains 54,972 English feet, or is equal to 1 acre, 2 roods, 4 poles, nearly; so that 79 ARPENS ROYAUX are equal to 100 ACRES. The ARPENT which is used for measuring land about Paris contains, according to Perring, 36,792 English feet: 43 such ARPENS, therefore, are equal to 38 ACRES.

[10] Traces of a land measurement also occur in the tomb of Aahmes, at Eilethyia, prior to the 18th Dynasty.

[11] In addition to what is said by classical writers upon the measurements of the ancients, see Böckh, Metrologie; Wurm, "De ponderibus Veterum;" Wilkinson, Manners and Customs (iv. 24—33.); and Uckert's learned researches in the introduction to his Ancient Geography.

THE

THREE EPOCHS OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

THE Old Empire is split up into three great sections, which both contemporaneous monuments and the Lists still extant represent as natural divisions.

All the Lists and Notices, the Turin Papyrus, Manetho, and Eratosthenes, as well as Greek tradition, begin with Menes. The representation in the palace of the Great Ramses, which is genealogical rather than dynastic, unquestionably did the same. That in the palace of Tuthmosis III. is the only one which commences with a successor of Menes, probably the last of the 1st Dynasty; that is to say, either the fifth (according to Eratosthenes) or the seventh (according to Manetho). Now from Menes down to Phiops, whom we know from Manetho as the chief of the 6th Dynasty, Eratosthenes registers 19 Kings in uninterrupted succession, and during a period of 569 years. The Tablet of Abydos records the 4th and 5th Dynasties, leaving out the contemporary 6th, which began to reign at Memphis at the close of the 4th (scutcheon XVI.). The Tablet of Karnak has Phiops Merira in its 10th compartment, consequently as the fifteenth or seventeenth King.

The second Epoch of the Old Empire is no less strictly defined. In all the Lists the accession of Amenemhe I., the founder of the 12th Dynasty, forms a prominent landmark. According to Eratosthenes 12 reigns intervene between him and Phiops, with 273 years (xx. to XXXI.); in the Tablet of Ramesses, 16 scutcheons (XVII. to XXXII.); in that of Tuthmosis 15 (x. to XXIV.). In Manetho this period comprises the Dynasties from the 5th to the 11th inclusive.

As the first division exhibits the culminating point of the Old Empire, so does the second its decline. As in the former the Imperial power was strong and vigorous, so in the latter we find it shattered and tottering.

Amenemhe is the restorer of the Empire, and with him the third Epoch commences. This restoration, however, was of short duration. After 6 reigns a complete dissolution took place. Amenemhe is the thirty-first King, and with him the Dynasty and Empire came to an end after 234 years. This period corresponds to the 12th Dynasty of Manetho and the beginning of the 13th, which was likewise Theban.

From Menes to the end of the 12th Dynasty Eratosthenes counts 38 Kings, forming a line of succession; in the Tablet of Abydos the last King of that Dynasty is the thirty-ninth; in the Tablet of Karnak his name fills the thirty-first place, that is, either the thirty-sixth or the thirty-eighth from Menes.

After this division and parallelism, the correctness of which will become more and more evident as we proceed with the inquiry, we commence the explanation of the Royal Lists of the first period.

FIRST DIVISION:

FIRST PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

THE GREAT THINITO-MEMPHITE EMPIRE, FROM MENES TO THE ACCESSION OF APAPPUS-PHIOPS: YEARS OF MENES, 1—569.

ERATOSTHENES, KINGS I.—XIX.

ROYAL TABLET OF RAMSES THE GREAT (ABYDOS), KINGS I.—XVI.

ROYAL TABLET OF TUTHMOSIS III. (KARNAK), BEGINNING WITH KING RA-SMENTETI "THE FIRST," KINGS I.—IX.

DYNASTIES OF MANETHO, I. II. III. IV.

SECTION I.

THE LINE OF MENES OF THIS.—FIRST DYNASTY.—UNITED EMPIRE, 190 YEARS.

A.

THE LISTS, AND THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL JUXTAPOSITION.

THE following Table explains the relation between Eratosthenes and Manetho, in the Lists transmitted to us.

ERATOSTHENES. I.—V.	MANETHO: First Dynasty—Thinites.		
	Africanus. 8 Kings, 253 Years.	*Eusebius.*	
		Syncellus. 8 Kings, 252 Years.	*Armenian Version.* 8 Kings, 252 Years.
I. Mênês, Thinite 62	1. Mênês, Th. - 62	Mênes, Th. - 60	Menes, Th. - 30
II. Athôthês, Son 59	2. Athôtis, S. - 57	Athôthis, S. - 27	Athôthis, S. - 27
III. Athôthês II. - 32	3. Kenkénês, S. - 31	Kenkenês, S. 39	Kenkenes, S. 39
	4. Uenéphês, S. - 23	Uenéphês - 42	Vavenéphis - 42
	5. Usaphaîdos, S. 20	Usaphais - 20	Usaphaês - 20
IV. Diabies, Son - 19 (read Miabaês.)	6. Miebidos, S. - 26	Niebaês - 26	Niebaês - 26
V. Pemphôs, Son 18	7. Semempsês, S. 18	Semempses - 18	Mempsês - 18
	8. Bienechês, S. - 26	Bienthês - 26	Vibesthês - 26
Epilogus - - 190	- - - - 263	- - - 258	- - - 228

As regards Manetho's dates generally, it is clear, at the first glance, either that Eusebius merely copied Africanus, or that they both obtained their information from the same version of Manetho's Lists. From certain discrepancies between them, the latter supposition is the more probable. It is equally clear that, so far from having treated Eusebius unfairly, Syncellus was remarkably scrupulous in the use he made of his data.

Even in little incidental circumstances, such as the omission of the relationship between the third and fourth Kings, the Armenian translation exactly tallies with the text of Syncellus. The fact of the Armenian text assigning to Menes 33 instead of 60 years is clearly owing to an old typographical blunder; for 60 (more properly 62) is the right date. The omission of the blood-relationship after the fourth reign is common also to both. Both, too, in their headings, assign 252 years to the duration of the Dynasty, which is assuredly Manetho's own; for that of Africanus agrees with it within a year (253). The real sums total of the dates of the reigns in Eusebius (258 in Syncellus, 228 in the Armenian text) are owing to palpable errors of transcript, just as is the 263 of Africanus, instead of 253 given in his heading.

The 62 years of Menes in Africanus, instead of the 60 of Eusebius, which is merely the inaccurate round number, are supported by the authority of Eratosthenes.

In the second reign, the date of Africanus (57), against that of Eusebius (27)—$\overline{\mathrm{NZ}}$ against $\overline{\mathrm{KZ}}$—is again confirmed by Eratosthenes. In the 3rd, Eratosthenes has 32 years; Africanus, 31; Eusebius, 39. Here again there is the same basis of a common tradition. In Africanus we must read 13 instead of 23, in order to make the sum of the dates (now 263) tally with the sum of the heading (253). The date 42 in Eusebius ($\overline{\mathrm{MB}}$), however, should be 12 ($\overline{\mathrm{IB}}$); the additional 30 were required to make up for the 30 lost in the second reign. 12 and 13 are the same tradition. The Egyptian Annals recorded years, months, and days; the Lists of Manetho give only years. Hence it was just as easy to make 12 as 13 out of a reign of 12 years and *x* months, according as the odd months, which made altogether nearly a year, were given to one or other King. We accordingly obtain as the real tradition of Manetho, with the solitary discrepancy of one year, the following synopsis, which tallies in both Lists:

	Years.	
1. Menes	62	
2. Athothis	57	
3. Kenkenes	31	
4. Uenephes	13	Eus. 12.
5. Usaphaês	20	
6. Miebaes	26	
7. Semempses	18	
8. Bieneches (Bienthes)	26	
Sum total of the reigns	253	Eus. 252.
The headings give	253	Eus. 252.

Now if we compare these names and dates in Manetho more closely with those of Eratosthenes, the accordance in the first two, Menes and Athothis, will require no proof, in spite of the slight discrepancy in the second reign, where there are 57 years instead of the 59 of Manetho. In the third, the date of reign is precisely the same; for 32 and 31 years are merely different, perhaps equally legitimate, abbreviations of one and the same statement in the oldest Egyptian Royal Lists, which, as remarked above, gave the months and days in addition to the years. The difference in the names is no argument against their agreement. The name Athothis the Second, in Eratosthenes, cannot be considered as his original designation. Every Egyptian King had some distinguishing name; and by such, therefore, Athothis must have been particularised in the Annals. We cannot, however, as yet decide positively whether this name was marked on the standard, or whether the name-scutcheon itself contained the personal designation of the younger Athothis, or even if it were not that by which he was familiarly known to the people. We simply, therefore, establish the fact that his distinguishing designation in Manetho is Kenkenes. The difference of name, then, in the two Lists is no proof of a difference in the historical tradition. Kenkenes, indeed, might easily pass for a corruption of KEN-CHE-RE (KONCHARIS), and nevertheless Kenkenes itself may be very correct as a title. It is evidently found in that of the fourth King of Manetho's List; and the probability of this being the corresponding reign is greatly increased by the fact that, upon this assumption, we can explain, most satisfactorily, Manetho's datum for the third reign. He counted the odd months in both reigns, which made together about a year, and added them to the fourth reign — Eratosthenes added them to the first. Thus he has 31+20; Eratosthenes 32+19. As then, according to the dates of the reigns, the fourth reign of Eratosthenes corresponds with the fifth of Manetho, so does the fifth (and last) in Eratosthenes with the seventh of Manetho. In both Lists 18 years are assigned to it. It is also in this reign that the identity of the names Pemphos and Semempses can be pointed out, by comparing Eratosthenes' version with the translation annexed to it, according to which the Egyptian name signifies "Heraclide." The name of the Egyptian Hercules (Chensu, Chons, in Greek Χών) was written by Eratosthenes *Sen*, as is proved from his rendering Sempukrates, the twenty-sixth King's name, by Herakles Harpokrates (Har-pe-chrut, Horus, the Child). *Sen* before a labial became *Sem;* so that Eratosthenes here wrote Sempsos (Σεμψώς instead of Πεμφώς). There is the same connexion between this form and Semempses as there is, in that of Ramses the Great, between Rampsês and Ramesses. But is not the name of the fourth King of Eratosthenes to be found also in Manetho?

The predecessor of Semempses is called in Manetho Miebidos (Afr.), Niebaês (Euseb.). The end of the name in Africanus sounds like a Greek genitive, and may be explained as originating in a misunderstanding of the following word "Son" (Μιέβιδος υἱός), the copyist supposing that the first word depended upon the second, and signified "Son of Miebies" (or Miebaes). Eusebius' mode of writing it, Niebaês, is clearly only another version of the same name as Miebies or Miebaes; the N at the beginning being probably a blunder of the scribe, as it corresponds with no Egyptian root or name, unless it be NEBI (Abyd. XVII.), to which it has a resemblance.

Now, in Eratosthenes, the predecessor of Sempsôs is called Diabies; but, as already pointed out in the "Appendix of Authorities," the annexed explanation, "φιλέτερος," shows that the name must have begun with an *M*, because *Mi* (*Mi*-amun, for instance), or *Ma* (as in a later King of Eratosthenes, Tomaephtha = φιλήφαιστος), is the accurate translation of the Egyptian word signifying "to love."

But what is to be done with Manetho's date of the reign of Miebaes — 26 years? We have seen above that in the fourth reign of Manetho we must read 13 instead of 23; and, perhaps, this number is the origin of the 26 which we now find annexed both to the sixth and eighth reigns — the eighth King is in fact wanting in Eratosthenes. Be this as it may, it is quite as certain that these three dates — 13, 26, 26 — have a historical foundation, as that there is a chronological blunder. This is true also of the corresponding name, Uenephes (the fourth) and Bieneches (the eighth King). Manetho doubtless found all these names and dates so recorded, and probably added up all their regnal years in making his sum total. This, however, does not prevent us from assuming that the List of Eratosthenes furnishes the chronological series; that is, the whole of the years of reigns which followed each other in consecutive order.

Though, from the paucity of monumental names, we cannot clear up this obscurity, no competent critic will venture to deny that, as a whole, the tradition must have been common to them both, and an authentic Old Egyptian one. Its certainty is established, if in making the Epilogus we omit all the reigns of Manetho which are not found in Eratosthenes. We retain, therefore, as the chronological sum total of the 1st Dynasty, the 188 years of Manetho, instead of the 190 of the first five reigns of Eratosthenes, which he also represented as those of one family from father to son. The following collation will show the accordance in the dates of reigns:

Eratosthenes. I.—V.		Manetho: First Dynasty, exclusive of years of reign which are not chronological.	
I. Mênês -	- 62	1. Mênês - - -	- 62
II. Athôthês	- 59	2. Athôthis - -	- 57
III. Athôthês II.	- 32	3. Athôthis-Kenkenês -	- 31
IV. Miabiês	- 19	5. Usaphaês - -	- 20
		4. Uenephês - 23 (read 13)	
		6. Miebaês (Miebidos) - 26	
		8. Bienechês (Bienephes) 26	
V. Sempsôs	- 18	7. Semempsês - -	- 18
Sum total	190	Sum total (65+)	188
		Altogether 253 years.	

If Manetho, in making his chronological Epilogus, included the dates here introduced either as co-regencies of the fourth King or as different versions of the length of the fourth reign, he must have assigned to the 1st Dynasty 253 years. In all probability he did the latter. At all events, we must retain the number 253 as Manetho's tradition. A comparison with the List of Eratosthenes, however, shows that this difference of 65 years occurs in reference to names and dates which would lead us to conclude that the blunder was made in early times. Omitting the three suspicious reigns between the fourth and fifth Kings of Eratosthenes, we obtain 188 years, or two less than the sum total of Eratosthenes. This would indicate that they had a common historical basis for their calculations.

The mere analysis of the dates of reigns, combined with that of the extant names, has proved that the Chronology of Eratosthenes accords in the most satisfactory manner with the Lists of Manetho — a result which we were led to expect from our previous impressions as to the connexion between the two writers.

Various questions, however, yet require to be answered — whether the names be really historical, and can be substantiated by the Egyptian monuments and Royal Lists now deciphered?—whether there be any trace of them in the historical traditions transmitted to the Greeks? — in a word, whether further research confirm the result of our comparative synopsis? Unless it be so confirmed, we are not justified in assuming that at the period in question the human race was in that state of order which the term "historical epoch" implies, and that the Egyptian tradition respecting it was of an historical nature. This latter point we now proceed to investigate.

B.

HISTORICAL TRADITION AND MONUMENTS.

I. FIRST REIGN: MENES.

ACCORDING to Greek writers, the first reign even is represented not only as historical, but as the starting point of a vast Egyptian Empire, united under one government, in contradistinction to that of the earlier independent provinces, when the Thebaid and Delta were still under separate sovereignties. It is described, indeed, as an age in which the relations of civil and social life were very extensively cultivated — an age of comfort, and even luxury, as compared with its former penurious and simple state when subdivided into several insignificant districts. This is the account given of Menes by Herodotus (ii. 90.): "Menes, the first King of Egypt, as the priests informed me, protected Memphis by a dam against the river, which ran towards the sandy chain of the Libyan mountains. About 100 stadia above Memphis he made an embankment against the bend of the river, which is on the south side. The effect of this was to dry up its ancient bed, as well as to force the stream between the two chains of mountains. This bend of the Nile, which is confined within the embankment walls, was very carefully attended to by the Persians, and repaired every year.[12] For if the river were to burst through its banks and overflow at this point, all Memphis would be in danger of being swamped. Menes, the oldest of their Kings, having thus drained the tract of land by means of the dyke, built upon it the city now called Memphis, which lies in the mountain valley of Egypt. To the west and north he dug a lake round it, which communicates with the river—on the east it is bounded by the Nile—and afterwards erected in it a temple to Vulcan, a splendid edifice, deserving of especial notice."

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[12] In the main, we agree with Letronne and Bähr as to the meaning of this passage. Ἀγκών is an arm of the river, but strictly a bend in it. We shall show, in the sequel, that the river does make a turn of that kind at that point. It may seem extraordinary that Herodotus should mention a southern ἀγκών, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμϐρίης ἀγκῶνα — for one arm of the Nile above Memphis from that point runs to the southward as much as the other. When understood in this sense, it cannot be distinguished otherwise than as an eastern and western arm. He intended, however, in using these words, to distinguish between this southern ἀγκών (i.e. turn in the river), and the well-known one to the north of Memphis. There is, in fact, no other worth noticing in the vicinity, except to the south, at the present moment. The words, ὃς ἀπειργμένος ῥέει, mean that it is only here that the Nile is pent up by the dams, or at least by one on its western bank, and everywhere else runs in its natural bed.

The following is Wilkinson's remark upon it[13]: "Near Kafr el Jyát, fourteen miles above Mitraheny (which is about the centre of Old Memphis), we find the Nile dammed up; which otherwise would run immediately below the Libyan Mountains." Herodotus, therefore, has recorded the following fact — that, before the time of Menes, the Nile overflowed the tract of country which he fixed upon as the site of his new metropolis. Its original course, in fact, was close along the line of the Libyan Mountains, down to Sakkára; whereas, it now runs about 2¼ miles to the eastward of it. The space intervening between its original and present course, is the low ground on which Memphis stands, of which Mitraheny, with the Temple of Vulcan, may be considered as the centre. Menes having drained it by means of this dyke, was thereby enabled to lay the foundation of that city.

Further traces of this great work might, perhaps, be discovered by following up the tradition recorded by Herodotus upon the spot.

There is a narrow arm of the Nile which runs from Diospolis Parva, in the Thebaid, opposite to Selamieh, all along Egypt as far as Terraneh, up to its Canopic branch in the Delta, which was formerly incorrectly marked on the maps as a canal. The innumerable turns in it show that its main branch is still the original bed of the western arm. Below Manfalut, at Tarut el Sherif, it takes the name of Bahr el Jusef, which it retains throughout; and which Wilkinson supposes to be derived from the great Sultan Saladin. We think, however, that there is very little authority for this, inasmuch as we find no mention in history of any works of his, except in the Fayoum. The Jusef of the popular legends is no other than the Patriarch. Not far from the Fayoum, a straight line drawn from south to north is also called by the people El Menhi, or El Mini, which may refer to Menes.

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[13] Topography of Thebes, p. 341.

Without attaching the slightest importance to names, we really think that the embankment of Menes must have been closely connected with this western arm of the Nile. Its principal features were, undoubtedly, the same then as now. As far as the western branch, the Fayoum, it was 300 feet broad; from and below that point, only 100. In its bed, now dried up, Abydos, the primeval city of the House of Menes, was built — and the watercourse is still carried on there by means of a canal.[14] It is to the employment of the waters of the Nile for the purpose of irrigating the western valley, which from its commencement down to the Fayoum is, on an average, 6 miles wide, and to the junction of the two arms by a nest of canals, that Egypt is indebted for its fertility; and these are the natural causes of the union of the two divisions, the Upper and Lower Country. We may, therefore, perhaps, understand the remark of Herodotus, that the Nile formerly ran to the westward, 100 stadia above Memphis, in the following sense: at that spot what was originally its main arm broke its banks, and carried the great body of water to the westward, so that the westerly side arm became the main stream. The divergence is marked on our map. At Kafr el Jyát it forms a small island, and that portion of its waters which flowed from thence to the westward, following the given line, must originally have run towards the Bahr Jusef. At the inundation, consequently, the low grounds about Memphis, from the foot of the mountain chain, must have been under water, by which marshes and morasses were formed. In order, therefore, to drain and cultivate this district, it was indispensable to confine the whole body of water of the real Nile within its proper bed, and make it flow through the centre of the valley. In this manner they retained all the advantages of the side arm, without losing the beautiful low land which was so well adapted for the site of a great metropolis.

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[14] Ritter, i. 766. Conf. as to the Bahr Jusef, p. 769. seq. 782.

This improvement of the stream was probably connected with considerable works in the bed of the side arm, of the original extent of which all trace has naturally long since disappeared. It is never once particularised by the classics in mentioning the innumerable canals which intersected the country in all directions. According to a personal statement made by Mr. Perring to myself, there is an ancient watercourse which still runs from Kafr el Jyát to the Bahr Jusef. It falls into the latter at Bernasht. To the southward of this point, remains of artificial works are still visible in the bed of the Bahr Jusef; but to the northward it has the appearance of being the natural bed. Mr. Perring's drawing, which he was good enough to lend me, has enabled me to trace the old course of the Nile. It is a point worth closer examination. The improvement made by Menes in the bed of the stream must also have materially affected the Delta arms, and the whole system of irrigation in Lower Egypt. It is well known that the tradition as to the canal system of Egypt is connected with Sesostris, the originator of the division into castes. The remarks of Herodotus on this point have given rise to some strange conjectures in modern times, especially among the *savans* of Napoleon's expedition.

There is no foundation whatever for Andréossy's hypothesis, that the story originated in the fact of the Nile having once run to the westward from the Pyramid Mountains, to Bahr Bela Ma (stream without water), and the Natron and Mareotic Lakes.[15] Herodotus mentions an historical fact, and describes the work of an historical King—Andréossy's hypothesis, if well founded, would belong to geology. This, however, as well as that of a former water communication between the valley of the Nile and the transverse valley, terminating at Dashur, and running towards the north-east bank of the Lake Mœris, must be consigned to the province of mythology.

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[15] Ritter, i. 851. Andréossy, Mémoire sur l'Egypte, i. 223.

The second work of Menes recorded by Herodotus, is the construction and fortification of Memphis. This city, which, according to Diodorus, was 19 miles in circumference, had already become, in his time, very insignificant. When the Caliphs invaded Egypt, its remains were used in building Cairo, and its foundation walls have long since been buried under the mud of the Nile. The site even of its principal temple, the shrine of Ptah, cannot as yet be traced, owing to the vast mounds of rubbish collected at Mitraheny. If these were cleared away, important discoveries might be made; nor should we be the least surprised, if masonry should come to light containing scutcheons with the name of Menes. All the Kings of the Old Empire seem to have made additions to this shrine, as those of the New Empire did to the temple palaces at Thebes. Mention indeed is made of new constructions in the shrine of Memphis till a very late period of the New Empire. The distance from thence to Fostat (Cairo) is 12 miles, the same as from Cairo to Babylon; from Sakkára, 6000 feet, or nearly a mile and a quarter. Herodotus says expressly that the Nile formed the eastern boundary of the city. The other boundaries mentioned by him seem to have disappeared. The name itself is formed out of two hieroglyphics, the first of which (*men*, "the wall with battlements") signifies foundation, station; the second is the so-called lute (*nofre*, "good"). This explains the two interpretations given by Plutarch (de Isid. et Os.): "haven of good things" (or "the good"); and the symbolic "tomb of the good man," i.e. Osiris. Neither of them deserves much attention, but the connexion with the name of the founder is obvious. We invariably find on the monuments, after the name of the city, the hieroglyphic of "land" and the figure of the Pyramids, that is, "the land of the Pyramids," a remarkable designation in a historical point of view. The subsequent stages through which it passed are as follows:—In modern Egyptian or Coptic, the language of the Demotic character, it became *Manfi*, *Memfi*, *Mefi*, *Pa-naefi*; in Arabic, *Memf*. The Hebrew form is sometimes *Moph* (Mph), sometimes *Noph* (Nph); the former being a contraction of the whole name, the latter a derivative from the second part of it (the modern Egyptian *nof*, instead of *nofre*), in which the first part of the word, being merely a prefix, is omitted. The Greek coins have *Menphis* (ΜΕΝΦΙΣ), and perhaps *Menfis* would be the more correct reading. As Thebes was called the city of Ammon, Memphis was known as the city of Pthah; but it likewise contained a shrine of the Supreme God.

According to Diodorus and Plutarch, this shrine contained an inscription commemorating the imprecation of the father of the unfortunate Bocchoris against Menes, for having introduced luxurious habits into Egypt, the inconveniences of which he had felt severely in his Arabian campaign.[16] In mentioning this story, Diodorus adds, that Menes was regarded as the author of their prosperity and comfort. This may perhaps be intended to mark the contrast between the simple and parsimonious mode of life of the earlier Princes of his house and the courtly splendour introduced by Menes. Like all founders of empires, he was a warrior and conqueror. In Eusebius' extracts from Manetho, we read, "Menes made a campaign into a foreign country." In the succeeding Dynasty we hear of the revolt of the Libyans, which implies their previous subjugation; and thus the two notices satisfactorily complete and explain each other.

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[16] Diodor. i. 45. Conf. Plut. de Is. et Os. c. 8., and Athenaeus, x. 4. In the passage cited, Diodorus makes the accusative Μηνᾶν instead of Μῆνα from Μήνης, Μήνεος, Μῆνι.

The name of Menes has not yet been found on a contemporary monument. In the Ramesseum, however, the royal palace at Thebes, built by Ramesses-Sesostris, his scutcheon is the first of a royal series. There, as well as in the Turin Papyrus, he is called MeNA. There can be no doubt as to the root *men*, to establish, to found; and the interpretation, "the eternal," given by Eratosthenes, is probably very correct.[17] He, as well as Manetho, calls him "the Thinite," signifying that his family came from *This*—that he was a Thinite Prince. This is the name of a city near Abydos, from which the Nome takes its title. The 1st Dynasty was therefore called that of the Thinites[18], because Menes belonged to a Thinite family.

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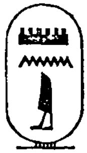

Men-a.

II. Second and Third Reigns: the Two ATHOTIS.

Manetho states that the second King, Athotis, the son of Menes[19], erected the royal palace at Memphis, where, according to the Greek historians, his father had already built a shrine. Memphis therefore became the royal capital of the United Empire of Upper and Lower Egypt; for this is the only mode in which the Empire of Egypt is expressed on either the earliest or latest monuments of the Old, Middle, or New Empires. The union was effected in this way. After the separate Nomes of the Upper as well as Lower Country had gradually drawn into closer connexion, the great Prince of This in the Thebaid made the world-renowned Memphis—already panting for historical importance, and fixing her eager gaze on the busy Mediterranean and advancing Asia—the capital of the Empire in Lower Egypt. Memphis thus became, and, as far as we know, continued to be the ordinary residence of the Kings of the Old Empire. It does not, however, follow therefore that the tradition of all Greek annalists is false, according to which Thebes was the elder sacred city. At all events, the race of earlier Kings sprung from the Thebaid; and the last two Dynasties of the Old Empire (the 11th and 12th) are called Diospolitan, i.e. Theban royal families. This alone would suffice to justify the conclusion that Thebes was the metropolis of the Thebaid, in the Old Empire. The fact, therefore, of no mention being made, either under the 1st Dynasty or subsequently, of the foundation of Thebes, simply implies that it was an event which took place in an age prior to Menes, when Upper and Lower Egypt were separate provinces, and by whom they were united. Nor is it a necessary conclusion that This or Abydos—the former the original residence of Menes, the latter the capital of the Thinite province, and, according to Strabo, once the second city in Egypt, as Thebes was the first—were royal residences before the building of the latter. The primeval period of Thebes is the ante-historical age of Egypt; and its situation characterised it as the royal city of the Thebaid.

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[17] ΑΙΩΝΙΟC instead of ΔΙΩΝΙΟC, according to the happy emendation of Jablonski.

[18] The version Θεινίτης, is a mere barbarism of the copyists, and a still greater of the editors.

[19] Ælian's statement (H. A. xi. 40.) about a son of Menes, Οἶνις, according to Apion, may therefore be thus corrected:—'Απίων, εἰ μὴ τερατεύεται. . . καὶ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΝΙΔΑ τὸν Μήνιδος βασιλεύοντα. Read—

ΚΑΤ ΑΤΩΘΙΔΑ.

The above-mentioned Papyrus, of the 15th century B.C., also contains the name of the second King. In the fragment referred to follows ATeT: a later form of which was the letter A with the Ibis, the sign of Thot. Upon

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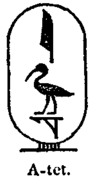

A-tet.

the principle adopted by Lepsius in transcribing the hieroglyphics—that of inserting an *e* like the Hebrew sheva wherever no vowel is expressed — this sign must be pronounced TeT. The second King, according to Manetho's tradition, was skilled in medicine, and wrote upon anatomy. This simply means that the art of healing, indigenous in Egypt, was supposed by some to have originated with him. A later King of the New Empire was cited by Celsus as a writer of eminence on medical topics. The characters used by chemists for drachms and grains are Egyptian ciphers, as well as the so-called Arabic numerals up to 4 at least. The Indian element appears to be the 0 (zero). From both of these elements also we can explain the circumstance of Niebuhr having found, to his astonishment, our numerals employed in the Palimpsest of the Vatican, containing the fragments of Cicero and Livy, which is a rescript of the 5th or 6th century.[20]

So far, therefore, we possess historical names, and, both internally and externally, a well-connected chain of historical tradition. Menes, descended from a family belonging to Upper Egypt, becomes King of all Egypt, having previously been an indigenous, or at least reigning Prince of This. It is clear, however, that the number of years he reigned in the latter city are added on to his subsequent reign, when, owing to his superior talents and great exploits, he had become King of the two Egypts, and Patriarch of the Pharaohs of the Old Empire. There is no record of these exploits, beyond the dry statement that he made a campaign beyond the Egyptian frontier. But the monuments of his greatness are the works he left behind him. He selected the site for the future northern metropolis, the world-renowned Memphis, which he built and fortified, and founded the shrine of Ptah, King (*Suten*) of Egypt. His son and successor made it the royal residence. Menes, therefore, inhabited both This and Thebes. We find the two names in the earliest Egyptian records. Traces still remain of Menes' greatest work, without which Memphis could not have been built, nor Upper and Lower Egypt united. All the notices represent him as the founder of the Egyptian Empire — the author of Egyptian grandeur and Egyptian civilisation.

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[20] Niebuhr, Fragmentum Livianum, &c. Introduction and Plate.

The successor, the third King, was Athōthis-Kenkenēs, Athōthis II. It is not probable that the name of this Athōthis[21] is extant on any monument.

III. Fourth Reign, and the Pyramids of Kōkōmē.

We have placed the 19 years of Miabies-Miebaes, in juxtaposition with the name of the sixth King in Manetho (26 years), and with his fourth King Uenephes (23 or 42 years), to whom the building of the Pyramids of Kōkōmē is ascribed. Of this fourth King we find two names. One reads Miebaes-Miebies, evidently a title, the first part of which must have signified "to love;" with which also the first part of Eratosthenes' translation, unintelligible as the whole word is in its present shape, corresponds. He renders the root (*ma*, *mi*, to love), sometimes by *mae* sometimes by *mi* (Mi-iri,

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[21] A fragment of the Papyrus, it is true, contains TETI, written phonetically. A Sarcophagus in the Berlin Museum, ornamented in the old style, contains the same name, with the Ibis sign, written consequently like Athothis. But the point is very uncertain. (See Lepsius' Introd. to Book of the Dead.) On the same fragment, moreover, there is the beginning of the name of Teti's successor, mer, that same root "to love," which in the name of Ramesses is pronounced *mi* (Mi-amun). This would accord well with the following King. We subjoin the names from Lepsius' collection.

Teti seems to mean the second Thot or the two Thots: and thus the other scutcheon may be Neu-Neu, "the two orders" (of Gods): or Ga-ga, "the two chief (or principal) orders." This scutcheon replaces in some rituals the name of Menkeres. See Lepsius, l. c. p. 11.

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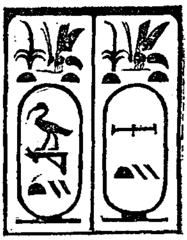

Teti. Neu.

Tomaëphtha). The question is, then, whether we have any hope of being able to decipher the second part of the translation. φιλέτερος, "he who loves the other," is evidently nonsense. For Scaliger's emendation, φιλέταιρος, "he who loves the friend," there is no authority in Egyptian. Miebies Miebaes can never have had any such signification. In support of my proposed restoration, φιλόταυρος, the Ox-loving, many arguments might be adduced. *Mas* occurs in the Coptic version of the Bible for Calf and Ox, and in Greek may have been pronounced *bas*. The Ox itself, again, might be *Mnevis*, the Ox of the Sun of Heliopolis.[22] The Egyptians wrote the name *Mna*, just like that of Menes.[23] Mnevis is, in fact, the oldest, or one of the oldest Egyptian Kings. The first of the remarkable series of Egyptian legislators transmitted by Diodorus (i. 94.), independent of his pragmatical account of the Egyptian monarchs, begins with MNEYHC, the only possible Latin transcript of which is Mnevis.* The authorities he used thus described him:— After the Gods and Heroes ruled in Egypt, Mneves was the first who persuaded men to live according to written laws; he was a high-minded man, and the most affable Prince on record. He received his laws from Hermes. A primeval King, Mnevis, builder of the Royal citadel, is also connected with Heliopolis by Pliny's authorities, and indeed, probably, twice. Pliny, in the passage upon Egypt (35. 65.), mentions the royal citadel of Mnevis, in Heliopolis, where he must allude to a King, and not to the Sacred Bull, which, as well as Apis, was kept in the shrine of the Temple. In another passage of the same book, where the builders of the Labyrinth are mentioned, he remarks that some writers call it the royal citadel of Moteris, which may be the royal citadel of Menevis, unless it be meant for Ma-tu-ra, the builder of the Labyrinth (12th Dynasty). Strabo (xvii. 1.), indeed, mentions a royal citadel at Abydos, the Thinite metropolis, built of vast blocks, evidently belonging to the Old Empire, and compares its architecture and splendour with the Labyrinth. He calls it Memnonian, like the one in Thebes, i. e. Monuments of the Dead, mistaking it for an Egyptian word "*menmen*," as is now universally admitted.

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[22] Φιλόταυρος might also, as Mr. Birch thinks, have the sense of heifer "loving the bull." Dr. Hincks also reads the name of a King of the 6th Dynasty *Ab*, the "calf." (See Ideographic 235.; and our Vocabulary, p. 454.) Mr. Birch is now inclined to think that *Ab* is a "kid" or "lamb."

[23] See Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, v. 195—199. He writes the hieroglyphic name *Mne*. See Lepsius' Introduction.

We seem, then, to have established the point that the hieroglyphic name MNA is sometimes rendered *Menes*, sometimes *Mnevis*, and that Mnevis occurs as the name of one of the oldest Kings. We might even be tempted to hazard the conjecture that UENEPHIS is another form of it, arising out of the resolution of *men* into *uen* already mentioned (like Sebennytus, from Semnut). But there is no authority for writing *ph* instead of *u* or *v*. We cannot, therefore, trace the root any further, but adopt the suggestion of Lepsius, as being the most probable, that Mnevis the King is equivalent to Menes. As regards Manetho, we find the name of the fourth King of Eratosthenes, Miabies, in his sixth reign; and the date of Eratosthenes, 19 years, in his fifth reign. No name or date in Eratosthenes corresponds with Manetho's fourth reign, Uenephes, with 23 (13) years. But there is an important historical notice annexed to it, which at all events belongs to this period, the second half of the 1st Dynasty, or, more properly speaking, to the last reign but one of Eratosthenes, between the younger Athothis and the last sovereign of that family. The notice alluded to, extracted from Manetho's Annals, runs thus:

> "In his reign a sore famine afflicted Egypt:
> HE BUILT THE PYRAMIDS AT KŌKŌMĒ."

The famine was probably the consequence of a deficient inundation, followed, as we shall see, in the succeeding reign, by a pestilence which carried off a great number of persons. It would be most satisfactory to be able to determine the burial-place of this King and his kinsmen. Manetho was acquainted with it. He mentions the pyramids built by him as being still in existence. Perring was the first who thought of taking advantage of this remark to identify the remaining pyramids. He supposes the site mentioned by Manetho to be the ruins near Abu-Roash, opposite Heliopolis, not far from a very dilapidated pyramid, the most northern now in existence. There is, however, no solid argument in favour of this conjecture, but many against it. The pyramid is formed of well-hewn blocks of limestone and granite indeed, a style of architecture stated in the same Annals not to have been in vogue till the 1st Memphite or 3rd Dynasty. Manetho, again, mentions *several* pyramids; and here there is only *one* distinguishable. Perring, at least, does not consider the remains of buildings still visible in that vicinity to have been pyramids. If, therefore, this was the site of those mentioned by Manetho as erected by the Thinite King, two or more of them must have been destroyed; and it is just as easy for three or four to have been destroyed as two or three. If Perring be correct, indeed, we must admit a destruction of pyramids to have taken place. The site of those in this part of Egypt which face to the southward, would be indicated either by their relation to Memphis or the Tomb of Mœris. It is difficult among these, indeed, to find one the style of which corresponds with that of this Dynasty. Lastly, we may possibly be able to explain the name of Kôkômê. Kô, without any addition, was, according to Ptolemy, a city in the Cynopolitan Nome, consequently to the southward of the Fayoum and the Nome of Heracleotis. *Kôs* (burial) is the name of two ancient cities. *Kôs-verver* (the glowing) is the Egyptian name of Apollinopolis Parva, on the right bank. All this is unsuitable. *Kôs-kam*, on the other hand, is the Egyptian name of the place marked in the Itinerary of Antoninus as "Apollinis," opposite to Antæopolis [24], consequently on the western side, that of the Tombs. There is too great a similarity in these names not to attract attention in any future examinations.[25]

It were also not unreasonable to suppose it to be the Theban Pyramid to the south of Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna), the so-called Pyramid El Kufāh. We must certainly consider one so ancient and weather-beaten to have formed part of the group of pyramids here mentioned, if we do not identify it as the remains of the burial-place of the contemporary Thinite Dynasty (the 2nd of Manetho).

The important point for history is this: The tradition which Manetho followed mentioned the burying-places of the fourth King and his family; and these tombs were pyramids still existing in his time. We shall show in the sequel that this was not an isolated tradition.

IV. FIFTH REIGN: SEMPSES, SEMEMPSES, COMPARED WITH SMENTETI OF THE TABLET OF KARNAK.

KING Sempsōs, Semempsēs, is probably the first King in the series of Karnak—(Ra-hem) SMeN-TeTi. The name must belong to the 1st Dynasty; for the fourth scutcheon of the series (the second and third are destroyed) belongs to the succeeding one, the 3rd, which has no royal name bearing the slightest resemblance to Smenteti, any more than has the 2nd, the contemporary Thinite Dynasty.

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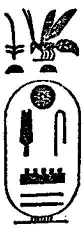

(Ra-hem) S.men-teti.

On the other hand, it is easy to conceive that Semenses, and then Semempses, Sempses, Sempsos, may have grown out of Sementhes. The name on the Tablet of Karnak bears an undoubted resemblance to Osymandyas, or might be identified with the Ismandes (Imandes) of Strabo. But we know nothing of the former to justify us in placing him among the historical Kings of the Old Empire, as we have shown in our remarks upon Diodorus; and Ismandes or Imandes is inseparable from this Labyrinth and its pyramid, and belongs, therefore, to the 12th Dynasty and the end of the Old Empire. It is, at all events, to be remarked, that this King has the title of *kherp* (read by Lepsius *hem*), which Birch has discovered to mean the first (of his name).

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[24] Peyron's Dictionary, and his authorities there quoted.

[25] The Armenian version, Κῶ κώμη, "κὸ, a village," is perhaps merely a conjecture, and not a very happy one.

C.

SURVEY OF THE PERIOD OF 190 YEARS — THE PERIOD IN WHICH EGYPT WAS FORMED INTO ONE EMPIRE.

Down to Semempses we have uninterrupted records of the direct descent. Manetho gives that of the younger Athothis, which is wanting in Eratosthenes. The Dynastic connexion of the four rulers is therefore expressly authenticated by them all. The next King in Eratosthenes is called a Memphite Prince. Here then, the 1st Dynasty must close, if our adjustment be correct. Before adducing complete proof that such was really the case, we will take a brief survey of the historical results of the previous inquiry.

It embraces a period of almost two centuries — 190 years. This period is obviously the commencement of the United Empire, but not of the history of the States by the union of which that Empire was formed. Menes, with whom the series of the five rulers of the 1st Dynasty commences, was clearly the Lord "of the Two

Countries," Upper and Lower Egypt. Himself of a Theban race, he founded Memphis. The Princes of This and Memphis shared his inheritance; that is to say, at the end of five reigns the Empire was divided into a government of Upper and Lower Egypt. Whether the former were subordinate to the latter, or associated with it on terms of equality, or wholly separated, we know not. With Menes an Egyptian feeling of nationality was awakened in the people; but it rested on the grounds of old reminiscences of the time when the provinces were distinct. The origin of Thebes belongs to the primeval ages; it was the primeval, sacred city of Ammon. Next to it came Abydos and This, the family residence of the House of Menes. Religion and language, mythology and writing, appear in the Dynasty of Menes, its names and monuments, as the native element, the indigenous groundwork of the development of the Empire. The city of Ammon implies the worship of Ammon; Abydos (the city of Osiris), that of Osiris; the name of Athothis, the worship of Thot. There is a scutcheon, containing the name of Menes, in the Royal Palace of the great Ramesses, on which the well-known hieroglyphics are engraved throughout. This establishes the union of the phonetic and symbolic systems, which marks the position of Egypt in the development of writing.

The notices as to the state of architecture and hieroglyphics are characteristic of a historic period. The works of that primitive race in Memphis and on the Nile were the wonder of after ages, as much on account of their splendour as of their vast extent and importance.

The historical age of Egypt, then, which begins with Menes, undoubtedly rests, like that of every other nation, on an earlier, ante-historical, aboriginal history, the commencement of which again is lost in the mythic period. This ante-historical epoch of the Egyptian Empire is the primeval history of the separate provinces of the valley of the Nile, especially of the Thebaid. The general character of the oldest national histories, and some vestiges, already alluded to in this inquiry, of what must henceforth be called the primeval time of history and the mythic olden time of Egypt, lead to this assumption. From the tenacity with which the Egyptians adhered to old manners and customs, and the provincial varieties in the constituent elements out of which the historic life of the Egyptian nation sprung, the two periods prior to Menes cannot have been of very brief duration. When, therefore, we enter upon the Menes-era, we obviously leave two epochs behind us; and it is of decided importance for understanding the period of which we are treating, to keep this steadily in view. In spite of all the scholarship that has been expended upon Menes = Menu = Minos = Minyas = Mannus = Mens = Man, i. e. the first man, there is nothing mythic about him; but this comparison of names, somewhat hastily adopted in the early stages of critical inquiry, has been mythicised throughout. Our information as to his personal life is more meagre than about Hermann and Marbod, but it is equally historical. There is no monument extant of these ancestors of the German nation, whereas the works of Menes had endured prior to Hermann for a longer period than the one which intervenes between Hermann and our own day. At this epoch of the world and of Egypt, personal biography was neglected; but historical personality, unless we are wholly in error, is the vehicle through which all our knowledge of it has been conveyed. No wonder, indeed; for although it is the commencement of the Egyptian Empire, the times of the Egyptian Charlemagne, it is long subsequent to the dawn of civilisation in the Egyptian provinces.

When we reach the close of our labours, we hope to corroborate this proposition, which is here only enunciated, by far more satisfactory evidence. We can, however, draw no other conclusions, even from our inquiry at its present stage, but that this period, of which we have historical tradition, is a historical one — with however little favour, from very different causes, such an opinion may be received among the predominant parties at the present moment. The statement in Manetho's Lists, that Menes was torn to pieces by a hippopotamus, is probably an exaggeration of an early legend that he was carried away by a hippopotamus, one of the symbols of the God of the Lower World.[26] The great ruler was snatched away from the earth, to distinguish him from other mortals, just as Romulus was. There were, doubtless, popular legends about him at a very early period. The *Maneros* song, however — a lament for the early death of the only son of the first King, in which likewise the inventor of agriculture and astronomy, the pupil of the Muses, was celebrated — does not belong to it.[27] For the first King is no less a personage than Osiris, and the object of the monody and the encomium is Harpocrates, i. e. Horus, the Child; and even the illustration given by Herodotus meant to convey that it referred to the great mystery of the religion of the Egyptians, and not to a fact in the Imperial history.[28] Neither, probably, has the anecdote about the building of Crocodilopolis any reference to Menes. The story current was, that a certain King, pursued by his hounds, threw himself into the Lake of Mœris, in which his horse was drowned, but was himself conveyed safe and sound to the opposite shore by a crocodile, and that out of gratitude he built the city. In this same account the King is said to be the builder of the Labyrinth and the pyramid by its side, and was consequently a King of the 12th Dynasty. When treating of this Dynasty we shall see that the name of the King in Stephanus of Byzantium also leads to the same conclusion.[29]

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[26] Wilk. Man. and Cust. v. 178.

[27] Herod. ii. 79. Conf. Plut. de Isid. et Os. § 18. p. 357. Pollux, iv. 7. § 82. Conf. Creuzer, Mythologie, ii. 246.

[28] Maneros cannot signify, in Egyptian, as Jablonski had conjectured, Son of Menes, from the very position of the words. According to Plutarch it was used in the sense of "Good luck to you!" "Welcome!" Schwenck's explanation, Manari, as "truth of watching," or "of the watchman," is as absurd as the rest of his Coptic lucubrations which show a complete ignorance of Egyptian. Brugsch (in his Adonis-klage, 1852) has happily explained it as Mâã-n-hra, "Come home," "Return." He applies the name simply to Osiris; but the King's son must be accounted for. In the text by which he illustrates this interpretation, "The Lamentations of Isis and of Nephthys," translated by him from a papyrus, Osiris is identified with Harpocrates; Isis calls herself Sister *and Mother*.

We meet with but slight allusions to the warlike expeditions and conquests of the founder of the Egyptian Empire. Prosperous and powerful, however, as Egypt

THE FIRST DYNASTY:

5 Kings—

A. ERATOSTHENES		and
ERATOSTHENES. I.—V.	MANETHO'S First Dynasty, according to Africanus and Eusebius.	MANETHO'S List, Chronologically restored.
I. Menês - - 62	1. Mênês - - 62	1. Menes - - 62
II. Athôthês, Son - 59	2. Athôthis - - 57	2. Athothis - - 57
III. Athôthês II. - 32	3. Kenkênes - - 51 (Eus. 42, $\overline{\Delta\text{B}}$)	3. (Athothis) Kenkenes - - 31
	4. Uenephes - - 23	4. Uenephes($\overline{\text{AB}}$)13
IV. Miabies (Miebaes), Son - 19	5. Usaphaes - - 20	5. Usaphaes 20
	6. Miebaês - - 26	6. Miebâes 26
		8. Bienechês 26
V. Pemphôs (read Sempsôs), Son - 18	7. Semempsês - 18	7. Semempses - 18
	8. Bieneches - 26 Eus. Bienthes. Arm. Vibesthes.	
Chronology - - 190	- - - - - 263	- - (253) 188

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[29] Steph. Byz. *Κροκοδείλων πόλις*. The name begins ὁ Μαν . . .; then comes a hiatus. Diodorus certainly has Μηνᾶν, which is

was under him, its dominion must have been very extensive. The old Annals record a famine and pestilence in the last two reigns; and they probably contained many other notices more important than those which have been preserved by the epitomists of the historian, himself very concise, inasmuch as he wrote at a late period, and for supercilious Greeks and Grecian rulers. The historical authenticity of this epoch, therefore, rests principally upon the monuments, and especially the gigantic works of Menes, which have left the stamp of grandeur on the Egyptian Empire. We shall conclude with a synopsis of the results of the previous investigation.

THINITES (THE RACE OF MENES).

190 YEARS.

MANETHO.	B.
Notices in the Annals, according to MANETHO.	MONUMENTS and TRADITIONS.
"Died from being torn to pieces by a hippopotamus."	MeNa (Turin Papyrus; scutcheon in the Rameseum, I. I. a.). Damming off of the Nile above Memphis. ? Construction of Joseph Canal, Menei Canal. Foundation of Memphis (*Menf*); Temple of Ptah.
"Son. Built the royal citadel in Memphis; skilled in medicine; wrote works on anatomy."	A-TeT (Turin Papyrus, I. I. 6.). Built Royal palace in Memphis. Commencement of medical science.
"Son."	TeTI (Turin Papyrus, and sarcophagus at Berlin).
"Son. Famine in Egypt; erected the Pyramids of Kōkōmē (KO)."	
"Son."	Pyramids at Kōskam in the Heptanomis, which have disappeared.
"Son."	
"Son."	
"Son. Very grievous pestilence in Egypt."	? [Ra]SMeNTeTI (I. I. c.). I. Scutcheon at the beginning of the Royal series of Karnak.

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probably very corrupt. He may have written such nonsense, forgetting what he had just stated about the building of the Labyrinth.

SECTION II.

SECOND AND THIRD DYNASTIES. — DIVIDED EMPIRE, 224 YEARS.

A.

THE LISTS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD DYNASTIES.

Manetho's 2nd Dynasty is called Thinite. The succeeding King in Eratosthenes, on the contrary, is called Memphite; and Manetho's 3rd Dynasty consists of Memphite Kings. If, then, our hypothesis be correct, this must be established here by two circumstances. The 2nd Dynasty ought not to contain any succeeding names of Eratosthenes; whereas, on the other hand, the latter ought to be identifiable with the royal names and dates of reign in Manetho's 3rd Dynasty. A simple collation of the two Lists furnishes the first negative and preliminary proof. It would be strange indeed if this should be an accidental circumstance.

Manetho: Second Dynasty.						Eratosthenes. VI.—XIV.	
Africanus. 9 Kings.		*Eusebius.* 9 Kings.—*Sync.*		*Eusebius.* 9 Kings.—*Arm. Version.*			
1. Boêthos	38	1. Bôchos		1. Bochus		Momcheiri	79
2. Kaiechôs	39	2. Chôos		2. Chechous		Stoichus	6
3. Binôthris	47	3. Biophis		3. Biophis		Gosormiês	30
4. Tlas	17	4.–7. No names.		4.–7. No names.		Marês	26
5. Sethenês	41					Anôyphis	20
6. Chairês	17					Sirius	18
7. Nephercherês	25					Chnubus Gneurus	22
8. Sesôchris	48	8. Sesôchris	48	8. Sesôchris	48		
9. Chencrês	30	9. No name.		9. No name.		Rayôsis	13
						Biyrês	10
"Reigned 302 years."	302	"Reigned 297 yrs."		"Reigned 297 yrs."			224

Assuming the orthography of the royal names to be as faulty as we may, a single glance at the dates of their reigns will satisfy us of the futility of any attempt to make them harmonise. But, in conformity with our hypothesis, the word "Memphite" being annexed to the sixth King in Eratosthenes directly confirms this view. We must look therefore for the continuation of the series of Eratosthenes, i. e. of the strictly chronological Kings, in Manetho's 3rd Dynasty, for it is called Memphite. Here, therefore, commences the positive proof. The succeeding Kings in Eratosthenes are called Memphite, and the 3rd Dynasty of Manetho is called Memphite. It may seem strange that in Manetho a lower date should be assigned as the sum total of the Dynasty, than the sum of the reigns of the next succeeding nine Kings of Eratosthenes' List (VI. — XIV., 224 years), namely, in Africanus, according to the heading and individual dates, 214 years; in Eusebius, 198. But we shall soon see that the original date in Manetho of the reigns of this Dynasty was here again higher than the consecutive chronological sum in Eratosthenes.

ERATOSTHENES. VI.—XIV.		MANETHO : Third Dynasty—Memphites.			
		Africanus. 9 Kings.		*Eusebius.* *Sync.*—8 Kings.	*Eusebius.* *Arm. Vers.*—8 Kings.
VI. (1.) Momcheiri, Memphite - -	79	1. Necherôphês	28	1. Necherôchis.	1. Necherôchis.
VII. (2.) Stoichos Arês (Toigar?) Son - -	6	2. Tosorthos -	29	2. Sesorthos.	2. Sesorthos.
VIII. (3.) Gosormiês - -	30	3. Tyreis (Tyris) - -	7	3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. Of the other six there is nothing to record.	3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. The other six did nothing worthy of record.
IX. (4.) Marês, S.	26	4. Mesôchris -	17		
X. (5.) Anôyphis -	20	5. Sôyphis -	16		
XI. (6.) Sirios -	18	6. Tosertasis -	19		
XII. (7.) Chnubos Gneuros -	22	7. Achês - -	42		
XIII. (8.) Rayôsis	13	8. Sêphuris -	30		
XIV. (9.) Biyerês	10	9. Kerpherês -	26		
(Altogether 224 years.)		"Altogether 214 years."	214	"They reigned 198 years."	"Reigned 197 years."

The beginning and end of the series of Eratosthenes are clearly defined. The first of the nine Kings which correspond in his List to Manetho's 3rd Dynasty was clearly the chief of the Dynasty, from his being called Memphite. His immediate successor is also expressly termed "his son," just as the fourth is entered as the son of the third; and, lastly, the seventh again as the son of the sixth. The ninth, however, is immediately succeeded by the well-known names of the builders of the Great Pyramids, who form Manetho's 4th Dynasty. In so far, then, as our hypothesis may be considered proved by the harmony between the other Dynasties, we might simply require that the nine Kings intervening between the 1st and 4th Dynasties should correspond with the nine Kings of the 3rd Dynasty; and the rather, because the sum total of the reigns in the two Lists tallies satisfactorily. The inquiry would necessarily have terminated here, had not the Egyptian monuments and registers challenged us to continue it. For the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh scutcheons on the Tablet of Tuthmosis contain names which cannot belong to any other place but this: ASES, AN, SAḤŪRA, SNEFRU; and all these names are now found on very early, and indeed, Memphite monuments. The discoveries of the English and French, but especially the systematic excavations made by the Prussian expedition, have brought to light other primeval monuments, which

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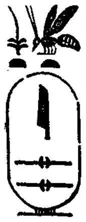

Ases.

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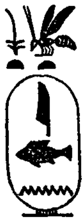

An.

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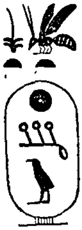

Sahu-ra.

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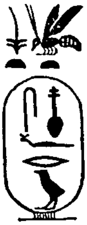

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belong neither to the 5th nor the 4th Dynasty. Lastly, the Turin Papyrus also contains names of Kings which sound in part like those of the Lists, in part like those of the monuments. Patient and sound research alone can here be crowned with success. Certainly, however, the first comparison of the two Lists in detail does not authorise us in forming any very brilliant expectations. True it is that, in regard to dates, the second and third reigns in Eratosthenes clearly coincide with the same reigns in Manetho, but in reverse order (6+30 and 29+7). The length of the sixth reign is likewise the same in the two Lists (18 and 19). The names, however, do not seem to agree at all, and the List of Eratosthenes is more corrupt and confused, than elsewhere, in the case of the first two Kings.

For these reasons the restoration of the 3rd Dynasty is the most difficult part of the whole inquiry, and here, therefore, we must entreat the more especial patience of our readers and brother critics. We entertain, nevertheless, a confident belief, that even at this point we have materials enough to prepare the way to a complete restoration of the chronology, and to furnish striking confirmation of the truth of our general results.

B.

RESTORATION OF THE SERIES OF KINGS OF THE THIRD DYNASTY.

I. THE FIRST REIGN. — DISLOCATION OF THE NAMES IN MANETHO'S LISTS, AND GENERAL RESULT OF THE RESTORATION.

THE two reigns with which Manetho's Lists of the 2nd Dynasty in their present form conclude, correspond in a striking manner with that of the *first* King of Eratosthenes, with 79 years:

Sesôchris - - -	48 years	78 years.
Cheneres - - -	30 „	

They both evidently belong to this period, as will appear from the following circumstance. In Syncellus, the 2nd Dynasty of Africanus terminates with the seventh King — and these two are not mentioned by name as the eighth and ninth, till after Eusebius' List of the first two Dynasties had been introduced. Now, even supposing this to be accidental also, it cannot well be fortuitous that the sum total of THE FIRST SEVEN REIGNS IN MANETHO'S 2ND DYNASTY (224) IS PRECISELY THE SAME AS THAT OF THE NINE KINGS IN ERATOSTHENES. In carrying out our hypothesis, we should have been obliged to assume that these Kings correspond and are contemporaneous with the 3rd Dynasty; for the two series have a common starting point and conclusion — namely, the extinction of the race of This in the male line, and the accession of the Chief of the 4th Dynasty. The necessary consequence would be, that we must assume the 2nd to have been a Dynasty which reigned in Upper Egypt; and that it was contemporaneous, during its whole period, with the 3rd — the true Imperial Dynasty — and that they had a common starting and ending point. It is on this account exclusively, that we have transferred to the beginning of the 3rd the two reigns which now stand in the Lists at the end of the 2nd Dynasty, because the sum total of their reigns corresponds exactly with the length of the first reign in Eratosthenes, and one of the names in Manetho obviously belongs to the predominant family names of the third royal race. Now, quite independently of this assumption, it appears *that the remaining reigns of the 2nd Dynasty make up* 224 *years — the precise number required.* We think this, therefore, direct proof of the correctness of our hypothesis, that Eratosthenes and Manetho have transmitted in the main the same tradition, but upon a different system. This is all that we require for purposes of chronology.

But in the first part of the name of Sesôchris, the Manethonian King thus transferred, the word *Sesor*, *Seser*, a prevailing element in the names of the Kings of the 12th Dynasty, is clearly found. Of it is composed the first part of the celebrated name of the Sesortasen (Sesortôsis), in that Dynasty the Greek version of which was Sesôstris. Seser, Sesor, is the reading of the Jackal-sceptre, proposed by Lepsius after comparing the Manethonian names of that Dynasty with the monuments; which reading Barucchi has likewise accepted, and De Rougè first pointed out in the sense of *Lord*, *power*, *strength.*[30] Champollion read it *Oser* or *User*, out of which the earlier students of Egyptology made Osertasen. The name of Sesortasen, then, is obvious in the second and sixth Kings of Manetho's Lists of the 3rd Dynasty:

2. *Afric.* Tosorthes: *Euseb.* Sesorthos.
6. „ Tosertasis: „ wanting.

In these texts there is clearly the name Sesertesen, which, as we shall shortly see, the Greeks always rendered by Sesortôsis, or Sesortasis. Now, as in every succeeding Dynasty certain names are always found predominating, it is difficult not to recognise in this

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[30] This ingenious critic has shown most conclusively (Revue Archéologique, 1847, iv. 478. seq.), that it is only by adopting this meaning, that all the passages in the monumental inscriptions, where the Jackal-sceptre occurs, can be explained; and, that Hermapion has translated it in the well-known title of the Pharaohs by δεσπότης χρόνων. The determination of the Coptic root ϪⲞⲈⲒⲤ and the Memphitic ϬⲤ is also quite correct. But it does not appear to me either proved or admissible, that the word in Egyptian was pronounced *tsesur*, or even *ghesur*. For the value and origin of the djandja and tsima, we refer the reader to what has been said on the Coptic alphabet (Vol. I. p. 271.).

Sesôchris the name Sesorcheris, Sesorcheres, i.e. Seser-ke-re. Nor is there any other name which can be intended by *Momcheiri*, an evident misspelling, the first King of Eratosthenes who belongs to this period. We shall see hereafter that the monuments, at this early stage, contain names compounded with *Seser*. We will, however, adduce at once a striking fact, to which De Rougè called our attention, that the name of an old King Seser-ke-ra, Sesorcheres, the reading of which we proposed on the ground of that resemblance, is really found, with the customary parade of Old Egyptian magnificence at that period, enclosed in the royal scutcheon of the first of the Ptolemies—Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. But, lastly, by this means the hitherto unintelligible translation of the name in Eratosthenes can easily be amended and explained, as signifying guide, leader (Ἡγήσανδρος[31]), a free interpretation taken from the sceptre. Here Eratosthenes evidently attempted, as in other cases, an approximate rendering of the Egyptian by some known Greek name, just as he did that of Athothis by Hermogenes.

Necheropis (Necherôchis), the first King in Manetho, may, perhaps, be merely a misspelling of Nepherôphis (Nefru hept); but, at all events, there is some independent ground on which it is proposed. The date of the reign (28) does not agree. Here again, therefore, we have doubtless a co-regent or contemporaneous sovereign — the former more probably, because he might be introduced into the List of Kings of the Dynasty, although his regnal years do not form part of the sum of the chronology of the reigns.

II. The Second, Third, and Fourth Reigns.

The names and rendering of the *second* of the Kings of Eratosthenes, belonging to this period, are corrupt, and appear at first sight unintelligible. But the years of reign (6) clearly correspond with those of the third reign in Manetho (7).

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[31] ΗΓΗCΑΝΔΡΟC, instead of ΓΗCΑΝΔΡΟC, which has no meaning. The preceding word ends with the η sound (ἑρμηνεύεται).

Eratosthenes calls him Stoichos, or rather Stoichos Ares; Manetho, Tyreis or Tyris. Now, we find that the primeval King of the field of the Pyramids of Gizeh, TET-KE-RA (Pl. I. 2. a. b.), in a tomb at Sakkára, has by his side a scutcheon with the well-known sign of the family name (Sun and Goose) over it, consequently the name of the same King (ASSA). We are indebted for this discovery, which confirms our identification of the name with Tetkera, to Mr. Prisse, who published it in 1845. We have, therefore the King ṬeT-KAR-RA ASS (or even ASSA). By altering the unintelligible Ares, and the addition of Stoichos, in the list of Eratosthenes, we read ASSES-TOICHROS, "the established by Helios," agreeing with the name in Manetho, in the corresponding reign; namely, instead of Tyreis (Tyris), TYCHRES. ϹΤΟΙΧΟϹ *υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὅ ἐστιν* ΑΡΗϹ ΑΝΑΙϹΘΗΤΟϹ would, accordingly, be read thus:

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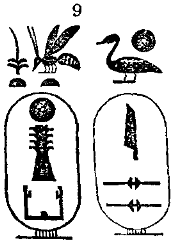

Tat-kara. Ases.

ΑϹϹΗϹ ΤΟΙΧΡΟϹ *υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὅ ἐστιν* ΗΛΙΟΘΕΤΟϹ.

It appears that Eratosthenes, in the case of his first King, who has a scutcheon with the Goose and Sun, and sometimes even over the name Tetkera, as shown in our plates, gave both names, and translated the second, as he probably did also in the case of ΑΝ ϹΩΤΦΙϹ, the tenth King. The real proof of the identity of Asses and Tetkera will be found below in the series of the scutcheons at Karnak.

As the second reign in Eratosthenes of 6 years corresponds with the third of Manetho of 7 years, so does the *third* of Eratosthenes with the second of Manetho, 30 years with 29. In Gosormiês we identify Tosorthos, Sesorthos=SESORTOSIS (SeSeRTeSeN).

The name of the *fourth* King in Eratosthenes, MARÊS (of which Heliodorus is evidently the translation[32]), seems to be a prænomen transformed into a title. In the same manner a subsequent Marês is represented. According to the precedent of Asses-Tetkera, we need not be surprised at meeting with a title taken from a throne-scutcheon, or considered as a throne-name. On the contrary, we should rather expect it, when the family name has been already given. That is precisely the case here. Manetho's Mesōchris is evidently the same Sesōchris again whom we identified as Sesorcheres. The number 17 has, perhaps, been 27, corresponding with the 26 years in Eratosthenes. The fourth King, therefore, we suppose to be

SESORCHERES II., surnamed MARÊS.

The latter, accordingly, is the elder Mares, or Mares-Sesor-cheres.

III. THE FIFTH AND SIXTH REIGNS.

THE name of the *fifth* King in Eratosthenes (Anôyphes, with 20 years) must have been pronounced like the Cheops (Khufu) of Herodotus, which Eratosthenes renders by Saôphis, for he translates them both by nearly the same word, and in precisely the same sense.[33] The fifth King in Manetho, however, is really called SÔYPHIS, and so, therefore, we must read the name in Eratosthenes. The difference in the dates of the reigns (20 and 16) probably originated with the authorities. The monumental name can be no other than KHU-FU. It occurs, perhaps, on a monument where the arm with the whip (read, according to Lepsius, in the hieroglyphics, *khu*) is annexed to the first sign (the sieve, for *kh*). But it may also be only a different mode of writing the name of that King of the 4th Dynasty. Here again, however, there is undoubtedly a double name in the List of Eratosthenes. It is possible that in the translation the two names were taken for one; but it certainly cannot be accidental that, upon analysing the name Sôyphis-Khufu, the well-known primeval King AN comes out, who in the Tablet of Karnak, follows immediately after Ases. The King AN, however, was found by Lepsius among the old monumental names on a tomb of the field of Pyramids of Gizeh. The change in the position of the fish, here placed at the top of the scutcheon, was merely calligraphic.

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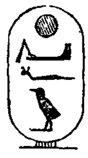
[32] Namely, from *ma*, to give, and *re*, the sun.

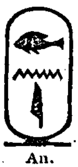
[33] He calls Saôphis *Κωμάστης*, Anôyphis *ἐπίκωμος*. ΑΝΩΥΦΙC is ΑΝCΟΥΦΙC or ΑΝ-CΩΥΦΙC.

10



Khu-fu.

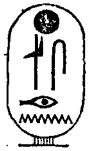
11



An.

The sitting figure, dedicated by the first Sesortesen of the 12th Dynasty to one of his ancestors, in my collection, calls the person represented on one side AN, that on the other, SESER-Ǹ-RA; which latter is the name of the second predecessor of the first Sesortesen of that Dynasty.[34]

12



Seser-ǹ-Ra

Until however, both names, AN and Sôyphis, are found side by side as belonging to the same King, it must remain an open question whether Eratosthenes did not here mention two Kings, who reigned jointly, as was ostensibly the case in the 12th Dynasty.

The name of the *sixth* King in Eratosthenes is certain from the self-evident translation: SIRIOS, the son of the pupil.[35] With this name, which occurs in that form, without any doubt, on authentic records, the sixth name in Manetho, Tosortasis, i. e. Sesortasis, corresponds; and the 18 years of the Sirios of Eratosthenes agree with the 19 of the Sesortasis of Manetho. This, then, would be Sesertesen II. But we have also really a corresponding name in the Tablet of Karnak, SAHŪ-RA, following directly after AN; which occurs repeatedly in the tombs of the field of Pyramids of Gizeh, as shown in the great work on the Monuments of the Prussian Expedition. Indeed we find his tomb in one of the earliest pyramids. No name in the Lists sounds like this Sahūra (which Lepsius and myself formerly read Amkhura) except Sirios. It is certainly very tempting, to identify him with SRI, i. e. Si-ri, as a King is called in a fragment of the Turin Papyrus, at the beginning of the 4th Dynasty, to whom 19 regnal years are assigned; but, as we shall see below, not one of the preceding names tallies. But if Sahūra is to be retained, it may be asked what becomes of Eratosthenes' explanation of Sirios as Se-iri, "son of the pupil," which seems so clear; and which is unquestionably formed from the modern Egyptian *Si*, son, and the old Egyptian *iri*, pupil?

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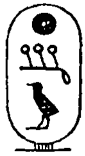
[34] A fac-simile and explanation of this remarkable little statue, the most ancient yet known, is given in the Monumenti dell' Instituto Archeologico, 1836.

[35] CIPIOC υἱὸς κόρης: conf. below Mie-ris, φίλος κόρης, namely, Si-iri, filius oculi (more correctly, iridis): or else, son of a girl or child, *iri.t* (*ar.t*), often used in this ambiguous sense in the texts.

13



Sahu-ra.

Upon closer examination, this difficulty vanishes. The Sah here represented in the monumental name is, as Birch was the first to point out, the same with which the Egyptians usually indicated each particular group of stars or constellation. Champollion[36] thinking it the sign for Orion consequently read it *Keskes*, the Coptic name of that star. But this idea is wholly without foundation. The sign occurs in the tomb of Ramses IV. (the third King of the 20th Dynasty), at Biban el Moluk, directly after that of the Star of Isis[37], which is admitted to be Sirius, in Egyptian *Sōthis*, i. e.

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[36] Grammaire, p. 95.

[37] Mon. de l'Egypte, pl. clxxvi.

the Star of Sut, Set.[38] A star and eight points (eight stars? eight smaller stars?) are annexed to it. That the Egyptians had in early times a conception of constellations is just as certain as that they knew nothing of the twelve signs of the zodiac. Whatever connexion there may be then between Sothis and Sah, so much at least seems clear, that Eratosthenes supposed that Sah represented the group, the brightest star of which is the Dog-star, and that he translated it Seirios. Why should he not have taken this opportunity of remarking that the name itself was not a Greek one, but was perhaps derived from *si-iri*, which originally signified in Egyptian "son of the pupil," and afterwards, likewise, "one free, or freeing, from the charm of the evil eye?" Such an interpretation would exactly suit the God *Set*, the "Powerful," "Forcible," the God symbolised by the Ass[39], after whom the star of Sothis must have been named. According to some, *Set* was the Sun (a Phallic God), and called by the Greeks *Seirios*. It may also be that the explanation of Eratosthenes is due to Coptic erudition, misapplied to an old name. The Dog-star is called in Coptic (*Sū* (*n*) *hōr*) the Star of the Dog (translation of the Greek 'Αστροκύων); consequently, dropping the connecting preposition — Su-hōr.

IV. THE SEVENTH, EIGHTH, AND NINTH REIGNS.

So far, then, we have an unmistakeable agreement between the two Lists, and especially in the entries of the lengths of reigns. But from this time forth everything seems to be in confusion; for we find in Eratosthenes:

7. Chnubos-Gneuros - -	22 years;
8. Rayôsis - - - -	13 ,,
9. Biyerês - - -	10 ,,

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[38] Grammaire, p. 96.

[39] Conf. also Vol. I. p. 425. seq.

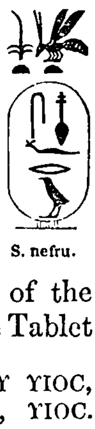
in Manetho:

Aches - - - -	42 years.
Sephuris - - - -	30 "
Kerpheres - - -	26 "

This confusion again vanishes on further examination.

The *seventh* name in Eratosthenes is clearly a title. According to him it signifies "gold" or "the golden."[40] We consider this King as a SESERTESEN (Sesortosis), consequently the third who had the title NUB, the Golden; it seems that Eratosthenes expressly remarked that he was the son of the preceding King. Now there is in the field of Pyramids an early very celebrated King who certainly precedes the Khufu-Suôphis of the 4th Dynasty, but who is often found connected with him. He is called S.NFRU. He has always a hawk sitting on gold (*nub*, pronounced *gnub*); from him, consequently, commence the scutcheons with the Gold Horus, a royal title of which we have given an account in our Introductory Remarks. But he is also called on the tomb inscriptions of the field of Pyramids of Gizeh, NUB-RA, or Gold-Sun.[41] It is impossible, therefore, to deny his historical character; nor can there be much more doubt as to the identity of the Gold Horus, or Gold-Sun-King, and Snefru. The Tablet

14



S. nefru.

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[40] Instead of ΧΝΟΥΒΟϹ ΓΝΕΥΡΟϹ, ΧΡΥϹΗϹ ΧΡΥϹΟΥ ΥΙΟϹ, read ΧΝΟΥΒΟϹ, ΓΝΕΥΡΟϹ, ΧΡΥϹΟϹ, Η ΧΡΥϹΟΥϹ, ΥΙΟϹ. *Chnub*, gold, we know from the statement of Aristides the Sophist, to be the root of *Canopus* (the Greek form of Nubeï, i.e. Typhon). A learned Egyptian priest told him so; "but" (adds the Greek), "the Egyptian sound runs round in a circle;" as we should express it, one difficult to get hold of. Hence, also, the numerous varieties of the peculiar Egyptian aspiration; from *Nubia* (gold), down to *Canopus*. Eratosthenes adopted an intermediate plan, and wrote both words with *chu* or *gn*. Perhaps, also, he wrote ΧΡΥϹΟΗΛΙΟϹ, so that *Gnev-ros* corresponds to *Gnub-Ra*, by shortening the long vowel in the word Nūb, as Harpokrates grew out of Hôr-pe-khrut.

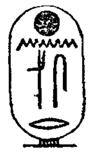
[41] Monuments, II. 2. f. Conf., as to Snefru, the Plates of this Division from 2—7.

of Tuthmosis, however, proves it positively; for the next scutcheon after Sahûra (the seventh) is preserved, and contains the name SNFRU, the "beneficent, beatifying."

The corresponding number in Manetho (42) may have been made up by adding together two different Lists, or the dates of two Kings who reigned co-ordinately, the foundation of which was the number 22 in Eratosthenes. In regard to the name, one might be tempted to conjecture that it was a slight misspelling of Asses (AXHC instead of ACCHC). We have, however, already found a satisfactory place for this monumental King Asses, Assa, as the Family name of Tet-kar-ra. The remaining resource, therefore, would be the identification with the monumental King Sahûra, the Sirios of Eratosthenes, which would require us to read Saŷres, instead of Aches (ΣΑΥΡΗC instead of AXHC). The alteration, however, is a very forced one, and we shall find below a better solution by means of the monumental names.

The name of the *eighth* King in Erastosthenes is easily amended, thanks to the translation (ἀρχικράτωρ) "the primeval ruler," and must be read Ra-sôsis, instead of Ra-yôsis, which occasions so slight a change of a stroke in the third letter[42] as to be barely noticeable. We can hardly fail to identify him with RA-N.SESER of the oldest monuments. N (the preposition *of*) is here placed immediately after the Sun-sign, before the hieroglyphics of Seser, in order to show that RA must not be read at the end of the name, as is usually the case, but as the subject. No Egyptian sentence ever begins with

15



Ra-n.seser.

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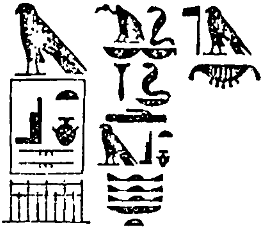
[42] PACΩCIC instead of PAYΩCIC = RA-SESUR = Eratosthenes' APXIKPATΩP. For *ra* signifies beginning, and *sesur*, lordship, guidance. Here also, Eratosthenes has rendered it according to the pronunciation; but still in the sense of the hieroglyphic. For *ra*, *re*, Helios, was in the Egyptian sense the origin of all things, the primeval original Lord.

a preposition. It is, however, highly probable that it was not pronounced; and the name does really occur without it.

In regard to this King's position, however, it is true that we cannot cite the Tablet of Tuthmosis, as the original scutcheon is destroyed; still it is happily corroborated by the circumstance of the King being already found with Standard, Vulture, and Gold Horus name. At all events he cannot, therefore, be placed earlier; nor later indeed, for the next King but two, Saôphis Khufu, has the complete title.

16



Unfortunately, both translation and monumental name are wanting for the *ninth* and *last* King in the list of Eratosthenes which belongs to the 3rd Dynasty. We find him, however, and his predecessor, beyond all doubt, in Manetho, though in the List of the 4th Dynasty, from which at all events we must discard them, as there is absolutely no place for them there. Its fifth and sixth Kings are called

Ratôisês and Bicheris.

The date of reign annexed to each of these Kings (25 and 22) answers tolerably well for the sum total of the corresponding Kings in Eratosthenes (23). To account for the number 25, we might also suppose that the corresponding number (13) of the same King has been doubled, inasmuch as in one place 12 + 10 months are assigned to him; in another 12 + 2 or 6 months. In like manner, Manetho's number for Bicheris (22 years) may have arisen from two entries being added together, with each of which Eratosthenes' number for Biyerês (10 years) would harmonise, if the odd months were included.

As regards the relative correctness of the reading Bicheris or Biyerês, we have nothing to rely upon, as

Eratosthenes' translation of the name is omitted by Syncellus, there is no monumental name corresponding to it, and no suitable explanation of the first syllable.

But what is to be done with the two names which now occupy the eighth and ninth places in Manetho's List of this Dynasty, Sephuris and Kerpheres? If we look at the dates of the years of reign annexed to them, 30 and 26, it is clear that they are the dates of the third and fourth reigns of this Dynasty in Eratosthenes. They will stand, therefore, in this juxtaposition:

ERATOSTHENES.	Years.	MANETHO.	Years.
3. Gosormiês (Sesortasis)	30	8. Sephuris -	- 30
4. Marês - -	- 26	9. Kerpheres -	- 26

This seems a certain indication that the names also form part of the tradition of the 3rd Dynasty. Nor is there any difficulty in identifying Sephuris, Snephurês, or Snephrues, consequently the great *Snefru-Gold-Sun*, with the seventh King of Eratosthenes, Chnubos Gneuros. We may suppose, therefore, that the latter name was in its right place here. Kerpheres, again, can be no other than Nephercheres, Nefru-ke-ra, one consequently very closely connected with the name of the predecessor, Snefru.

We may the more readily conceive that the Epitomists have so misplaced the names, when we consider that the Lists themselves are extracted from the genealogical register, in which there were explanatory remarks to correct mistakes or supply information, which have been appended to the Lists in an unskilful manner. Here then we are not dealing with Manetho himself, as we probably were in the earlier stages, but with the Epitomists, their copyists and plagiarists.

V. RETROSPECT AND REVIEW OF THE PREVIOUS PARALLELISM.

AT the commencement of this difficult inquiry into the 3rd Dynasty we have called attention to the necessity of establishing everything which strictly belongs to the proof of our main assumption. We have shown that both the Lists of Eratosthenes and Manetho bear an historical and authentic character — that, when rightly collated, they exhibit a general agreement which cannot fail to be recognised—and that, in spite of some blunders, the labours of Eratosthenes deserve the palm for chronology, because the method pursued by him is the only one from which any satisfactory results can accrue. Accordingly it was our business to prove in the case before us that the nine names which succeed the Kings of the 1st Dynasty in the List of Eratosthenes correspond chronologically to the 3rd Dynasty of Manetho. We have, however, established the fact, not only that several of the names are incontestably identical, but that very frequently the same dates are annexed to the corresponding reigns, which cannot be accidental. In respect to the length of the whole period, the first view of the relation between the two accounts did not, upon the whole, come up to our expectation; nor was it such as we met with in comparing the 1st Dynasty of Manetho with the first five names in Eratosthenes. In Manetho's List there were likewise nine Kings corresponding to the 224 regnal years of the Kings to which they referred, and only 214 years assigned to them; consequently the number of reigns was not greater, but precisely the same, and the number of years was less. The real connexion in these calculations with the Lists of Manetho, after they are corrected, is that of twelve Kings and 311 years; and we shall find precisely the same connexion, without exception, in all the other Dynasties. The casual observation we have made about the similarity of sound in some of the names is merely a preliminary view, as well as the intimation that authentic monumental names exist which might belong here.

Before proceeding further in this inquiry, we will pass in review the points which have already appeared to us as correct or probable.

ERATOSTHENES.	Years.	MANETHO (after correction).	Years.
1. *Sesorcheres* (Instead of Momcheiri)	79	1. (Dyn. II. 8.) Sesôchris 48 2. (Dyn. II. 9.) Cheneres 30	78
2. *Asses Toichros* (Instead of Ares Stoichos) (ASS-TTKRA) (Karnak 4. ASS)	6	3. (Dyn. III. 3.) Tychres (Instead of Tyreis)	7
3. *Sesortósis* (Instead of Gosormiês)	30	4. (Dyn. III. 2.) Sesortôsis (Instead of Sesorthos)	29
4. *Mares*	26	5. (Dyn. III. 4.) Sesorchris (Mesôchris)	17
5. An-Soÿphis (Instead of Anoÿphis) (AN-? KHUFU ?) (Karnak 5. AN)	20	6. (Dyn. III. 5.) Soÿphis	16
6. *Sirios* (SAHÛRA) (Karnak 6.)	18	7. (Dyn. III. 6.) Sesortasis (Instead of Tosertasis)	19
7. *Chnubos Gneuros* (SNEFRU-? NUBRA ?) (Karnak 7. SNEFRU)	22	8. (Dyn. III. 7.) Sayres (Instead of Aches)	42
		9. (Dyn. III. 8.) Snephuris (Instead of Sêphuris)	30
		10. (Dyn. III. 9.) Nephercheres (Instead of Kerpheres)	26
8. *Rasósis* 13 (Instead of Rayôsis) RA. N. SSR.	23	11. (Dyn. IV. 5.) Rasôsis (Instead of Ratoises)	25
9. Biyerês 10		12. (Dyn. IV. 6.) Bicheris	22
Sum total	224	Sum total	311

C.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE THIRD DYNASTY AND ITS MONUMENTS.

It will not have escaped the observation of our readers that we have quoted nothing in this collation of dates of reigns and names from Greek and Roman historians. Looking at the notices from the Annals as preserved in the Epitomes of Manetho and Eratosthenes, we could hardly expect to find allusion in Greek writers to any but the second King, Sesortasis (Sesortosis) the First. He is clearly the hero of the period. There does not seem to be anything very remarkable recorded in the Egyptian Annals about any other personage, and the Epitomists of Manetho could not well have known more. Yet perhaps we may find more than we could have ventured at first sight to expect.

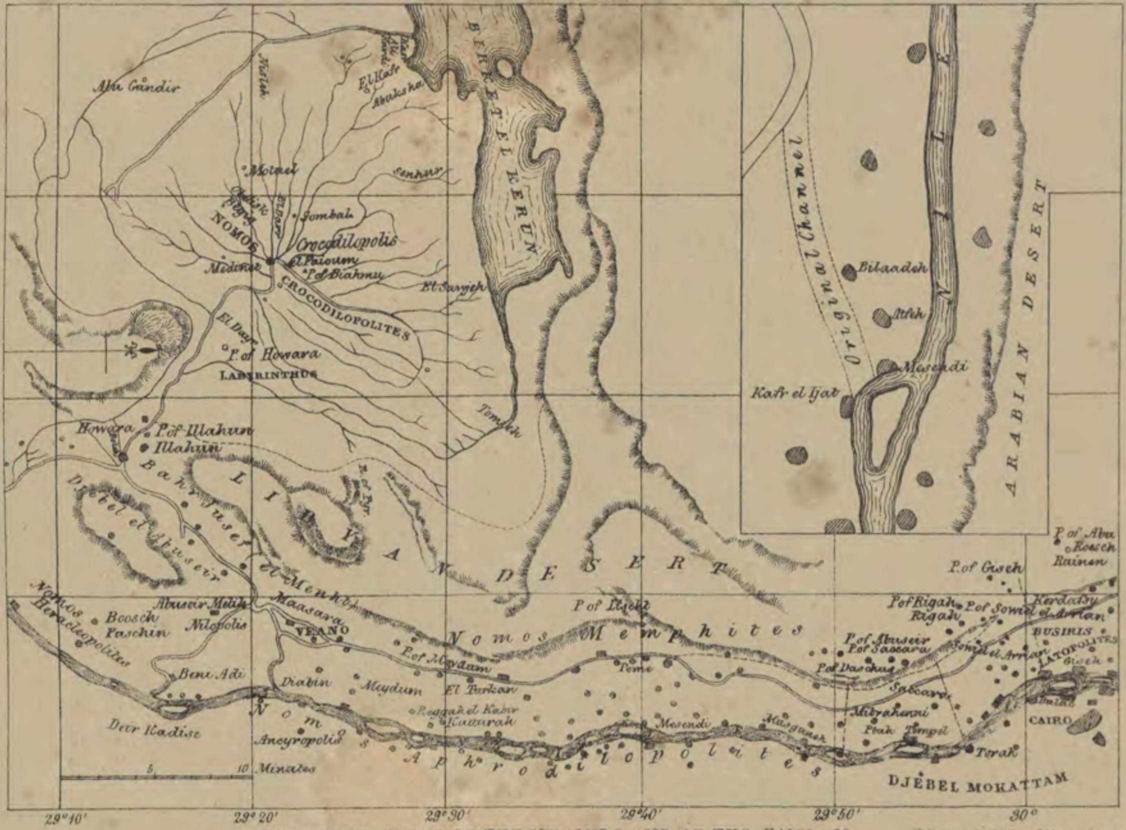
This is the proper place for making some general observations about the groups of Pyramids.

INTRODUCTION. PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF ALL THE GROUPS OF PYRAMIDS.

In order to give a clear idea of the group of Pyramids, it will perhaps be the most convenient course to divide them into three great masses, one northern, one southern, and one central. The northern commences with the single one of Aboo-Röásh, and ends with the three celebrated pyramids of Gizeh. The southern commences with the pyramid of the Labyrinth: the two ruins at Biahmu, which resemble obtuse pyramids, ought not, according to Lepsius' conclusions, to be reckoned in this group. Next comes the pyramid of Ptolemais, at the entrance of the rocky ravine of

Plate II.

to face P. 86


Abu Gândir
Nisleh
El Kasr
Kasr Ali Hardi
Abukshe
Senhur
Motaul
Ombrik Bagit
El Darr
Sombal
NOMOS
Crocodilopolis
El Faioum
Medinet
P. of Biahmu
El Sayyeh
CROCODILOPOLITES
El Dayr
P. of Howara
LABYRINTHUS
Tomieh
BIRKET EL KERUN
Howara
P. of Illahun
Illahun
Bahr Jusef
LIBYAN DESERT
P. of Pyr.
Djebel el Abuseir
el Menhi
Nomos Heracleopolites
Boosch
Paschin
Abuseir Melik
Nilopolis
Maasara
VEANO
Beni Adi
Deir Kadise
Diabin
Maydum
P. of Maydum
El Tarkan
Raggah el Kabir
Kaburah
Nomos Ancyropolis
Aphroditopolites
P. of Lisht
Nomos Memphites
Peme
Mesendi
Kafr el Ijat
Bilaadeh
Atfeh
Original Channel
NILE
ARABIAN DESERT
P. of Giseh
P. of Abu Roesch
Rainen
P. of Rigah
Rigah
P. of Sowiet el Arrian
Kerdasy
BUSIRIS
LATOPOLITES
Giseh
P. of Abuseir
P. of Saccara
Sowiet el Arrian
P. of Daschur
Saccara
Mitrahenni
Ptah Tempel
Kafr el Gunah
Torah
Bulak
CAIRO
DJÈBEL MOKATTAM
5
10 Minutes
29°10′
29°20′
29°30′
29°40′
29°50′
30°

PLAN OF THE PLAIN OF THE PYRAMIDS AND OF THE FAYOOM.
after PERRING AND WILKINSON.

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

ROYAL

Illahoon; thirdly, that of Meydoomn; and fourthly, the two of Lisht; the result of which is,

Northern group:	4 great Pyramids in 2 groups.	
Southern group:	5 „	4 „

nine altogether. All the remaining pyramids are in a circle about Memphis, on heights which the classics seem to have comprised under one general name of the Sandy Mountain (Mons Psammius). They may be divided into five groups. Taking Sakkára with its nine great (and two small) pyramids as a centre, the four tombs of Kings near Dashoor (at the ancient Acanthus, probably), besides a small pyramid, abut on to it to the southward, separated only by a transverse valley which leads to the Fayoum. One of these large pyramids we shall show to be the tomb of the fourth King of this Dynasty, Mares-Sesorcherēs. To the north-east there are several which join on to the Sakkára group. First of all, three large, and one small pyramid at Abouseer; further on, one at Reegah, and further still, on the other side of the northern valley towards the Fayoum, one at Zowyet el Arrian. Adding these together, we have nine royal tombs at Sakkára; and grouped about them, five on one side and four on the other, making in all eighteen; and including the nine which are more remote, seven-and-twenty royal tombs. These twenty-seven pyramids must have contained at least twenty-seven Memphite sovereigns. If we admit Herodotus's information to have been correct, that at the Lake of Mœris there was, in addition to the pyramid of the Labyrinth, the sepulchral monument of a King and of his consort, we know of twenty-eight royal tombs of the Old Empire; and if the Annals, which Manetho consulted (as cannot be doubted), stated that the group of Theban pyramids at Kokōme (now so completely dilapidated as to have almost disappeared) belonged to the fifth King of the 1st Dynasty, these twenty-seven or twenty-eight royal tombs are those of Imperial sovereigns, the earliest of whom, the sixth, was the chief of the 3rd Dynasty, as the builder of the Labyrinth was the latest. According to Eratosthenes the latter was the thirty-fifth in the succession: the existing pyramids consequently belonged to twenty-nine Kings, admitting them to have been the burying-places of the Imperial Kings in Memphis. In fact, the smaller pyramids mentioned by name with the great pyramids, the number of which only is given, are expressly designated as Tombs of the Queens. Lepsius counts altogether about sixty pyramids, but in this number some very small ones are included.

There were, besides, co-regencies and consequently contemporary sovereigns, who may have built for themselves a common tomb. Hence we may with probability assume that, upon an average, these twenty-seven pyramids represent as many Memphite reigns. Of this number we shall find that the northern brick pyramid of Dashoor appears to belong to the fourth King of this Dynasty. The three remaining pyramids in the same field probably belonged to the three earlier reigns of the 3rd Dynasty, as we generally find that members of the same family were buried in adjacent tombs. In the case of the following Kings, it is certain that the sixth, the third successor of Sesorcheres, was buried at Abouseer, as well as the eighth or last but one. We shall revert hereafter to the connexion between the pyramids and reigns. As the enigma of the Old Empire is solved, a surprising ray of light will fall upon these mysterious tombs. They are indeed not merely indestructible witnesses to the historical character of the royal houses and royal names transmitted to us, but we may even venture to hope to find in many of them, if not in all, the most positive confirmation of the names and succession of Imperial Kings of Memphis.

I. FIRST KING: SESORCHERES THE GIANT.

FROM a remark of Eratosthenes cited by Syncellus in this place, that he was of excessively large stature, Sesorcheres was the first King in this series. The following account of Sesōchris, a King of Manetho's, whom we have shown to be probably identical with the Chief of this Dynasty, is given by the Epitomists:

> "He was five cubits and three palms high;"

that is to say, a giant of 8¾ feet in height; and Eratosthenes called the first King a giant.

This coincidence in the two notices is important on more accounts than one. In the first place, it considerably strengthens our assumption as to the authentic character of Manetho's work—for Eratosthenes might have consulted other authorities besides Manetho, as appears from the statement of Syncellus, and from the List itself. In the next place, the notice above quoted from Syncellus gives us an insight into the connexion between the work of Eratosthenes and the meagre Lists of the chary Epitomist. It was not a mere catalogue of names and years of reign, but contained likewise historical notices.

This giant King, then, was the Patriarch of the Memphite Dynasty. It may possibly be an echo of the popular story concerning him which we find in Diodorus; but its explanation implies that the tradition about his successor is historical. We shall therefore postpone the consideration of the statement to the close of our inquiry.

II. THIRD KING: SESORTOSIS THE GREAT LAWGIVER.

SESORTOSIS, the third King, the eighth from Menes, is panegyrised in the Annals on three accounts; first, as being the actual founder of the art of medicine, which they valued so highly; secondly, because the science of architecture and building with hewn stone originated with him, and consequently dated from his reign. By building with hewn stone, must be understood squared blocks of sandstone, which were cut regularly; the characteristic of the style of architecture in regular layers, which we call in Europe, Etruscan. This style is in direct contrast to two others—that in which bricks were used, and irregular stones. The Pyramid already mentioned in the Thebaid, proves that the two latter most ancient styles of architecture were co-ordinate in the Old Empire. According to Wilkinson, who is an accurate observer and describer, it is built in steps, and the materials of which it is composed, are bricks made of clay and dried in the sun, and irregular stones.

It is remarkable that the introduction of regular building in steps is mentioned as forming an epoch in the history of the Kings of Rome. Dionysius states that Tarquinius Priscus was the first who adopted the style of building with stones, cut according to *standard* measure. They had built heretofore with polygons, i.e. irregular blocks with many angles, just as they were found in their natural state, according to the quality of the particular stone. This was the old Pelasgian style, foreign to the Etruscans, and universally known as the Cyclopian. The Romans retained it in the paving of their streets, which consisted of polygonal flagstones fitted closely into each other. They can also be shown to have adopted it in subterranean buildings; indeed the old Tullian prison, which was earlier than the Wall of Servius and the Cloaca of Tarquinius Priscus, was built with rectangular stones (but without the arch). In Egypt we find this style of regular architecture, as early as on the imperishable monuments of the 4th Dynasty, in full perfection; that is they are constructed of squared stones in regular layers all of the same height.

But this is by no means the necessary consequence of the introduction of the square style. It is possible to square stones by rule, and yet, by an approximation to the polygonal style, to keep them of unequal levels. We see this in Italian buildings of the transition period. There is a close connexion between the square style in its perfection and the discovery of the arch; yet that principle does not seem to have been carried so far in the Old Empire; the Greeks not having been acquainted with it till a short time prior to Alexander the Great. Lepsius' examination of the Labyrinth has furnished conclusive proof that it was unknown at that early period: for the most ancient portion only of that wonderful work, as well as the origin of the name, belongs to the Old Empire, and indeed the close of it.

The historical nature and importance of this second point, on which the fame of the eldest of all the Sesortesen rests, is conseqently self-evident.

But the third point—the invention of writing—is the most important of all. Unfortunately, the notices of the Epitomists are here most lamentably brief, and their want of perspicuity still more lamentable:

> "He paid attention likewise to writing."

Each separate step in this most peculiar discovery and characteristic mark of Egyptian civilisation must be the commencement of a new epoch. We cannot doubt, after what has been said in treating of the 1st Dynasty in the former volume, that as early as the time of Menes they possessed a written character, and that the Phonetic principle was already admitted into it: indeed it is highly probable that the whole system of writing was essentially the same as we find it on the monuments of the 4th Dynasty. It is not said that Sesortesen *invented* writing, but merely that he *paid attention to it*, and thereby gained great popularity.

The improvement consequent upon the attention he devoted to it, must either have been the further extension of the pure alphabetical system, or the introduction of the book character—that is, the Hieratic—or both. The quarry marks in the pyramids of the succeeding Dynasty exhibit a decisive approach to the book character in freely drawn linear hieroglyphics; and we possess a Hieratic Papyrus of the 7th Dynasty.

If we combine all these notices, they will present us with the picture of a great and wise Royal Legislator, the benefactor of his people, and one, perhaps, whose praises have been more loudly celebrated than any other, down to the remotest times. Herodotus and Diodorus mention royal ballads which were sung in praise of their Sesostris-Sesōsis, and we have, so early as in the historical Papyri, hymns of this kind in which a King of that name is panegyrised.

Is it possible, then, that the Greeks never heard of this great sovereign? So far from this being the case, we think that they repeatedly mention him, and that fragments enough of this same tradition—although hitherto neglected—are still extant, to prove that he, and he only, was the peaceful Sesostris of Egyptian tradition.

We have already stated, in the First Book, that the Scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius mentions a primeval King, Sesonchōsis, of whom he speaks in these terms:—"Dicæarchus has informed us, in the second book of his Hellas, that Sesonchōsis likewise interested himself in civil matters, and enacted that no one should abandon his father's trade, for this he considered as leading to avarice. He taught them also horsemanship, which others attribute to Horus. As regards the age of this Sesonchōsis, Dicæarchus has stated, in the first book of the same work, that he succeeded Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, on the throne. The interval between him and Nilus, therefore, was 2500 years, between Nilus and the first Olympiad, 436—making altogether, from Sesonchōsis to the first Olympiad, 2936 years."

Who was this Sesonchōsis? In the first place, undoubtedly a Sesortosis (the difference in the spelling is very trifling)[43], and indeed the first and earliest of the Kings called Sesôstridæ by the Greeks. Aristotle, as remarked in our First Book, states Sesostris to have been the author of the division into castes — a system which Dicæarchus, his pupil, attributes to Sesonchōsis-Sesortōsis. He says he was much older than Minos, whom the Greek chronographers — very accurate calculators—placed nearly 700 years before the Olympiads; that is, about 400 before the taking of Troy. Dicæarchus makes the era of this same King, who lived long before Minos, 2500 years prior to the contemporaries of the Trojan war. Neither of them can have meant by Sesothis-Ramesses the youngest so-called Sesostris, who indeed is only so called by Herodotus. For it was notorious that he only lived a short time before the King whom the Egyptians and Greeks considered as contemporary with the Trojan war. Nor could they have meant the Sesortōsis-Sesostris of the 12th Dynasty, for he was the conqueror. Manetho, however, does distinguish our Sesostris, the third King of the 3rd Dynasty, and the first of the name, as a wise and peaceful King. Aristotle and Dicæarchus speak of him as a primitive legislator, but never as a conqueror, which, we shall find, the Sesostris of Manetho's 12th Dynasty was. The whole enigma of the tradition of the Sesostridæ will be very simply solved in the course of our inquiry.

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[43] That is to say, CECOΓXΩCIC instead of CECOPTΩCIC, which is precisely the same mistake as is made in Manetho's 12th Dynasty.

We possess no monuments of the reign of our Sesostris, which lasted nearly thirty years. His tomb is doubtless concealed in some still extant pyramid; on which subject we shall offer a conjecture at the close of this Book, in showing the connexion between the Groups of Pyramids and the Memphite Dynasties.

III. Fourth King: MARES-SESORCHERES II.

Sasychis the Legislator: his Brick Pyramid, and the Inscription on it, the oldest determinable Monument in the World.

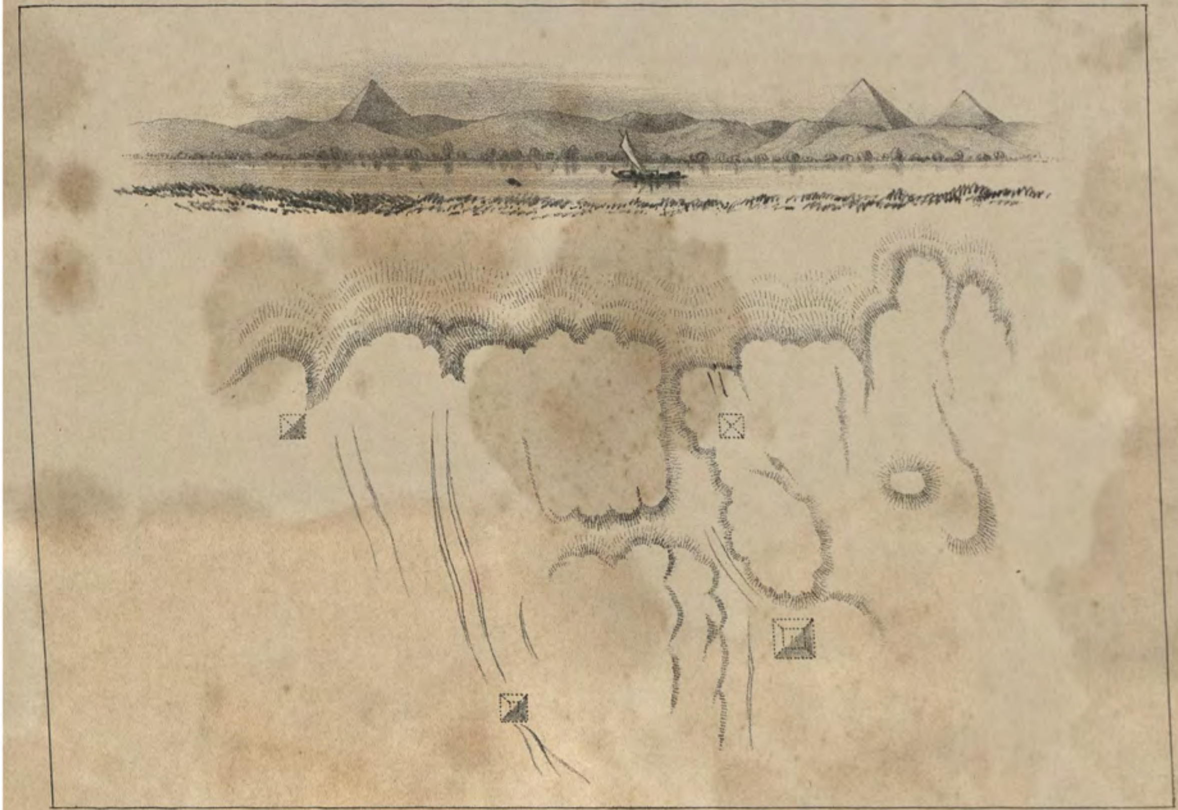
(Plates IV. V.—*The Pyramids of Dashoor.*)

The only notice concerning him in the Annals is, that he was the son of the great Sesortōsis, and reigned twenty-six years. Diodorus has a remarkable and definite tradition, which can only be understood as relating to him or his father. We should not hesitate, indeed, to identify it with his renowned father, did it not contain certain peculiarities which would seem to refer to another person, and if the name did not clearly indicate Sesorcherēs.

We have already seen that in the remarkable series of Egyptian lawgivers given by Diodorus, Mnevis, i. e. Menes, or at latest his great-grandson and third successor, is the first Bokkhoris, Amasis, and Darius the last. Immediately after Mnevis, Sasychis is mentioned; then Sesoōsis. The latter is Diodorus's name for the great Ramesses, the son of Sethos, the far-famed conqueror of the New Empire in the 14th century B.C. Sasychis, therefore, clearly belongs to the Old Empire. Now, Diodorus says of him, that he was a man of very distinguished talent, who made additions to the existing code of laws, and organised the worship of the Gods, and invented Geometry and Astronomy.

Plate IV.

to face P. 94.



Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers.

PYRAMIDS OF DASHOOR

GROUND PLAN AND VIEW

Manetho's tradition attributes to his father, Sesortosis, the Æsculapius of the Egyptians, the invention of medicine. He had already, probably on the faith of another authority, assigned the origin of anatomy to the second King, the son of Menes. Besides this, he makes him the inventor of the art of building with rectangular blocks, and the author of improvement in writing. Dicæarchus attributes to Sesonchōsis the establishment of castes and taming of horses. Here we have something similar — a progressive improvement in civil and religious life — but not quite the same thing. On the other hand it may be thought very singular that Diodorus should forget the great Sesortōsis; and thus, perhaps, we should deprive the younger Sesorcherēs of his rightful place among Diodorus's lawgivers, did not Herodotus substantiate his claim to that title. He is undoubtedly the same Sasychis-Sesorcherēs whom we have known heretofore in Herodotus by the name of Asychis, the author of that splendid brick pyramid which has spread its own renown. Herodotus (ii. 136.) quotes the inscription on it in these words:—"Do not disparage me by comparing me with the stone pyramids — I am as much superior to them, as Jupiter (Ammon) is to the other Gods—they stuck poles into the Lake, and made bricks out of the mud which adhered to them: thus I was made." Herodotus clearly received this information at the same time as he did that about the great Pyramids of Gizeh, probably at its very foot, and was in consequence induced to believe that the contrast which the builder of the brick pyramid drew, was between it and the largest of all the pyramids. He therefore concluded that he must have been the successor of Mykerinus, the King of the third large stone pyramid. He is not supported, however, by any other writer in this supposition. Indeed, it is obviously a pardonable blunder on the part of the father of history, and, perhaps, even of his informant, the interpreter. The restoration of the 4th Dynasty proves this so incontestably, that we may confidently take it for granted beforehand. There is, nevertheless, no place for him in the subsequent history, nor any name that bears any similarity to Asychis; and yet he is a perfectly historical and primeval King. Herodotus states that he erected the Eastern Propylæa of the Temple of Vulcan at Memphis, which were by far the largest and most beautiful of all. The third notice which he has preserved about him, however, places his identity with Sasychis-Sesorcherēs in the clearest light. "During this King's reign the Egyptians informed me," he says, "that, there being a great want of circulation of money, an ordinance was passed enabling any one to borrow money by pledging his father's corse. The lender took the mummy-case as security; and if the debtor would not repay the loan, neither he nor his family could be buried in their father's vault, nor, indeed, in any other." Diodorus gives nearly the same account of the custom prevailing generally among the Egyptians (i. 93.).

We meet with the Lawgiver, therefore, also in Herodotus. He certainly must have written Sasychis. The fact of the first letter being dropped is very easily explained from the preceding word in his text ending with Σ. The same cause not unfrequently led to the omission of a letter at the beginning of a word.[44]

Such were the conclusions we had arrived at from our own researches, when Perring's publication seemed to prove that the brick pyramid here spoken of contains remains of the name of Sesorcherēs.

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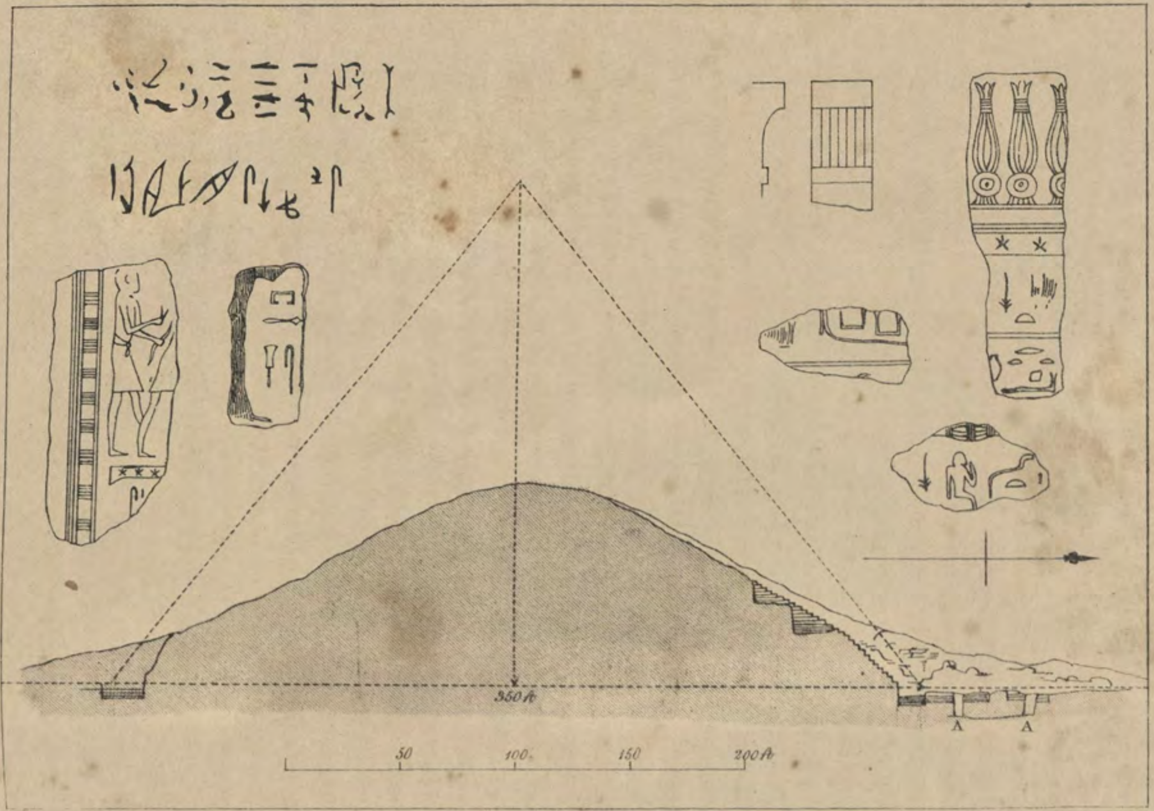
[44] Μετὰ δὲ Μυκερῖνον γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες Ἄσυχιν. This is the only time Herodotus mentions the name, and it occurs in no other writer.

Plate V.

to face P. 97.


350 ft
A
A
50
100
150
200 ft

NORTHERN BRICK PYRAMID OF DASHOOR.

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

The authors of the French work gave it as their opinion, that the Pyramid of Illahoon, at the entrance of the ravine which leads to the Fayoum, is the one mentioned by Herodotus. Perring has shown this to be impossible. He found, upon close examination, that it was built round a knoll of rock, which is merely the base of the rock itself forming, as it were, a centre, and that it is not constructed entirely of brick. There are, on the contrary, horizontal layers of hewn stones, both inside and outside, running through the whole building. This description accords but ill with the vaunting inscription of a King, who erected buildings of surpassing magnificence, and does not agree much better with the account given of the materials employed on them, as contrasted with stone.

Mr. William Hamilton, with his correct and classical eye, had previously made the right conjecture; and, after Perring's excavations[45], there can no longer be any doubt that the tomb of Sasychis is the great northern brick pyramid of Dashoor. It is the only one built of brick, and its construction is so superior, that we are immediately struck by the contrast between it and the other pyramids, built of irregular stones, by which it is surrounded. Not only is it by far the most conspicuous of them all in point of size, but also in magnificence of style. It is the only one of all the pyramids of Dashoor, indeed of all the Egyptian pyramids now in existence, which had, like those in Ethiopia, a portico, or hypæthral temple, on the northern front, remains of which are mentioned in the early accounts. Perring, in the autumn of 1839, discovered proof of the existence of this portico, when simply making excavations with the view to finding the entrance and sepulchral chamber (which were unsuccessful as far as that was concerned). The pyramid was much dilapidated, and had evidently been broken open, in the time of the Egyptians; for mummies and Hieratic inscriptions of a later date were found in the ruins. But not a brick had settled from its place; and that skilful engineer and thoughtful examiner says, one need only look at the other pyramids, except the (later) one of Gizeh, especially the largest and the third, to see the justice of the remark, "that it is as superior to those built of common stone rubble, as Jupiter may be supposed to have been to the other Gods." By far the greater part of these bricks were really made of alluvial clay. They were 16 inches long, 8 wide, and from 4½ to 5½ thick. Some of them were made of sandy loam, or sand mixed with the mud of the Nile, and more or less straw. According to the different materials of which they were composed, they had different marks upon them made with the finger. The courses were principally from north to south, occasionally intersected by others from east to west. They were all embedded in fine dry sand, and the interstices filled up with the same material. The rock was 15 feet below the base of the building, which was 30 feet below the surface of the ground. Perring found the original base of the pyramid to have been 350 feet long, the perpendicular height 215½. It is now only 90, of which 82 are above the surface of the sand of the Desert, the remainder being covered with rubbish. The casing was at an angle of 51° 20′ 25″, and consisted of heavy blocks; the dimensions of one which he measured was 8¼ feet at the base, 1 foot 11 inches high, and the face 6 feet in length. *These blocks, however, were not all of the same thickness, and therefore the courses could not be regular.* Several of them, particularly in the lower part, were dovetailed into each other by stone cramps. The holes which had been cut into them to receive the ends of the scaffolding-poles, were filled up with small pieces of the same stone, laid in cement, so that many of them were not discovered till the blocks had been broken. The portico before the northern front had, to all appearance, been connected by a stone platform with the casing of the pyramid, as is said to be the case with those in Ethiopia. The formation of the roof was remarkable. Blocks were laid one over the other, each course projecting beyond the former, so that they met at the summit in the centre, and the angles had been cut away inside, so as to constitute a curved line. This, then, was an attempt at a circular roof, but not a regular architectural arch. The most remarkable part of all was the base of this immense and scientific building. The pyramid, though built on sand, was, in spite of the well-known proverb, very solid, as its preservation shows. The stony surface of the desert had been made level by a layer of fine sand, confined on all sides by a platform, 14 feet 6 inches wide, and 2 feet 9 inches thick, which supported the external casing; and the pyramid was built upon the sand, which was firm and solid. Perring found other instances of sand being thus used; namely, Campbell's tomb at Gizeh, the Temple with the Hieroglyphics near the pyramid of Reegah, the platform of the Northern pyramid of Abouseer, and some smaller tombs.

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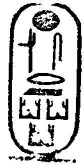
[45] Pyramids, vol. iii. p. 58. seq.

He employed sixty workmen above a month in hopes of discovering the entrance, and with great difficulty effected a cutting into the building, of which he exposed about 90 feet on the northern front; but without attaining his object. This led him to conclude that the sepulchral chambers, as was generally the case, were in the rock underneath the building, and that the entrance was under ground at some distance from it. In order to find this gallery, or hidden passage, he sunk two shafts, and made a trench 30 feet wide, from the centre of the northern side, and continued it for 160 feet. All his efforts, however, were fruitless; and, having no more time at his disposal, he promised the Sheik of the village, and the Reis, being himself obliged to go to the Fayoum, two purses — about 10*l.* — if they had discovered the entrance on his return. This offer was refused, although the villagers were without employment.

A block was found here, containing a royal scutcheon; but, unfortunately, only a fragment of it is preserved, exhibiting the arm upraised in the attitude of prayer, three times repeated (karu, offerings). Presuming, therefore, that the Sun was the first sign, the name must certainly have been pronounced *Kar-râ*. We have no hesitation in restoring it as (Seser)-KARA. After the arm on the right, there are remains of a square sign, probably the cubit (*ma*), with which the first part of the prænomen *Marês* was written on the same scutcheon. This title would be conclusive proof that the pyramid was not built by Sesorcheres I., the Chief of the Dynasty, as was probable, indeed, from the fact of the casing stones not being cut regularly, as we should expect to find them during the reign of the third King of the Dynasty.

17



Ra.s.eser-ma-kar.

We venture to propose the accompanying restoration of the scutcheon from the existing fragments.

In our opinion, then, there are good grounds for considering the Northern pyramid of Dashoor to be the tomb of Mares-Sesorcheres II., the Sasychis of Greek tradition, the son of the great lawgiver Sesortôsis I., and a lawgiver himself.[46]

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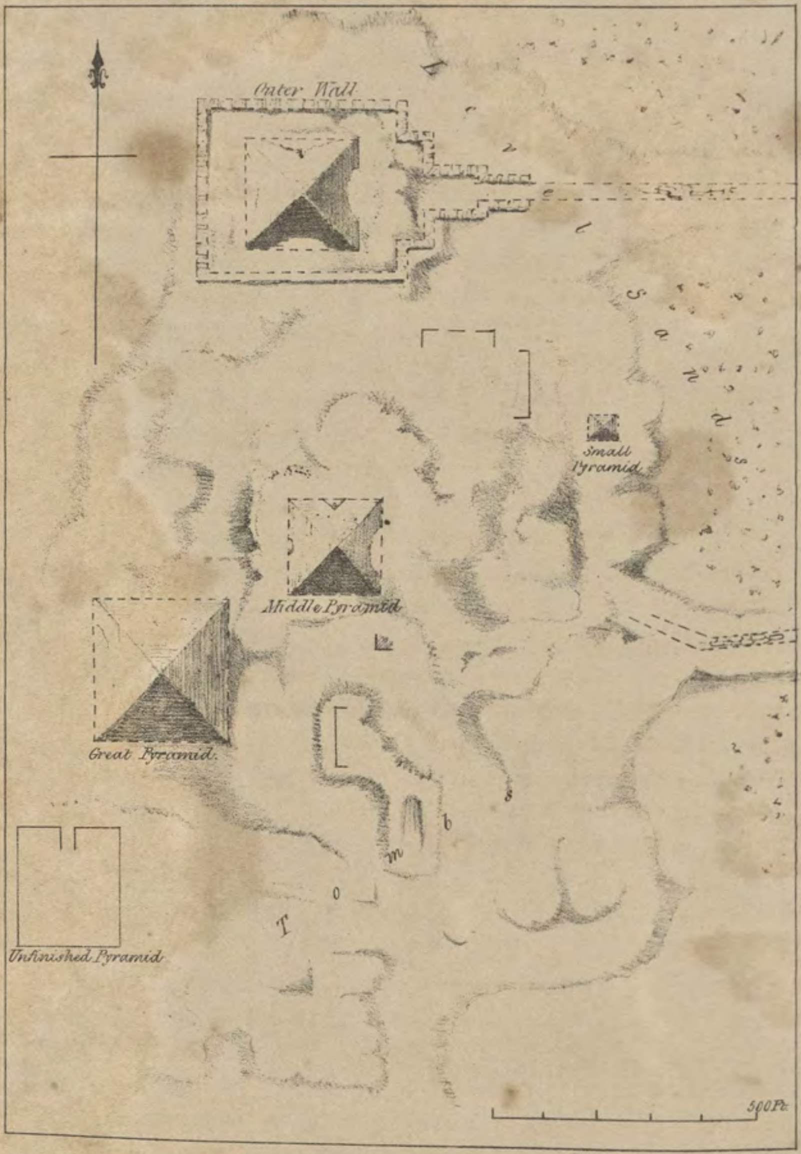
[46] For these pyramids, see the plates of the Prussian expedition.

Plate VI (V in Text) to face P 101.


Outer Wall
Small Pyramid
Middle Pyramid
Great Pyramid.
Unfinished Pyramid
T o m b
500 Ft.

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers.

PYRAMIDS OF ABOUSEER.

IV. The Pyramids of Abouseer. The Great Pyramid of Abouseer, probable Tomb of Snefru-nub-ra (Gold Sun.), the Sixth King.

We begin by giving a map of the field of pyramids of Abouseer (Pl. V.). The field, here represented, is a rocky height, raised 80 feet above the adjacent cultivated plain. Towards it, and round the pyramids, there are tombs, but not in very considerable numbers. They are built above ground, because the argillaceous nature of the soil does not admit of passages or shafts being sunk in it. To this map we annex, on Plates VI. and VII., a plan and section of the two pyramids out of this group, already proved to be the burying-places of the eighth and ninth Kings.

There is considerable similarity between the two pyramids as to height and style. The inside consists of blocks of stone of the country laid irregularly, and cemented together by mud of the Nile instead of mortar, and of various sizes. The outer casing is of fine slabs from Turah (Troja); that of the passages, of granite. The former is not merely destroyed, but has almost entirely disappeared—doubtless, having been used for building materials in early times. The pyramids of Gizeh were more conveniently situated for building purposes at Cairo. They were all three carried up in degrees in the first instance, and afterwards completed into a pyramidal form.

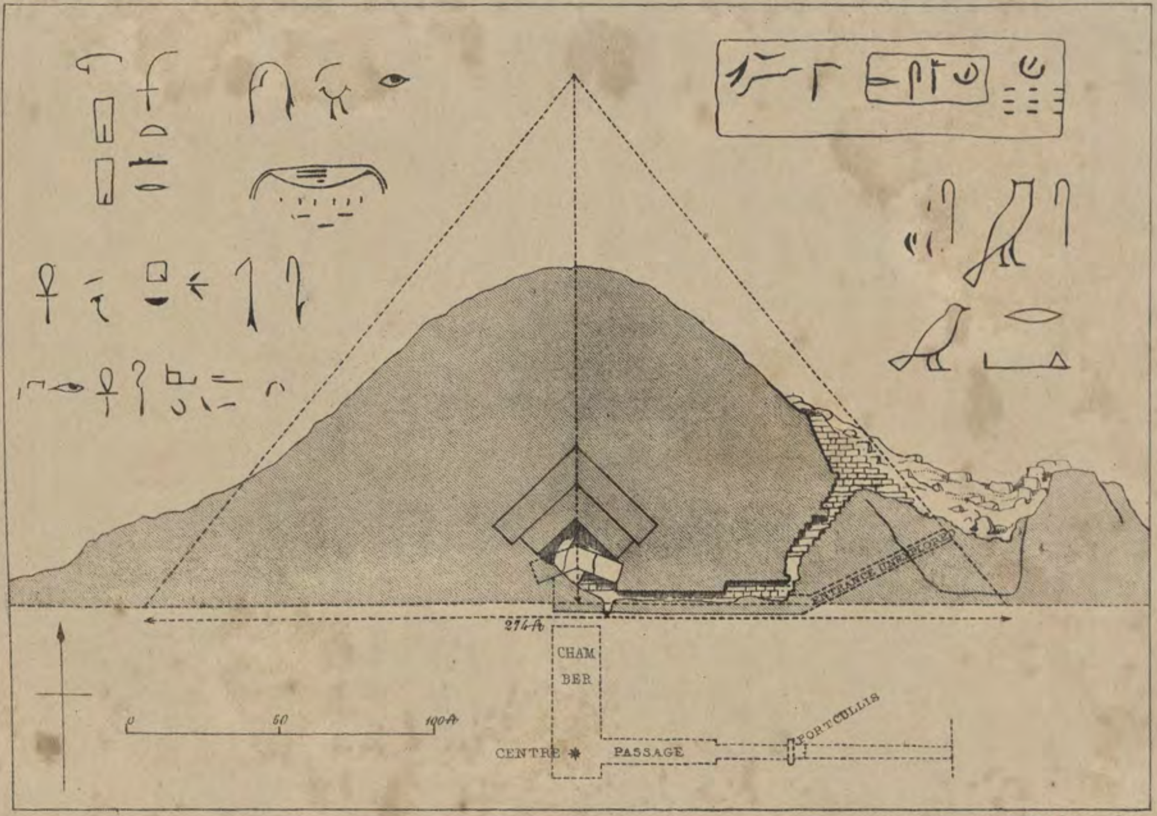
V. The Central Pyramid of Abouseer, the Tomb of Rasesur, the Eighth and last King.

This is the larger one, and its original base measured 274 feet, at present it is only 213—its original height was 171 feet 4 inches, now 107. It was necessary to mutilate it considerably, in order to make a road to

48785

the entrance; and, in so doing, to cut away great part of the northern front, as the weatherbeaten ruins of the walls fell upon the workmen. They were subsequently obliged to make a road underneath, in order to come upon the passage which they rightly expected to find there. The Plate will make this intelligible. They then discovered that a sunk causeway, as usual, led to a horizontal passage, the bottom of which is a little lower than the base. It is 63 feet long, 5 feet 10 inches high, and 5 feet 1 inch wide. The entrance was completely barricadoed by blocks of granite, after its original purpose, that of admitting the mummy, had been effected — beyond which a portcullis of granite closed up the passage. The sepulchral chamber was covered with a triple coating of rough blocks. Insatiable love of plunder induced the first mutilators, probably the Caliphs, to break through the pyramid from the top, and split up with iron wedges most of the blocks which seemed indestructible — only to find in the desecrated chamber a sarcophagus without ornament, and in it a mummy-case, perhaps with a few thin plates of gold, which served to decorate the corpse. The coffin and sepulchral stone had vanished — instead of them, they found the skeleton of a tiger-cat which had died of starvation. Close under the roof of the chamber, which is about 14 feet wide (the accumulation of rubbish made an accurate measurement of it impossible), the upper casing of the passage is formed of a huge block of granite (D), doubtless to strengthen the building, which had been weakened by the excavation. In order to relieve it from the weight of the superincumbent mass, the three roof-blocks, laid one upon the other, were placed at different angles of inclination. Its external appearance is that of a square mound of earth, the solid masonry being almost entirely covered with rubbish.

Plate VII (VI in Text) to face P. 102.


ENTRANCE UNEXPLORED
274 ft
CHAM
BER
CENTRE
PASSAGE
PORTCULLIS
0
50
100 ft

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

MIDDLE PYRAMID OF ABOUSEER.

This is the tomb of Rasesur, the thirteenth King of the Empire of Menes, the eighth and last but one of the first Memphite race. Hieroglyphics, containing his name, are painted on blocks which remained over from the casing.[47]

Its dimensions are as follows:

Base, - - - originally 257 feet - now 216 feet.
Perpendicular height, „ 162 feet 9 inches „ 118
Angle of the casing, 51° 42′ 35″.

The direction of the passages and the mode of barricadoing them, is precisely the same as in the preceding. The sepulchral chamber, 11 feet 8 inches wide from north to south, in the centre of the pyramid, was 12 feet 6 inches high in the middle, 9 feet 3 inches at the sides. There were other rooms near it; an entrance at c led to some lower rooms to the eastward. The dilapidation of the inside exceeded that of the tomb of Rasosis. Even the enormous blocks, which formed the roof of the sepulchral chamber, in some instances 35 feet 9 inches in length and 12 feet thick, were reduced to mere fragments. The examination of this pyramid was one of the most difficult and dangerous labours of the skilful engineer and his dauntless overseer, Abd el Ardi. Three times the ruins fell in and filled the sepulchral chamber, which after so much exertion was at length discovered. One workman was almost jammed to death in the passage; but the excavation was constantly renewed with redoubled energy, and at last crowned with successful results.

The pyramid is surrounded by a Peribolos enclosing a court with a pavement 2 feet thick. A stone causeway of slight inclination leads up to it on the eastern side, at the extremity of which a building seems once to have stood. The passages and chambers, as far as they could be examined, were formed, in the most skilful and artistic manner, of vast blocks of limestone from the quarries of Turah. Some fragments of black basalt, without any marks of carving, prove that they originally contained sarcophagi.

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[47] See plates in the Monumental Work of the Prussian expedition.

D D, in the plan and section, are retaining walls, composed of large blocks laid in more regular courses and built with more care than the rest of the pyramid. Perring conjectures that they were erected in order that the bulk of the pyramid might be carried up before the completion of the passages, which were very elaborately finished. On the walls hieroglyphics were found with the name of Sahura, as shown on the Plate. Above the entrance a recess was noticeable, apparently intended to receive a tablet with an inscription like those which Herodotus saw and described.[48]

VI. CONJECTURE AS TO THE GREAT PYRAMID OF ABOUSEER, AND THE UNFINISHED ONE.

WE take advantage of an excellent remark of Lepsius's, noticed by us when treating of the great pyramid of Gizeh, to call attention to the fact that the stone causeway leading to the Middle Pyramid, turns to the right a short distance before it reaches it. Had it been continued in a straight line it would have led to the *Great Pyramid*, which is still unappropriated to any King. The latter must consequently be older than the other two. It was also examined by Perring. Its style, construction, and dilapidation are precisely the same as the others; but the proportions are on a larger scale. It measured originally at the base 359 feet 9 inches—now 325; and was 227 feet 10 inches high—now 164; an entrance of

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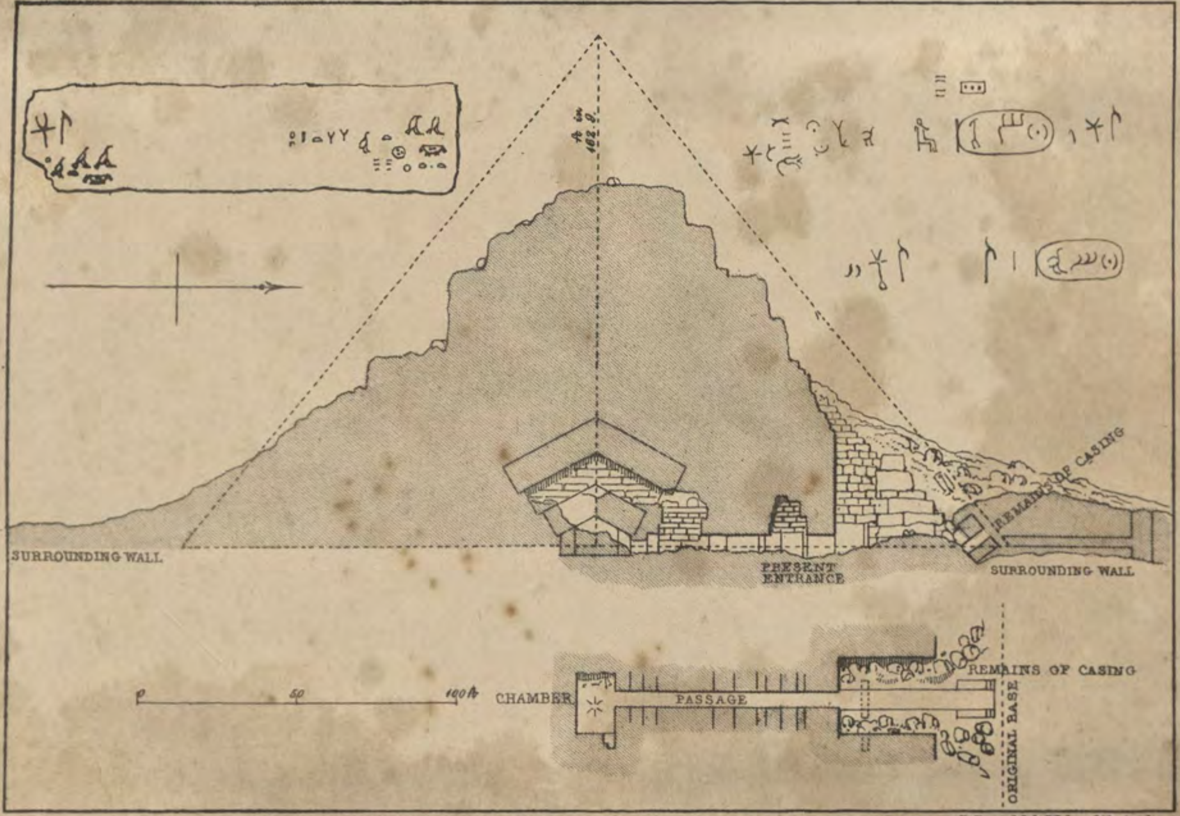
[48] See plates in Monuments of Prussian expedition.

Plate VIII. (VII in Text.) to face P. 104.



ft in
162.9.
SURROUNDING WALL
PRESENT ENTRANCE
SURROUNDING WALL
REMAINS OF CASING
0
50
100 ft
CHAMBER
PASSAGE
REMAINS OF CASING
ORIGINAL BASE

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

NORTHERN PYRAMID OF ABOUSEER.
Plan and Section.

104 feet leads to the sepulchral chamber. A piece of wood which was found worked into the masonry and perfectly sound is now in the British Museum.

Lastly, the unfinished building, near the Great Pyramid, which is exhibited on the plan, was likewise merely the foundation of a pyramid. The entrance on the northern side and the excavation for the passage and chambers are distinguishable.

Was it an unsuccessful attempt, or intended for a King who was prevented either by premature death or some mischance from completing the building?

Both pyramids certainly belong to this Dynasty, as is proved by the remains of the tombs of the two next succeeding Kings.

D.

A GLANCE AT THE KINGS OF THE SECOND DYNASTY, AND THE MONUMENTS WHICH BELONG TO THAT EPOCH.

WE have already established the agreement between Eratosthenes and Manetho in the 3rd Dynasty, which is strengthened and completed by the Tablet of Tuthmosis; and have even pointed out contemporary monuments — tombs indeed — of several of its Kings. After such testimony we may venture to claim a strictly historical character for the tradition respecting it. We have ascertained that it borders upon a period already historical, and that the history of the next race, whose tombs are the far-famed Pyramids, bears the impress of an age verging towards dissolution. The tradition relative to the 3rd, the second Imperial

Dynasty, is based on a clear historic foundation, although the descriptions of its Princes have been drawn from notices in the Annals, popular legends, and the blunders of later writers, to which both have given rise, all jumbled together. But we also claim the same historical character for the period of the 2nd and 3rd Dynasties as far as the reality of the reigns, and we think upon the whole their succession and duration, as based upon Eratosthenes, are concerned. The tradition forms a coherent whole, established upon facts as vast as the pyramids themselves, and exhibiting an organised, great, powerful, and progressive empire, in which arts and sciences of various kinds were cultivated.

This main fact, the historical and connected character of the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Empire of Menes, will become more obvious, if we look back for an instant, and compare the picture it presents with that of the *Second Dynasty*.

We have already, in conformity with our hypothesis, established the fact, that the two Dynasties not only commenced simultaneously, but also that their length was the same. The 224 years assigned by Eratosthenes to the 3rd are found in the 2nd of Manetho, as soon as we restore to their proper place — the beginning of the 3rd Dynasty — the names of the last two Kings whom the Epitomists have by mistake inserted in the 2nd. Is it possible, without being guilty of most unpardonable want of criticism, to consider this a mere accident?

The following entry is made against the *first* of these Kings of This or Abydos:

> "BOETHÔS (BÔCHOS): in his time a landslip occurred at Bubastis, by which many persons perished."

Bubastis is situated in the Delta. The Kings of Abydos, therefore, were considered Kings of Egypt, and the Annals of Abydos registered events which happened in Lower Egypt. This evidently implies a co-ordinate reign, a common sovereign right indeed, over all Egypt. We have clearly two royal Houses, of which the southern belonged to the race of Menes through the female line, and inhabited the ancient residence of that family; the northern, represented a race of Memphite Princes, whose pretensions probably rested upon an alliance between a member of the House of Menes and some distinguished family established at Memphis.

The length of the first two reigns (38 + 39 = 77) corresponds, within a year, with the reign of the Chief of the Memphite line (78 years).

In the *second* reign we find the following entry:

> "KAIECHÔS (CHÔOS, KECHÔOS): in his time divine honours were paid to the bulls Apis at Memphis and Mnevis at Heliopolis, as well as the Mendesian he-goat."

Here, then, we find the institution of religious ordinances attributed to the second King of the Thinite Dynasty, which a Memphite or Alexandrian tradition, derived from Memphite sources, ascribes to the third King of the Empire of Menes, who was almost his contemporary. The latter must, at all events, have given his full sanction to that institution; for all the principal places where that worship was solemnised clearly belonged to the Memphite Empire. Is it possible that the old race of Menes had especial charge of religious ceremonies? This was generally the province of the less powerful, but elder branch.

Of the *third* King, BINÔTHRIS, who is said to have reigned 47 years, it is recorded, that

> "In his time the succession of females to the throne was established."

Previously, then, the right of female succession claimed by the Memphite line had not been admitted by the Thinite branch. The expression of the Epitomists is inaccurate, moreover; for there is no instance of a

Queen having ever reigned in her own undisputed right. The case of Nitocris in the 6th Dynasty forms no exception: she reigned as widow, "in the stead of her husband." This would imply a particular convention made in her favour, or more probably some irregularity, as she was dethroned in a popular tumult. There must frequently have been heiresses, yet we find no instance of females as sole-regents, although some of them were created co-regents. In the New Empire we can prove that they were excluded, although they seem to have laid claim to the throne.

The Epitomists found the following notice annexed to the *seventh* and last King of this Dynasty:

> "There is a tradition that, in his time, the Nile flowed with honey for eleven whole days."

The story probably originated, as the similar one connected with the Tiber, in some natural phenomenon being recorded in the Annals. Hengstenberg has clearly shown, in a late treatise, that the Nile frequently changes colour and flavour.[49]

Natural as it must appear for us to find almost all the Kings of the Memphite Dynasty in the field of the pyramids, it would be a hasty conclusion that the Memphite monuments cannot contain notices of the Kings to whom the above-cited extracts of the Annals relate. We should probably indeed look in vain for any of their monuments in the Northern Empire; but there must have been pyramids in their common Necropolis. If other especial works of the Thinite Kings be still extant, they may possibly be found in the ruins of Abydos, that primeval city of Egypt, which, in spite of Strabo's narrative, and the valuable treasure of its royal tablet, is almost entirely neglected by travellers.

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[49] Hengstenberg, the Books of Moses and Egypt, p. 103. seq.

It is worthy also of remark that there is not the most remote allusion to Thebes having been built by the 2nd Thinite Dynasty, or the first reigning House of Memphis. We have already observed, that according to all notices, legends, and indications, the date of its foundation is ante-historical. A fragment of a popular legend, transmitted by Diodorus, does, however, mention a *builder of Memphis*. According to him it was built by the eighth successor of Busiris II. The legend states that his daughter Memphis bore to Father Nile a son, Egyptus, an upright and humane King, who succeeded him. The ante-historical Theban tradition closes with Busiris II.; he was the builder of Thebes. Another Dynasty succeeded him, and the King above mentioned was the eighth successor of Busiris II. The Dynasty, therefore, consisted of nine Kings. He was a Memphite Prince, who founded Memphis and built a royal citadel, which, though unsurpassed by any subsequent one, did not rival the splendour of the older Theban palaces. His grandson, begotten of the divine Nile, reigned after him, and was an upright and humane King. Now what was the name of this ruler who built Memphis? *U-cho-reus* (a trisyllable). Is it possible that the name of Sesorcheres I., the founder of the royal House of Memphis, has grown out of it?[50] The grandson of the former King was the upright and pious ruler, the father of Egyptus. The successor of the son of Sesorcheres was the great and benevolent Sesortôsis I., the hero of Greek tradition. Can there be any connexion between the legend about the daughter of that patriarch, who was the mother of a King, and Manetho's account of females being admitted to the succession to the throne? At all events it synchronises with it most completely. The royal scutcheon of U-seser-kef, found by L'Hôte in 1840[51], and by Lepsius in 1843, at the Pyramids of Gizeh, certainly does not tally with the U-cho-reus of Diodorus. The corresponding name is found as Chief of Manetho's 5th Dynasty.

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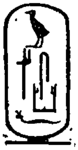
[50] CECOPXEPEYC instead of OYXOPEYC.

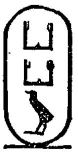
18



U-seser-kar-f.

On the other hand, it is difficult to deny that another scutcheon discovered by Lepsius at the same time, KAR-KAR.U, or KA-KA.U, or KE.U, KA.U, belongs to the 2nd Dynasty. With the first and more probable reading it answers most perfectly for its historical chief King. Both *Kaiechôs* and *Kechôos* can be explained by the hieroglyphics.

19



Ka[r] ka[r]-u.

The most striking proof of the historical character of the tradition respecting this Dynasty, however, is the circumstance above alluded to, that in Manetho the sum total of the reigns is 224 years; that is to say, the very same as that of the 3rd Dynasty of Eratosthenes; the two being, according to our hypothesis, necessarily contemporary. But, again, this period cannot possibly be more than 224 years, since it is quite clear that the 4th Dynasty reigned over all Egypt. It is difficult to suppose that the internal accordance here exhibited can be accidental.

We subjoin to this portion of the subject a remark upon the statement of Eusebius, with which the rapid notice of the 3rd Dynasty in his List terminates. He gives only the first two reigns in exact accordance with Africanus, 28 and 29 years; and then goes on to say, six Kings followed, who "reigned 198 years." If, on the most natural interpretation, this refers to the last six Kings, Eusebius must have found in his authorities 198 + 57 = 255 years; which, according to the present text of Africanus, is very nearly the identical number

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[51] Journal des Savans, January, 1841.

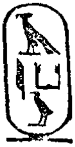
obtained after allowing for the transpositions already pointed out. The Epilogus of the 3rd Dynasty was, according to Africanus, as the text now stands, 214 years. We found it necessary, however, to carry over to the beginning of it the last two reigns in the
List of the 2nd Dynasty - - - 78 years;
and, on the other hand, to abstract from it the reign of the first King, Necherôphes (Necherôchis), with whom it commences
at present - - - - - - - 28
the result is an addition of - 50 years.
On the other hand, by the substitution of IV. 5, 6. for III. 8, 9. (47 instead of 56),
we lose - - - - - - 9
so that the net increase in the sum total is - - - 41 years.

The genuine Epilogus of Manetho's tradition therefore is (214 + 41) 255 years, or the very number given by Eusebius. We shall see below that the closest approximative collation of the individual reigns in Manetho and Eratosthenes, without any alteration of the figures, also makes Manetho's sum total 255; with two alterations, 245 years. We are therefore justified in considering 255 as the most probable tradition. Here then we find not only the same prevailing relation between the sums total of Eratosthenes and Manetho, but also self-evident information as to the nature of the figures in the Epitomists. The dates of regencies and collateral reigns in the historical work were added up together in the Epilogus, or the date of reign of the same King was entered twice where there was more than one version of the name, sometimes with a difference of a year, according as the odd months were counted or not. The chronological period of the 2nd Dynasty must, according to our hypothesis, have been 224 years; and

Manetho really assigns to it exactly 224. We can understand that in the separate histories of the Thinite Princes there may have been no reason for making any other entries in the royal Lists than such as were strictly chronological. Will any one venture to say that this agreement is mere accident?

In conclusion, we offer another conjecture as to the most obscure name in Manetho's List of the 3rd Dynasty. Besides the two ancient scutcheons found by Lepsius at Gizeh, already discussed, he discovered a third, which undoubtedly belongs to a very ancient period. It reads HER-A-KA.U. Must we not identify it with ACHES; the name of Manetho's seventh King? and must not the great pyramid of Abouseer consequently belong to him? It is older at all events than that of Rasôsis, who was the eighth King of the Dynasty.

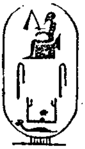
20



Her-a-ka.u.

It is true that in this reading no account is taken of the first sign, Horus (HER), instead of the Sun (RA). According to the analogy of ordinary names, we should require some such rendering as *Akhe-res* instead of *Akhe-heres*. To meet this difficulty we may suppose Aches to be an abbreviation of *Asse-khes*, and appropriate to him the old royal scutcheon discovered on the field of the pyramids, and first deciphered by Lepsius, ASS-K.F. It was not customary in pronunciation, or at least in the Greek transcript, to pay any attention to the pronominal suffix (f), the third person of the masculine gender.

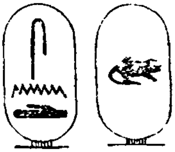
21



As-skar-f.

No place is anywhere found for an old monarch mentioned in the Book of the Dead, King Goose, in Egyptian *Sent*, whose scutcheon we give phonetically and figuratively. He may as well have been one of the unchronological Kings before Menes.

22



Sent.

E.

THE TABLETS OF ABYDOS AND KARNAK, AND THE TURIN PAPYRUS.

THE Tablet of Abydos (Book I. p. 45.) leaves us in the dark. It contained, as can be proved, eleven royal scutcheons (now destroyed) before those of the 4th Dynasty of Manetho; more, consequently, than belong to the first or third alone, but still three less than the two together contained, if the series began with Menes.

The more ancient of the two tablets, that of Tuthmosis at Karnak, has in its ninth scutcheon, Mer-en-ra, a name connected with the tenth King, whom we know to have been the Chief of the 6th Dynasty. Now which scutcheons are the most ancient? The first is unmutilated and contains the name of King Ra-hem Smen-teti. Does he or does he not correspond with the last King's name in the 1st Dynasty of Eratosthenes, Semempsos (instead of Pemphos)? According to our restoration, the remaining extant scutcheons (4, 5, 6, 7) may be shown to correspond with the second, fifth, sixth, and seventh Kings of his 3rd Dynasty, in the following manner:

4.—ASES (ASES-TETKAR-RA): Er. VII., Man. III. 2.
5.—AN (AN-KHUFU): Er. X., Man. III. 5.
6.—SAHŪRA: Er. XI., Man. III. 6.
7.—SNEFRU (with the Gold Horus NUB): Er. XII., Man. III. 7
8.—(now destroyed) NEFRU-KAR-RA: Man. IV. 7.

It is clear that this Tablet does not contain all the Kings of Eratosthenes; which is explainable, because its object may have been to give only the succession from father to son. But how are we to account for the names which it has in common with Eratosthenes being given in different order? Another arrangement may therefore be proposed, on the supposition that the 6th Dynasty followed the 5th. The name in the seventh scutcheon may easily be identified with the second King of the 5th Dynasty (Sephres), as that in the eighth, Nefrukera, is decidedly Nephercheres. But what becomes of Ases-Tetkera? We find (as will be shown in the proper place), that the predecessor of the last King of the 5th Dynasty (Unnas) was an Ases in the Papyrus: but if he were our Ases, he ought to have come after, not before, Snefru and Nefrukera. Again, how can An be made a King of the 5th Dynasty, to say nothing of Sahūra? The tablet of Karnak seems therefore to me irreconcilable with the assumption that Kings of that dynasty were mentioned on the scutcheons preceding the chief of the sixth. Our system presents difficulties, but not impossibilities: which the other does, apart even from the circumstance that the List of Eratosthenes, as a chronological series, is incompatible with it.

We have now to examine the old Royal Canon, of which the Turin Papyrus contains most valuable fragments (Book I. p. 50.). In it we clearly find, according to Seyffarth's restoration of the 165 fragments in the third of the twelve double columns, the beginning of the List of Kings of the 4th Dynasty. Fragment 18. in Lepsius (the perfect accuracy and correctness of whose arrangement of the separate fragments have since been fully verified by the publication of Wilkinson's fac-simile of them) contains six royal names. The fifth is written with red ink, to indicate the Chief of a new Dynasty. His name is SRI, and his successor is called SER. Both bear a strong resemblance to SŌRIS, by which name the Chief of the 4th Dynasty is designated in Manetho's Lists. They are preceded by the four following entries, some of the dates of which are uncertain:

	Years.	Months.	Days.
1. NFRKA-SNT (i. e. Nefruka, Nephercheres) -	2	3	10 20
2. RA-UAH-TFU (or KFU? confer *Kufi*, incense?) - - - - -	14 24 34	4	24

	Years.	Months.	Days.
3. BB (i. e. Bebys ? or Bebyres ?)[52] - -	27	2	0
4. NBKA (conf. NBKA, Berlin Stele, or Nebcheres ?) - - - - - -	19	0	0

The date of SRI's reign is 19 years and 3 months.

The importance of these entries consists in their showing that when a Dynasty became extinct very different pretensions, and consequently different historical traditions sprung up respecting it. Nothing can be more natural. For a considerable period there would be several co-ordinate sovereigns, of whom some were recognised by one portion of Egypt and its priesthood—Memphis, for instance; others, by another portion—Thebes, for instance. One portion adhered to the female line, an heiress daughter, or her son and even husband; another to the nearest heirs in the male line; a third, perhaps, to a totally new princely house, or one distantly allied by blood or marriage. The loss of the books of Egyptian history has deprived us of all these particulars, but the royal names are preserved in the Old Lists; we know, however, that practically the succession of a female was a disputed right.

This is obviously the reason why Manetho was held in such high respect by the Egyptians. He had established order in this chaos, as Eratosthenes, shortly after him, dispelled any uncertainty and confusion which might still exist, by abandoning altogether the Egyptian method, and extracting from the records at Thebes a pure chronological List of Kings of the Old Empire, as Apollodorus, his successor, did of the Middle. In the case before us, we learn from these fragments also that the extinction of the first Memphite race and the accession of the second, which again reigned over all Egypt, constituted an epoch in the history of the Empire, and was an age of great confusion.

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[52] Is there any connexion between this name and Bicheres, Biyres?

F.

COMPLETE SYNOPTICAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE THIRD DYNASTIES.—CRITICO-

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE SECOND AND THIRD DYNASTIES

9 Kings, 224 Years.

The Third Dynasty:—

Number of the Succession from Menes.	Eratosthenes. VI—XIV.		Manetho. 3rd Dynasty (restored List).		Manetho compared with Eratosthenes and the Monuments.	Er.	Man.
VI.	1. Sesorcheris (Momcheiri)	79	Sesorchris, II. 8. (Sesôchris) Cheneres, II. 9. Necherôphis, III. 1.	48 30 28	1. Sesorcheris (Sesorchris)	79	78
VII.	2. Toichros (Stoichos)	6	Tychres (Tyreis), III. 3.	7	2. Toichros, son (Tychres)	6	7
VIII.	3. Sesortôsis (Gosormiês)	30	Sesortasis, III. 2. (Sesorthos)	29	3. Sesortosis I. (Sesortasis)	30	29
IX.	4. Marês	26	Sesorchris, III. 4. (17) read (Mesochris)	27	4. Marês-Sesorchris II., son	26	27
X.	5. An-Sōyphis (Anōyphis)	20	Sōyphis (III. 5.)	16	5. Sōyphis	20	16
XI.	6. Sirios	18	Sesortasis (Tosertasis) (III. 6.)	19	6. Sirios Sesortosis (II.)	18	19

LISTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE SECOND AND HISTORICAL COLLATION.

OF MANETHO: CORRESPONDING TO ERATOSTHENES VI.—XIV.

(Years of Menes 191—414.)

Memphites.		The Second Dynasty—Thinites.
Egyptian and Greek Notices.	Monuments.	MANETHO: 7 Kings, 224 Years.
5 cubits high, 3 broad. (*Manetho.*) Of enormous stature. (*Eratosthenes.*)	ASES, Karnak 4. Field of Pyramids at Gizeh.	1. Boêthos - - 38 (Bôchos) Landslip at Bubastos.
Remarkable appearance about the moon, followed by the submission of the Libyans, who had revolted. (*Manetho.*)	TeTKeRA, ibid. ASES—TETKERA in Sakkâra.	2. Kaiechôs - - 39 (Chôos) Divine honours paid to the Bull and He-Goat.
Uchoreus, i. e. Sesorchereus of *Diodorus* (?).		? KA[r]-KA[r]U, field of Pyramids of Gizeh.
The great lawgiver: organisation of civil and religious worship, establishment of writing, building with rectangular blocks. Origin of the art of medicine, as well as geometry and astronomy. (*Man. Dicæarch. Diodòr.*)	- - - - -	3. Binôthris - - 47 Females admitted to the succession to the throne.
Sasychis, the reviver of commerce, the wise and humane ruler. (*Herodotus* (instead of Asychis) and *Diodorus.*)	(*Sesor*) KA[r].U-RA. Northern Brick Pyramid of Dashoor. ? KHUFU (with the sign of the whip) in a tomb at Benihassan (perhaps = AN, Karnak 5.): votive statue of Sesortesen (XII. Dyn.): field of tombs at Gizeh.	4. Tlas - - 17 5. Sethenês - 41 (SUTEN?)
- - - -	SAHURA, Karnak 6. Northern Pyramid of Abouseer, Field of Pyramids of Gizeh.	

The Third Dynasty: —

Number of the Succession from Menes.	Eratosthenes. VI.–XIV.	Manetho. 3rd Dynasty (restored List).	Manetho compared with Eratosthenes and the Monuments.	Er.	Man.
XII.	7. Chnubos-Gneuros - 22	Achês 42. read - 22 (III. 7.) Snephuris - 30 (Sephuris) (III. 8.) Nephercheres - 22 (Kerpheres) (III. 9.)	7. Sesortosis (III.) (the Golden, *Chnubos-Gneuros*), son	22	22
XIII.	8. Rasôsis (Rayôsis) - 13	Rasôisis (Ratôises) - 25 (IV. 5.)	8. Rasôsis (Rasôisis)	13	25
XIV.	9. Biyrês - - 10	Bicheris (IV. 6.) - 22	9. Bicheris (Biyrês)	10	22
	Sum total of Erat. - 224	Sum total of the chronological reigns without correction in the 4th and 8th reigns - - 255 With correction in Dyn. 4 + 10, „ Dyn. 8 − 20 } 245	Sum -	224	245

RESULTS.

We have now reached the close of an epoch in the Empire of Menes. After it had lasted 190 years under five consecutive Kings, the reigning family split into two branches, and Egypt was probably divided thereby into the Upper and Lower Country. The Imperial, or Memphite Dynasty reigned 224 years, the Thinite the same number; the former comprised nine, the latter seven reigns. At the end of 414 years, therefore, the 4th Dynasty reunited the whole Empire under one sceptre.

Manetho's dates for the 1st (253) and for the 3rd Dynasty (214 Afr., properly 264 or 311, and 255 Eusebius), were merely, therefore, the Epilogus of the dates of all the reigns which were registered in the Lists. Among them, however, were repetitions and reduplications. Omitting these, we obtain

Memphites.		The 2nd Dynasty — Thinites.
Egyptian and Greek Notices.	Monuments.	Manetho: 7 Kings, 224 Years.
- - - -	HAR-A-KA[r].U. : name lately discovered by Lepsius, on the Field of Pyramids of Gizeh. (? Great Pyramid of Abouseer)	6. Chairês - - 17
- - - -	RA.N.SESER. Middle Pyramid of Abouseer, fifth scutcheon at Karnak (votive statue of Sesortesen-Amenemhe). Field of Pyramids of Gizeh.	7. Nephercheres - 25 Honey in the Nile for 11 days. 224

for the 1st Dynasty 188 (instead of 190);
for the 3rd Dynasty 223 (instead of 224);

by which, however, we do not mean to say, that Manetho really himself introduced all these corrections into the dates of the succession, and that he did not specially reckon the 22 years of the last reign, i. e. 245 chronological years, or if 42 years be really the true number for the seventh reign, 265 years.

It will be only at the close of the inquiry that we shall be able to ascertain whether we have any other means of discovering what was Manetho's real calculation of the length of this period. But even in him it is undoubtedly the actual sum total of his 2nd Dynasty. No historical critic, therefore, can entertain the slightest doubt that the authorities which Manetho and Eratosthenes consulted, independently of each other, were identical and their data historical.

SECTION III.

FOURTH DYNASTY. THE UNITED EMPIRE, 155 YEARS.

A.

INTRODUCTION, AND REVIEW OF THE LISTS.

We have before us a race of Kings, with regard to whom so zealous an investigator as Herodotus, with the exception of a few incoherent scraps of history, could discover nothing but legendary fictions and popular stories. These Kings were the builders of the great and world-renowned Pyramids. However impartially the Father of History communicated to the Greeks the information he received about them, accurate as to their names and succession, though wholly at fault as to the chronological series, Manetho joined issue with him upon these points, as appears from the scanty fragments transmitted by his Epitomists. The Alexandrian Greeks, however, and their successors, made it the object of their researches to investigate the question who were the builders, and what was the plan and construction of these pyramids. Pliny gives the names of eleven of these Greek scholars, a few only of whom are mentioned more particularly by other authors. The writings of all have long since perished in the flames of Byzantium. Duris of Samos, a geographer and historian; Artemidorus of Ephesus, mentioned by Strabo, a contemporary of Ptolemy Lathyrus (about 130 B.C.); and Alexander Polyhistor, the celebrated chronographer, may probably have been the most distinguished. Among those, of whom we know nothing, we would fain hope that none were so bad as that twaddling bookworm, the injudicious Apion. "All these together," says Pliny, "do not enable us to ascertain who built them." He consoles himself, however, with the reflection that they deserved their fate, for having thrown away so much money on such useless and ostentatious buildings. Yet long after Pliny — to this day indeed — these identical pyramids have excited the curiosity and ingenuity of all generations of men who have beholden them, and prompted inquirers and thinkers of all nations to offer conjectures, of the most varied kind, as to their authors and the period of their erection; nay, after all tradition was lost, as to the object even for which they were designed, although no rational being ought ever to have entertained the slightest doubt upon that head. It is Zoega's great merit that he appealed to common sense and the Greek Annalists to elucidate these points, and, by comprehensive and careful study, collected together the whole state of facts. Champollion — as I rejoice in being able myself to testify — before he went to Egypt, saw that they must have been erected by Kings belonging to the 4th Dynasty of Manetho. He and his friend and coadjutor, Rosellini, struck out the only path which could lead to the verification of that idea — the exploration of the tombs on the field of the pyramids. Wilkinson, likewise, from the beginning, pursued the right historical track. Prior to their time, the shrewd and clear-sighted Belzoni had found the entrance to the second Pyramid. He succeeded in reaching the sepulchral chamber, but, like his predecessors, failed in finding any trace of hieroglyphics. In the year 1838 I attempted the restoration of the individual reigns of this dynasty. Just at that moment, General Vyse's labours had brought to light the names of the Kings who are said by the old Annalists to have built them — and in the third pyramid was discovered the mummy, coffin-lid, and scutcheon of the King, whom all the Greek writers record as its builder, by the name of Mykerinus or Mekerinus, which is now confirmed by the monuments. This circumstance challenged research in a direction heretofore untried, namely, the restoration of Manetho's 4th Dynasty by those records. It soon became apparent that, in spite of these great discoveries, which might excite the envy of Herodotus and Pliny, historic truth does not lie so obviously on the surface of these ruins, that the first comer could not fail to find it. It required, on the contrary, all the earnestness and diligence of honest research, to disencumber it from the deposit of ages — a process which must almost invariably be pursued by circuitous and wrong roads. The first result of the unexpected discovery was, that questions forced themselves into notice, and difficulties started up, of which no one had heretofore entertained any suspicion. How do the monumental names tally with Greek tradition and the Lists? What is the order of succession of the builders of the Pyramids? What is their date? As far as we are concerned, we had already satisfied ourselves of the restoration of the chronology of the Three Empires, as far as was necessary for the purposes of chronology, and entertained no doubt, therefore, that, by means of Eratosthenes, we should be able to reconcile Manetho and the monuments in this as well as the preceding Dynasties. Availing ourselves of the researches *then* at our disposal, we attempted such a restoration, and read a memoir upon the subject, on the anniversary of the foundation of the Archæological Institute at Rome, in the spring of 1839[53], before the Royal Society of Literature in London. This paper, which was published in the "Literary Gazette," illustrates the then state of our present inquiry, as well as its connexion with Messrs. Birch and Lenormant. These gentlemen were the first to give a decided opinion (the former personally to myself) as to the correct reading of the Egyptian name of Mykerinus.

We are now happily enabled to confirm, in the main, what was then discovered, and hope to correct it in some points.

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[53] April 27.

The plan of our inquiry is as follows. This time we shall begin at once, by giving, according to our own arrangement, the monumental names and Greek traditions by the side of the Lists, without any alteration, except that of correcting a slight and palpable misspelling in the name of Mencheres by Eratosthenes. We shall then attempt to justify our arrangement by a preliminary comparison of the Royal Lists and monumental names. By the assistance of the Tablet of Abydos, we shall then submit the monumental names, as well as Greek traditions, to a closer analysis. After these preliminary steps, we shall consult the Pyramids themselves, the tombs of these very Kings, and exhibit their internal contents. In conclusion, we shall again on this occasion offer an historical restoration and general summary.

We have already prepared our readers to expect to meet with more difficulties and seeming contradictions in the notices and records in the restoration of the 4th than we did in the preceding Dynasties. We might certainly have anticipated that they would diminish as the history advances and the number of the monuments increases. We have, however, already remarked in the First Book, that the nature of Egyptian tradition,—the practice of registering all the Kings who reigned conjointly with the principal one, and the sums total of their years of reign, which are no indication of the length of the period, — as well as the constant variation between their family names and personal appellations, which, in the case of Sovereigns of the same name, we express by "second," "third," "fourth," &c.,—are in themselves sufficient to multiply the difficulties, in proportion as the registers give more details of the history of the different reigns. To these must be added the careless and uncritical manner in which the majority of our present authorities, especially Diodorus and Pliny, have treated the old authorities which they consulted. Lastly, in this Dynasty, Manetho's Lists are more confused than in the former, because the Epitomists found

THE FOURTH

Number of the Succession from Menes.	Eratosthenes. 5 Kings (XV.—XIX.)—155 Years.	Manetho.		
		Africanus. Memphites, 8 Kings.	*Eusebius.* *Sync.* Of another 17 Kings.	*Arm. Version.* Princely House. 17 Kings.
XV.	1. Saôphis - 29	1. Sôris - - 29	- - - - - -	
XVI.	2. Saôphis II. - 27	2. Sûphis - 63 "built the largest pyramid, which Herodotus ascribes to Cheops. He was a despiser of the Gods, and wrote the Sacred Book, of which I obtained possession, it being considered a most valuable document, when I was in Egypt."	The third was 3. Sûphis - - 63 "built the largest pyramid, which Herodotus ascribes to Cheops. He was a despiser of the Gods, and wrote the Sacred Book after his conversion. The Egyptians prize it very highly, as a valuable document."	
XVII.	3. Mencherês - 31 (instead of Moscherês)	3. Sûphis 66, l. 56	"Of the others nothing remarkable is recorded."	
XVIII.	4. Mencherês II. 33 (instead of Mosthês)	4. Meneherês - 63	- - - - - -	
		5. Ratoisês - 25 6. Bicheris - 22 7. Sebercherês - 7	- - - - - -	
XIX.	5. Pammês - 35	8. Thamphthis 9		
	Sum total 155	- - - 274		
		"Reigned 274 years."	"Reigned 448 years."	

the names, dates, and sums total so considerably increased. Even here, however, a patient investigation will have its reward.

DYNASTY.

Tablet of Abydos.	Monuments.	Greek Annalists.	
		Herodotus.	*Diodorus.*
XII. - - -	1. KHUFU. Inscription on a wall (quarry mark) in the Great Pyramid of Gizeh with the following name. (1. 4. a.)	Cheops - - 50 impious king, built the largest Pyramid in 10 +20 years.	Chemmis - 50 (the same)
XIII. - - F.	2. KHNEMU-KHUFU frequently occurs in quarry marks and other inscriptions in the Great Pyramid; sometimes also merely KHNEMU. (Pl. VII.) (1. 4. b.)	Chephren - 56 his brother built the second largest Pyramid.	Kephrên - 56 (the same)
	SHA.F-RA. Field of Pyramids of Gizeh (Pl. VIII.), "the Great of the Pyramid." (1. 4. f.)	Chabryês, son of the first King; according to some the builder of the Great Pyramid.	
XIV. Men(NETER)-KERA (1. 4. c.). XV. MEN-KE-RA (1. 4. d.).	4. MEN-KE.U-RA. Coffin-lid of the King (Pl. VII.). Papyrus at Parma. MENKE-RA. Book of the Dead at Turin and Scarabæi.	Mykerinus, son of Cheops, built the third Pyramid of Gizeh, cased with red granite half-way up.	Mykerinus or Mekerinus, son of Cheops.
XVI. NEFRU-KE-RA.	5. NEFRU-KE-RA, "written with the eye" (*iri* = r). Field of the Pyramids of Gizeh. (1. 4. f.)		

B.

PRELIMINARY COMPARISON OF THE NAMES IN THE LISTS AND MONUMENTS.

In considering the connexion between the series of Eratosthenes and the monumental names now authentically deciphered before we make a critical analysis of the Lists of Manetho, those points will attract our notice first, on the establishment of which the success of our inquiry depends.

The text of Eratosthenes in itself presents but slight difficulties in deciphering the last three of his five royal names. The first two Kings bear the common name of *Saôphis*, that is *Khufu*. In spite of a slight mis-spelling[54], requiring an alteration of the strokes which is barely perceptible, we obtain the name of the third King, *Mencherês*, which is fully established by all the other annalists and monuments. By this process we also obtain, beyond all doubt, that of the fourth — for Eratosthenes calls him "the second," so that he must have borne the same name. Here is our first difficulty; for neither the monuments nor Manetho seem to mention more than one Mencheres. The name of the fifth King, *Pammês*, agrees with no monumental name; still it bears so close a resemblance to the corresponding name, *Thamphthis*, in Manetho, that we can hardly think it altogether a mistake. Our belief is, that the two versions of the monumental name KHNEMU originated owing to Eratosthenes having transcribed it by *Pammes*, i.e. Pa-amn, 'Αμμωνίδης, "the Ammonide," or 'Αμμωνειδής (as θεοειδής), "like Ammon;" and Manetho, by Phamenoph, Φαμενῶφθις, a constantly recurring form for Amenōphis. The former might easily have been misspelled as Archondes (Ἀρχόνδης), the latter as Thamphthis (Θάμφθις), neither of which have any meaning.[55] The ram-headed God (Khnum, Num) was called Ammon by the Greeks, as was shown in the First Book. Khnemu is the patron God of this family, probably as Amun-Ra. We might even be tempted to identify Khnemu on the quarry mark of the Great Pyramid, not (as assumed in the Synopsis) with the abbreviated name of the second King, Khnemu Khufu, but with the Egyptian mode of writing this fifth King's name. This, however, is too uncertain and improbable for us to venture to base any argument upon it. The name transmitted by Herodotus, Chephren (Diodorus writes it Kephrên), is as foreign to the monuments as to Eratosthenes. It may be easily explained, however, as the name Khuf (in composition both spoken and written in the abbreviated form), with the distinguishing addition of rē, i.e. RA, the Sun; and the whole as the popular designation of the second of the brothers and Kings Khufu. That the prefix RA in royal names was regularly pronounced at the end is incontestable.

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[54] ΜΕΓΧΕΡΗϹ, instead of ΜΟϹΧΕΡΗϹ. Μενχερῆς, as it is written in the Lists of Manetho, is too barbarous to justify us in reading it so in Eratosthenes. The translation 'Ηλιόδοτος is free, but correct as far as the sense goes — "given to Helios," instead of "founded by Helios."

Everything depends, therefore, upon our being able to show that the identification here proposed is legitimate, and the correct one. It is the more necessary for our inquiry to prove this, because another very tempting one presents itself— the *Shafra-Chephren* of Herodotus, the successor of Cheops, consequently the second King of the Dynasty. In my first attempt at restoration, I had myself adopted this idea; but a further study of the monuments compelled me to abandon it as erroneous.

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[55] ΠΑΜΜΗC and ΘΑΜΦΘΙC are two corrupted forms of ΦΑΜΕΝΩΦΘΙC: the one is corrupt in the beginning, the other at the end. The designation Amen hept, "the devoted to Ammon," was common in the New Empire. ΑΡΧΟΝΔΗC = 'ΑΜΜΩΝΙΔΗC.

After these preliminary remarks, we proceed to a closer analysis of the details.

We shall find very little difficulty in going through Manetho's Lists, if we pursue the same method the correctness of which has hitherto stood the test of experience. He, himself, in all probability, possessed the same text as we now find in Africanus; but with the omission of the two Kings Ratoises and Bicheris (now the fifth and sixth), who obviously belong to the end of the 3rd Dynasty. His date, therefore, for the 4th Dynasty, would be 274—47 (i.e. 25+22)=227. The question to be settled, however, is, what was Manetho's real sum total, and, consequently, that of the authorities from which he derived his information; in other words, the Royal Lists, compiled during the New Empire, and known as the Canon of Turin. In making this analysis, our first and principal subject for consideration will be the dates of reigns. They agree with the aggregate numbers — they have, moreover, the advantage of being freer from clerical errors — and they lead us more easily into the right track; because, in series of Kings, the same family names are very often repeated — very rarely the same dates of reigns.

We cannot, however, expect a chronology in Manetho; so that it need create no surprise that the collective names entered in his List make up 274 years, exceeding by 119 the authenticated number of Eratosthenes. Still there are certain obvious circumstances which offer a clue to the reduction of this sum total. It is not only in itself incredible that three consecutive reigns of Kings of the same race should have lasted 182 years (63+56+63) in an hereditary monarchy, but it is also at variance with all the authentic dates of the lengths of reigns in the Old Empire. There is a tradition, however, that the two Khufus were brothers; so that we should have two generations, namely, a father and two sons — reigning 182 years —

which is contrary to all reason; and we overlook, besides, a circumstance in itself sufficiently suspicious, that the second and fourth reigns are precisely the same length. But when we find that the two numbers, 56 and 63, are evidently nothing but an Epilogus, the former being the sum of the first and second reigns in Eratosthenes, the latter of the third and fourth, all doubt is removed. By simply carrying out the method laid down and so far successfully pursued, this enigma is solved without any trouble.

Thus Sōris, with his 29 years, as it appears not to be a mis-spelling of Sōphis—in Greek the alteration would be very slight[56]—must be the name of a co-regent or rival of Saōphis-Khufu; for 29 is the positive date of the first reign.

The second King is rightly named by Manetho Sūphis, and is identical with the second Saōphis of Eratosthenes. The *u*-sound is the more correct, there being no *o* in the Egyptian language. He is stated in the List of the former to be the celebrated builder of the largest pyramid. The date of reign is one well authenticated in this Dynasty, namely, the sum of the third and fourth, the two Mencheres reigns, which in Manetho is assigned to Mencheres, and was erroneously given to Sūphis, owing to his right number, 29, being displaced.

It is clear that Manetho assigned to Sūphis, the *third* King, a reign of 56 years, not 66, according to the present reading. The consequence is that the sum of the reigns exceeds that of the Epilogus of Syncellus by 10 years. Again, 56 is the number assigned to the first reign by Herodotus and Diodorus, it being the sum of the first two in Eratosthenes, 29 + 27. The Lists, therefore, give us, first of all, the reign of the *first* Khufu, with his 29 chronological years; then the two together, making up the number 56. The fact is that the name being written in two ways in Manetho's historical work—*Sōphis* and *Sūphis*—the historical date of the first King of the name was assigned to the former, to the latter the sum of the reigns of the two Sôphis-Khufu. In this manner a date (56), wholly unwarranted as far as the chronology is concerned, found its way into the Imperial succession; and as a distinction was made between Sôphis (the first name) and Sūphis, and still two Sūphis were admitted (the second and third reign), it was absolutely necessary to strike out one of the two historical Mencherēs, unless they were prepared to alter the number of the reigns. These two Mencheres reigns comprised 63 or 64 years, according as the odd months were counted or not, and this whole sum was assigned to the reign of *one* Mencheres, there being no place for any more reigns. Sixty-three was the number selected; and in order to prevent either the repetition of the historical number of the first (29), or the sum total of the first and second (56), they gave the sum of the Mencherēs reigns to one of the two Sūphis, the first of them in fact (the second reign), in order that the number 63 might not come twice together. In this way the real date of the second Khufu's reign was lost, and both dates of the reigns of the two Mencherēs which were added together. The result of this adjustment was the following series:

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[56] CΩΦIC instead of CΩPIC.

		Years.	
1. Sôphis (Khufu I.), Erat.	I.	- 29	(The historical date).
2. Sūphis (Khufu II.) „	II.	- 63	(Sum of the two Mencherēs reigns).
3. Sūphis „	„ „	- 56	(Sum of the two Khufu reigns).
4. Mencherēs -	„ III. „ IV.	- 63	Sum of the reigns of Mencherēs I. - 31 years. Mencherēs II. - 33 „ (Excluding the odd — months) - - 63 years.

And this is precisely what we find in Manetho's Lists. Can critics, then, possibly maintain the historical character of a series ostensibly so deduced, and on internal grounds so impossible? Can a chronology be formed upon such a basis? Is it not rather imperative upon us to adopt the List of Eratosthenes as the chronologically historical record, the authenticity of all the dates of which is established by the calculations of Syncellus still extant in years of the world, and by which, in accordance with the monuments, the origin of the corruption may be explained? Can such a List be anything but the chronological key to the authorities from whence Manetho's Lists were compiled, and a Hellenic emendation of the faulty Egyptian custom of combining in one register parallel versions which mutually confute each other?

As regards the adding together of the two Khufu reigns, the origin of the number 56, this might pass for a mere misunderstanding; but it is just possible that there was some historical fact at the bottom of it. The younger brother, for instance (according to the Annalists they were brothers), who reigned jointly with the elder, may have reckoned separately to himself the dates of his own reign as well as his brother's. We shall find in the 12th Dynasty that joint reigns were by no means uncommon in the Old Empire: there are indeed traces of them as early as in the 3rd. We shall do well, therefore, to keep this an open point.

In like manner one King of the name in Manetho corresponds to the two Mencherēs of Eratosthenes, and the collective sum of their two reigns (63) is assigned to him — a version of the original entry or months in itself probably equally well warranted. Here arises the first difficulty in our system. The monuments, as far as we know, mention but one Mencherēs, who corresponds to the one Mykerinus, or Mekerinus of the Greek Annalists. Do they not therefore seem to decide in favour of Manetho's Lists against Eratosthenes? This difficulty, however, is one only in appearance. We shall soon see that the Tablet of Abydos has two corresponding Kings in place of the single Menkerēs reign; a circumstance which tends on the contrary to strengthen the proof of our hypothesis. Instead, then, of the first two reigns of Eratosthenes, Saōphis I. and II. with 29+27 years, we have the single reign of Sūphis with 56 years; and in addition to this, 29, the date of the first Sūphis. In like manner, for the third and fourth reigns of Eratosthenes, instead of two Mencherēs with 31+33 years, we have one Menkerēs reign of 64 years.

Ratoises and Bicheris, now the fifth and sixth Kings of this Dynasty in Manetho, have been restored to their proper place in the 3rd Dynasty, corresponding with the Rasōsis and Biyres of Eratosthenes. In the 4th, there is clearly no name corresponding to them either in Eratosthenes or the monuments; we should rather say, perhaps, that the latter prove the contrary. For the tomb of the first of the two Kings Raseser-Rasôsis was in one of the Pyramids of Abouseer, as is proved by the inscription found in it. He does not belong therefore to the series of the Khufu family, who were interred all together at Gizeh.

The case is different with SEBERCHERÊS, the seventh King in Manetho. Lepsius unhesitatingly altered this unmeaning name into NEPHERCHERÊS, and connected it with a NEFRUKERA a name of repeated occurrence in the sepulchral inscriptions of Gizeh, written in a peculiar manner. According to our division of the royal series of Abydos, also, Nefrukera occupies exactly the same position; that is, he is the successor of Menkera. Everything, indeed, concurs to show, that, towards the end of the Dynasty, confusions took place in the reigns. Instead of 35 years—the date of the reign of the last King, Pammes, in Eratosthenes—the Thamphthis of Manetho has only 9; his predecessor, Nephercherês, 7. He probably introduced the Southern Line, now branching off, and to which the names of Nephercherês give prominence even here, earlier than appeared to Eratosthenes admissible according to the laws of a chronology carried down through Thebano-Memphite Imperial Kings.

Now Eusebius assigns 17 Kings to this family instead of the 8 of Africanus, but mentions Sūphis only by name, to whom Manetho's remark as to the personal character of the same King was applied. He is his third King. He evidently copied Manetho's account of him directly from Africanus; for he has adopted his peculiar description of the sacred book of Sūphis, using the same words—"The Egyptians consider it a precious document."

Whether the statement be true that Sūphis composed it after his conversion—a conclusion drawn from its title, and possibly from its contents—must consequently be left undecided.

The number 448 is not unsuitable to the 17 Kings in his register. They both, however, probably originated simply in Eusebius' hasty compilation, as he was not over-scrupulous in such matters. For 448 =248 (the date of the 5th Dynasty) +203 (date of the 6th) — 3. According to Syncellus, however, these three years were given in some of the copies of Eusebius as the date of the 6th Dynasty, in which he registered Nitōcris only. His division consequently was as follows:

$$\left.\begin{array}{lr}\text{IV. Dynasty} \;\text{-} & 448\\ \text{VI.} \quad\;\; \text{,,} \quad \text{-} & 3\end{array}\right\} = 451 = \left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{the length of the}\\ \text{4th and 5th.}\end{array}\right.$$

The 5th Dynasty Eusebius correctly calls Elephantinæan, but under this heading he introduces only the reign of the Chief of the *sixth* Royal House, which lasted 100 years, and again reckons these 100 years of one King as the sum of the whole Dynasty, which contained, according to his own heading, 31 reigns (and which is certainly authentic). This sounds incredible: but Syncellus' statement is fully confirmed by the Armenian translation, so that the severe verdict we have passed upon him is richly deserved. Our object in entering into such minute detail upon these points—which, doubtless, has been tiresome enough to some of our readers—is, to settle once for all, how much of the statements of Eusebius is to be considered authentic where they differ essentially from Africanus—namely, nothing at all.

Now, if we compare the sum total of Manetho, as restored in this shape from itself and the monuments, with the date in Eratosthenes, we shall find that the former has 20 years less than the latter (135 instead of 155), as will appear from the following synopsis:

1, 2. The two Khufu reigns contain:
according to Eratosthenes - 29+27; to Manetho - 56
3, 4. The two Mencheres reigns contain:
according to Eratosthenes - 31 + 33; to Manetho - 63
5. The last reign contains:
according to Eratosthenes - 35 ; to Manetho (7 +9)
155 135

Now, assuming that the original authority assigned to the last King, not 9, but 29 years (ΚΘ and not Θ), we equally get the 156 years of Eratosthenes' calculation as the sum total of Manetho's tradition after correction. It is clear, that 7+29 years, with their odd months, might just as well be represented in the Lists which omitted the months and days by 36 as 35 years, if the same system were followed out in the succeeding reign.

C.

THE SUCCESSION IN THE ROYAL TABLET OF ABYDOS.

The Royal Tablet of Abydos has in its fifteenth compartment, a scutcheon containing the name of Mencherēs, the 17th and 18th King of Eratosthenes. This of itself leads to the possibility of restoring the whole of the oldest portion of this invaluable tablet. No attempt, it is true, at such a restoration has yet been made, but, in the progress of our researches into the Old Empire, the possibility of it will soon be established as a decided fact. At the present moment, even, it might offer considerable assistance towards restoring the 4th Dynasty. We propose the following restoration of the scutcheons, which are totally destroyed:

For the 1st Dynasty (Eratosthenes I.—V.), the scutcheons of the first to the fifth compartment.

For the 2nd Dynasty (seven, according to Manetho's statement as analysed above), the scutcheons from the sixth to the twelfth compartment.

The succession of reigns might be carried on in the tablet equally well in the 2nd or 3rd Dynasty. We have shown that the two Royal Houses were equally legitimate, that they were strictly historical, and that they not only commenced simultaneously, but both passed, at the end of 224 years, over to the 4th Dynasty, which exercised the Imperial power undivided in Memphis.

The Tablet of Abydos cannot have contained the 3rd Dynasty, for the 14th scutcheon, which bears the name of Menkerēs, would in that case have contained the name of Bicheris, the last Sovereign of that House.

The royal succession, therefore, was carried on, not in the 3rd but the 2nd Dynasty. Nothing, indeed, can be more natural, for the 2nd was the identical Thinite family of the primeval Imperial city, Abydos, to which that register belongs.

As the sum total of the reigns of the 2nd Dynasty tallies exactly with the period of time which must be assigned to it, we cannot suppose that the tablet contained less than seven of its scutcheons. The 4th Dynasty therefore commenced, as assumed above, with its 13th scutcheon, in which we identify only the remains of the name of Khnemu-Khufu, which is also found on the monuments written Khuf, without the final *u*. The Tablet, then, as well as tradition, represented the Khufu-reign as one. Here, however, we simply wish to show that even assuming its starting-point to have been the earliest possible (namely, Menes), and all the scutcheons of the earliest Kings to have been introduced into it (neither of which was the case in the Tablet of Karnak), the 13th scutcheon may perfectly well be that of Khnemu-Khufu, or Shaf-ra. This is a fact of the greatest importance, and one placed beyond the possibility of doubt.

It is true that it is impossible to prove it by the monument itself; for, as appears from the accurate fac-simile of it made by Lepsius (Pl. II.), the 13th scutcheon is now quite as much mutilated as the 12th. Fortunately, however, the early English travellers took very careful copies of it soon after Caillaud made his less accurate one, and before the upper part was still further dilapidated. In all of these the horned snake is represented. It can hardly, therefore, admit of a doubt, that the name in the scutcheon ended with *f*. We subjoin that of the younger Khufu, which ends with the horned snake, and likewise contains the title of the elder brother, whose name never occurs without the final *u*.

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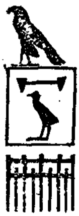
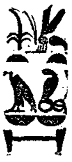
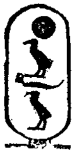


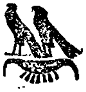
Har-atu.



su kheb
nb shau
Atu.

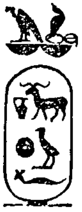


Khufu.



Bak nub ti.

24



nb-shaau
Num-khuf.

The fact is thus established, that the Tablet of Abydos, whether it introduced one Khufu or two, represented Khnemu-Khufu, or Shaf-ra, as the immediate predecessor of Mencherēs. Which of the two, we shall inquire forthwith.

Two scutcheons in the tablet at all events correspond to the Mencherēs reign of 63 years and some odd months. According to Eratosthenes, both the third and fourth Kings were called Mencherēs. The second of the above scutcheons indisputably reads so. The first, the upper part of which is destroyed, ends with *ke-ra*, which we unhesitatingly restore as *Men-ke-ra*. Usually, when two names are pronounced alike, there is some addition to the second, to mark the distinction. It is so in the case of the two Khufu; here the reverse plan is adopted. The second King is simply called Mencherēs, but *neter*, God, is added to the name of the first. This is very satisfactorily explained in the "Book of the Dead," published by Lepsius. The name of Mencherēs there occurs among the prayers (Section 64. of the text, conf. Preface), and there is hardly another instance of a King being so designated in the ritual.[57] He was likewise traditionally described as a religious ruler, and celebrated as such in many popular lays; so that his designation in the Royal Tablet as "God," is quite intelligible. Although it was customary among the Egyptians to style their deceased sovereigns *neter-na*, Great God, or *neter-nefru*, Good God, still no other Sovereign but Mencherēs I. is so styled in this tablet, and he is the very King, who, according to the Greeks, succeeded the two godless brothers, and threw open the temples again to the people.

The next scutcheon in the tablet contains the name of Nefrukera, or Nephercherēs, who, according to Lepsius' emendation, is likewise the successor of Menkerēs in Manetho's Lists. This coincidence seems in itself very significant, but it becomes more so upon further development of the royal series, which, from this point, is again manifestly continued in the Southern, and not, as in Eratosthenes, in the Northern Memphite line, — precisely, in fact, as we have shown to be probable in the 2nd Dynasty.

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[57] De Rougè, in his review of the German edition of this work, remarks that, in the "Book of the Dead" (cap. 171.), *Teti* (who is perhaps a King before the time of Menes or Athotis II., see above, p. 57.) is distinguished by the same honourable appellation (Rev. Archæol. 1847, p. 58.). I have in consequence modified the expression.

D.

THE ROYAL NAMES IN THE PYRAMIDS AND ON OTHER CONTEMPORARY MONUMENTS, COMPARED WITH THOSE OF MANETHO AND ERATOSTHENES.

Our fourth authority, the contemporary MONUMENTS, corroborate the proposed restoration of the Tablet as they did that of the Lists.

The names of Khufu and of Khnemu-Khufu were found in the chambers of the Great Pyramid discovered by General Vyse, not sculptured in stone, nor forming part of a royal inscription, but painted as quarry-marks on the blocks of the original building. It must, however, be stated that Khufu's name occurs but once, and by the side of that of Khnemu-Khufu; which latter is found repeatedly, and written sometimes simply Khnemu.

This brings us to one of the most perplexing points in our inquiry. Khnemu-Khufu's name, as remarked above, is the predominant one in the Great Pyramid; it is therefore natural to presume that he built it, and used in its construction some few blocks of his brother's and predecessor's. In point of age, therefore, the Great Pyramid is the second, and the so-called second the older. It is also of itself a natural supposition that the younger brother and surviving successor should aim at erecting a more gorgeous building than that of his predecessor. Now, as he would be called, in the Egyptian Annals, Cheops, as well as the former, the confusion may very easily have arisen; and thus the first King, the real Cheops, that is, he who was called *simply* Cheops, may have been considered and transmitted to posterity as the builder of the largest pyramid. Add to this the great facility with which a confusion might be made between the second and the second largest pyramid as to the date. The second largest was, in point of date, the first, and the second as to date was the first as to size. A confusion might, therefore, easily creep into the tradition, if the expression were not very accurate. At all events, thus much seems to be established, that Khnemu-Khufu was not the predecessor, but the successor of the simple Cheops-Khufu, and consequently the second King.

The second largest pyramid, accordingly, must be the work and tomb of Khufu, the elder brother. Manetho's Epitomists make no mention of the building of the second largest pyramid; they merely extracted his criticism of Herodotus, with whom, according to the classical writers, he found many faults. Still the pronunciation of the word itself shows that a Khufu may have preceded this Cheops, to whom Herodotus attributes the building of the largest pyramid. It is unfair to assume that Manetho, by the words "which pyramid Herodotus ascribes to Cheops," merely intended to show that he read the name in a different way. In that case he would have said, "Herodotus calls this King Cheops"—a very different remark, and a most irrelevant one, for he must have known that Cheops was a very correct transcript of Khufu, although he, as well as Eratosthenes after him, adopted in his own work, which was written in Greek, the more modern and softer pronunciation which had become familiar to the Greeks. Our hypothesis alone, as it seems to us, explains the observation, which is to the following purport. "This (the second) Sūphis built the largest of the pyramids, which Herodotus ascribes to Cheops, the first Khufu-Sūphis." In all the other instances, and from the nature of the case, the simple name must have been the more ancient, i. e. Khufu. There can be no further doubt, however, that the largest pyramid belongs to Khnemu-Khufu, consequently the second of the Khufu Kings. No trace of the Mencherēs reign has yet been found on the monuments, except the simple name-scutcheon. On the beautiful coffin lid of the philanthropic and popular King found in the third pyramid (Lepsius, Pl. VII.) it occurs with the plural form, Ke (*Ke-u*, offerings), as in the Papyrus of Parma. The Turin "Book of the Dead" and the Scarabæi have Ka in the singular number, that is, Menkera. The name of the second Mencherēs is so written on the Tablet of Abydos. The plural form therefore, is an arbitrary variation, the old complete authentic version being clearly Men-ke-u-ra. We shall also find his name so written on the tomb of his daughter or wife.

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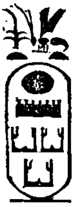


• Men-ka[r]u.ra.

We have already remarked that the Nefru-kera of the Tablet of Abydos and Manetho's Lists is also found in the Field of Pyramids at Gizeh. In the latter, however, we find a name which is omitted in the Lists — Shaf-ra, now pretty generally considered to be Khephren, consequently the second King of the Dynasty. On the splendid sarcophagus of the chief engineer of that monarch in the British Museum, and other contemporary monuments (given by Lepsius in Plate VIII. of his Historical Monuments), his name-scutcheon is invariably followed by two hieroglyphics, Uer, great (generally expressed by the swallow), and the pyramid. This has been translated "the Great Pyramid," contrary to grammatical rule, as the adjective cannot well precede the substantive. At all events, it is out of place here, there being no other instance of an honorary title coming after the royal scutcheon. In either case the translation "the Great of the Pyramid" would be unobjectionable. This King seems, therefore, at all events to have built one of the two great pyramids of Gizeh. The question is, which of them? One belongs to Cheops; the other, the largest of all, to which the title particularly alludes, to Khnemu-Khufu. Here is the difficulty. The successor of the first Khufu must likewise have been called Khufu (with an additional title). Eratosthenes calls him Saōphis II. The corresponding King to him in Manetho, as we have seen, is also the second of the name. In Diodorus, the case is the same; for his first Khufu cannot have been called Chemmis except by carelessness of ancient or modern date. All this is explained by the monumental name Khnemu-Khufu. But his is the predominant name in the quarry-marks of the largest pyramid.

Again, there is no possible place to be found for the King Shafra but in the second reign, i. e. as a coregent. He is called "the Great of the Pyramid," and all the later pyramids are much smaller than those of the first two reigns.

I believe we shall find the key to the solution of the difficulty in a statement preserved by Diodorus, which connects a King Chabryēs, Chabryis, the son of the elder brother, with the largest pyramid. "According to others," says that historian, "he built the largest pyramid." The name is obviously the Greek form of Shafra; the Greek *b* corresponding exactly to our *f*. His being called the son of Cheops points to a successor of the first King; and both chronology and history fully establish the fact, that the third reign was that of the pious Mencherēs.

After what has been said, this must imply that the second reign, during some part of it, was represented by two Kings, the younger brother of the first, and the son of the deceased. There is nothing in itself improbable in such a joint reign. The son, who was clearly the legal heir, may have been a minor, and the uncle may have chosen to govern simply as a co-regent, there being clear proof in the 12th Dynasty of the occurrence of joint reigns of this kind. Both names, as we have seen, were connected with the largest pyramid, which was notoriously distinguished from all the rest by its not having one sepulchral chamber only, but two, entirely separate from each other, and consequently intended for two Kings. It is probable, therefore, that such was its original destination — a circumstance which is explained by our hypothesis.

These are the reasons which have induced me not only to abandon my original views (of 1829) that Shafra was the second King, and that the name Khnemu-Khufu grew out of Pammes, the Ammonian, (the fifth)—but also the explanation, proposed in the first edition of this work, that this identical fifth King was Shafra.

E.

GREEK TRADITIONS.

The tradition relative to the pyramids in Herodotus, as we have seen in the former volume, forms a separate segment of history with which he has filled up the vast hiatus between the Ramesside era, the bright spot in Egyptian reminiscences, and the modern period of the decline which preceded the restoration of the Empire under Psammetichus. On one side, therefore, we have Rhampsinitus, the predecessor of Cheops, the first builder of pyramids; on the other, the Old Man of Anysis, and Sabaco, successors of Sasychis, the last Pyramid-King. It is quite clear that, for each of these three sections of history, he possessed a totally distinct tradition. The priests of Memphis lavished their encomiums upon the works of Menes, but were silent as to all the other Kings, with the exception of Mœris, the last. In the progress of our restoration of the history of the Old Empire we hope to make clear to our readers the great importance attaching to his buildings, what a vast section of history is comprised in his reign, and how natural it is that it should be considered as the end of the Old Empire. The names of Ramesses and his still greater father were the most conspicuous in the New Empire. What could be more natural, then, than that Herodotus should omit the disgraceful Hyksos period, and connect the era of the Sesostridæ and the history of the great King who revived the splendour of the Old Empire, directly with Mœris? The fact which concerns us here, however, is his omission of all notice of the pyramid-builders; and there seems some probability in the suggestion made on that head by several writers, that the priests, from detestation of those sovereigns, passed them by unnoticed. He states, indeed (II. 128.), that the Egyptians mentioned their names most reluctantly; and their history, certainly, would have wofully disturbed the beautiful romance "of the good old time," which only ended with Rhampsinitus. Indeed it was the proper way of treating a pert, inquisitive Greek. Why open up to Greeks the labyrinth of ancient history, to people "of yesterday," as the Egyptians used to say — to persons who spurned everything not Hellenic as barbarian, and who were fully convinced that the Egyptians only began to be men in the time of Psammetichus, when the Greek language and customs came into vogue? They could not divine that in this instance an exception was to be made — that the adorer and favourite of all the nine Muses, the father of history, that a genial and conciliatory spirit with the inquirer's childlike eye — that Herodotus stood before them.

There is one other circumstance which must not be overlooked. Since the days of Psammetichus, the Guild of Hermeneuts or Ciceroni had been formed, consisting of Greeks who showed the wonders of Egypt to their inquisitive countrymen. In Pliny's time guides were in attendance at a place, which he calls Busiris, not far from the Pyramids of Gizeh, who accompanied travellers up to the top of them — a name not to be confounded, as is usually the case, with Abouseer, which is too far off. It was there, undoubtedly, that Herodotus received his information about the pyramids. He makes an allusion, on all accounts deserving of notice, which seems clearly to bear that signification. After his remark, above cited, as to their reluctance to mention the names of those Kings, he proceeds to say — "The Egyptians also call the pyramids the work of the SHEPHERD PHILITIS, who at THAT TIME tended his herds HERE in the adjacent plains." We have given the Greek expressions in capitals, in order to mark the fact of those very words having been written down, or at least heard, on the spot. We shall explain their historical meaning in the Third Book.

Such was the source from which Herodotus derived that portion of his remarkable description of Egypt which treats of the age of the pyramids. The elder Hecatæus had visited Egypt before him; and which of the classic writers of any celebrity did not visit it after him? Manetho exposed many of the blunders of Herodotus; Eratosthenes and his school, others. They must both, undoubtedly, have pointed out his mistake as to the succession of the Pyramid-Kings; for the only strictly chronological error respecting them cannot well have escaped their notice. The name of Sasychis (as they doubtless read it, and not Asychis) must have been more familiar to them than to the bewildered and bewildering Diodorus; and it is inconceivable that any inquirer in the Alexandrian Museum could have failed to discover that he was not a successor of Mencheres, but the great Legislator of the third Dynasty; and any one else might easily have ascertained it.

We have already pointed out the origin of this inaccuracy. The Pyramid of Sasychis was evidently the oldest, and well built with regular brickwork. Herodotus, supposing that the great pyramids of the 4th Dynasty were those which he contrasted with his own tomb, was obliged to place him after Cheops. Here, as elsewhere, it turns out that the historical data of Herodotus were of so sterling and solid a description, that the casual occurrence of a blunder does not seriously impair the high general character of his work. Any single portion of building material does not lose its intrinsic value by being used in an injudicious place; on the contrary, it is only after discovering the mistake that its excellence is fully exhibited. This was not the case with the later Greeks and most of the pragmatical writers. The value of their materials consisted solely in the artistic and showy setting and fittings. When that was spoiled, there was nothing left of their tradition which the critic could turn to profitable account. We have a striking instance of both these results in the case before us. The series of Herodotus, after the correction of the above-mentioned oversight, stands thus:

Third Dynasty.

Sasychis: builder of the fourth (brick) pyramid, according to his informants, a legislator.

Fourth Dynasty.

Cheops: the elder brother; 50 years (inaccurate statement of the Khufu epoch).

Chephren: the younger brother; 56 years (strictly accurate account of the same epoch).

Mykerinus: the son of Cheops, re-opens the temples.

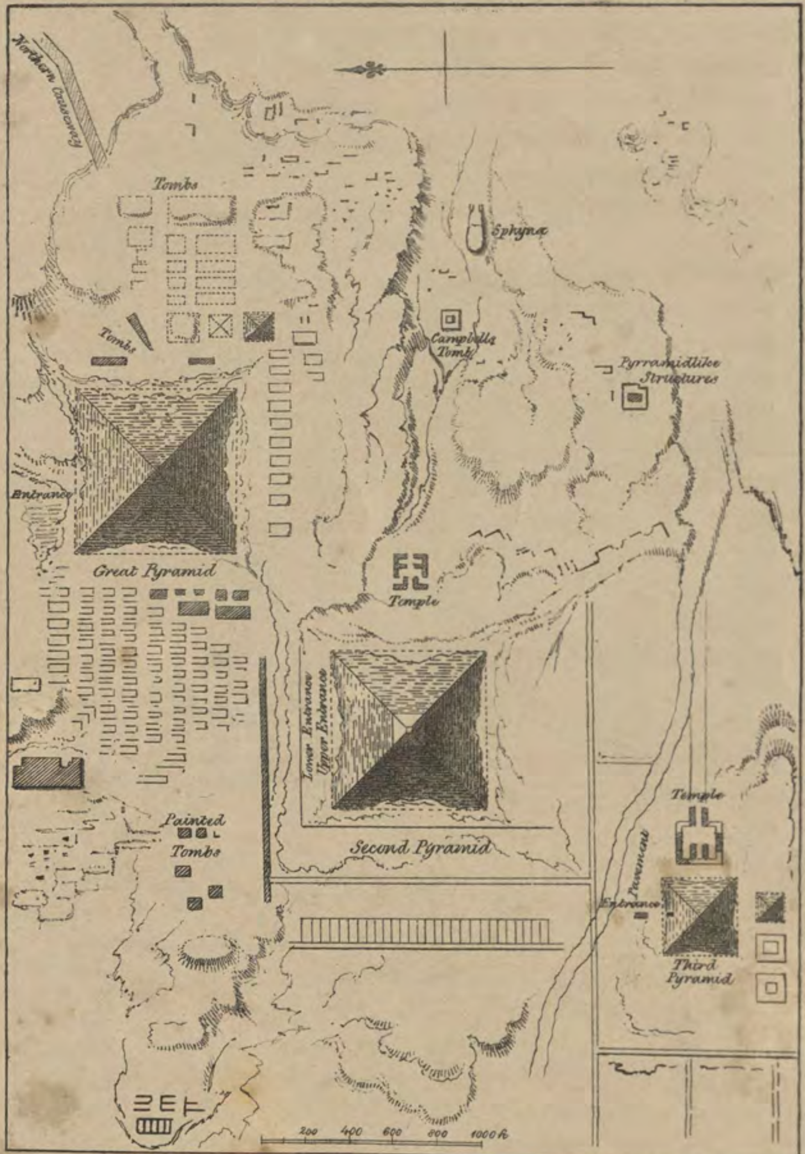
By the latter entry, the Father of History furnishes us at once with the key to the true criticism of the

Khufu period. Cheops closed the temples; Mykerinus opened them. The whole 50 or 56 years, *therefore*, are the period of oppression and impiety; the conclusion from which is, that *both* the Khufu reigns were comprised in it. His blunder, therefore, in adding them together (50 + 56 = 106) is easily detected.

The details connected with these three epochs — that of the great and humane lawgiver, the Khufu-period, and the reign of Mencheres — are perfectly accurate. Sasychis built a brick pyramid, which he contrasted with the earlier stone pyramids. In the Khufu reign the two largest were erected. The Khufu who reigned the first was called Cheops, and Cheops was also the name of the King who built the larger of the two. Had Herodotus ventured to work up his information, so as to give apparent consistency to the facts [illegible] to him, these features would have been lost. In relating the legend about Mykerinus, however, he has furnished us with the duration of that entire ill-omened Dynasty. It was announced to the pious King that his end was approaching. Upon his complaining of the injustice of the Gods in awarding to their enemies the enjoyment of such long life, the Oracle replied, "*A hundred and fifty years* Egypt was doomed to be unfortunate; thy predecessors were aware of this, but thou hast not understood it." Does not this statement clearly contain the real length of this Dynasty? Does not the very intimation indeed, that he, a humane sovereign, would be removed, in order to make room for a successor better suited for carrying into execution the Divine vengeance, lead to the same conclusion?

Diodorus' statement about Chabryes, already discussed, who, as the son of Cheops, succeeded his father, and built the largest pyramid, is Manetho's corrected version of the notice of Herodotus, adopted by the Alexandrians, to the effect that the great pyramid was not built by the first, but the second Khufu. Diodorus,

Plate IX. to face P. 117.


Northern Causeway
Tombs
Sphynx
Tombs
Campbell's Tomb
Pyramidlike Structures
Entrance
Great Pyramid
Temple
Lower Entrance
Upper Entrance
Temple
Pavement
Painted Tombs
Second Pyramid
Entrance
Third Pyramid
200
400
600
800
1000 ft

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

PLAN OF THE PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH

however, did not understand the meaning of the correction. He accordingly adhered to the notion that the successor of the first Cheops King (whom he or his copyists style Chemmis), whether he were the brother and called Chephren, or Chabryes the son, built the second largest pyramid.

Strabo, in his description of the pyramids, affords as little insight as Pliny does into their builders; and in him it is more inexcusable. After this period we find nothing in Greek and Latin authors but repetition and plagiarism, frequently mutilation and blunders, which any one so inclined will find altogether in Zoega's work on the Obelisks. Fortunately we can turn from this chaff, and consult the pyramids themselves. Until the monuments have been examined, we cannot expect to be able to dive deeper into Greek tradition.

F.

THE PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH AND FIELD OF PYRAMIDS.

(Plate IX.—*Plan.*)

OUR description and illustration are borrowed from Vyse's work, which has the advantage of the author's own notes, and the monuments and architectural dimensions of Perring. In respect to the monuments themselves, we again refer to the Plates in the work of the Prussian Commission. Gizeh, the pyramids, and the subterranean Necropolis round them are perhaps, in respect to the value of the discoveries as well as the exceeding beauty of the illustrations, the most brilliant portion of the work. Among the earlier describers Niebuhr's monuments are the most trustworthy, his views the soundest. Perring has in many points corrected the French accounts. It would be an act of the grossest injustice to test the historical and general conjectures of Jomard by the standard of our present knowledge, and to reproach that excellent man with having fallen into occasional mistakes. We would, on the contrary, take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude for the love he has shown for the monuments, and impress upon our readers the fact that, obscure as the whole subject was in his time, he steadily maintained that the pyramids are a purely Egyptian structure, and works of the most hoary antiquity. The only reproach that history can urge against the whole of the French proceedings in this department, is their unfortunate attempt at unravelling the secrets of the pyramids by breaking one of them open by force—an attempt which, after all, was unsuccessful, and a wholly unjustifiable method of conducting an artistic and archæological investigation, in the course of which, according to Jomard's own confession, several blocks with hieroglyphics on them were "seen," but not preserved or copied. Immediately after their evacuation of Egypt (1801), Mr. William Hamilton visited the pyramids, and on that occasion, as well as so many others, evinced those clear views and that correct judgment in which he is unsurpassed by any of his successors. As regards the discovery of the interior of the pyramids, towards effecting which the French engineers left almost everything to be done, Belzoni in 1818 performed undoubtedly the most signal service, by the happy idea which led him to discover the entrance of the second pyramid, and anticipate that of the third. Salt's untiring zeal in furthering these researches, those of Belzoni especially, is deserving of honourable mention.

Among the earlier describers Herodotus is incomparably the best and most painstaking. The statements of Arab writers are derived from Coptic fables and treatises on magic, which are the last offsets of Egyptian tradition.

The entrances to these pyramids are, as in the former, exclusively on the north side; in the two large and the ninth, a little to the eastward; in the fourth and sixth, a little to the westward; in the third, fifth, seventh, and eighth, exactly in the centre. The bodies lay in the sarcophagi due north and south. The third, fourth, and sixth are built in degrees or steps. There was a small temple in front of the entrance.

A fact which Belzoni's discoveries established clearly enough, has been thoroughly settled by Vyse and Perring's careful excavations; namely, that the regular entrances to these pyramids, after the original building was closed up and the interment of their builders had taken place, were walled up with granite portcullises and blocks of stone dovetailed in the inside in such a manner that from that moment, to the day when they were forcibly broken open, no human eye had ever penetrated the inside. The main entrance, on the other hand, on the north side of the pyramid, was quite visible through the upper roof; but was only accessible, after great alarm and danger had been incurred, by means of a small opening, which, as in the tomb of Caius Cestius, was concealed by a stone loosely dropped into it. A tablet let into the granite casing seems to have contained an hieroglyphic inscription commemorative of the name of the person interred in it, and other details. There may have been several of such tablets. The remains of the casing are quite smooth. Arab writers have exaggerated the fact of the existence of hieroglyphics, as they have done everything else.

The assertion made by Niebuhr and Wilkinson, that the only reason why the casing was so formed was because the outer blocks were levelled down subsequently, beginning from the apex, at the angle of the incline, seems to be confirmed by Perring, who further ascertained that the surface was afterwards carefully planed down.

The most important discovery, however, as to their structure, was made by Lepsius on the spot, and tested by repeated investigations; namely, that they are composed, as it were, of different skins or layers. A smaller pyramid was first built, and then enlarged in proportion as there was a reasonable expectation of completing the structure.[58]

None of those of the 4th Dynasty ever had a portico in front of the entrance. But on the east side of the three great pyramids there are ruins which seem to have belonged to an hypæthral temple.

The plan of the field of pyramids gives the details.

The history of the mutilation of these wonderful works of Menes proves that curiosity and a hope of finding hidden treasure induced the Caliphs (of whom Mammoun, the son of Harun Al Raschid, was probably the first) to force an entrance into them. In later times, principally under Saladin, the pyramids, and their casing more particularly, were regularly used as stone-quarries. Mameluke violence and love of destruction completed the sacrilege, as far as the giant masses would permit. The present government builds cotton manufactories and powder magazines out of the tombs of the Old Pharaohs.

I. The Second largest Pyramid, the Tomb of Cheops or the First Khufu.

(Plate X.)

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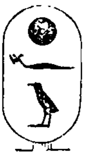

Khufu.

The result of our historical inquiry is, that Cheops-Khufu, the first Eratosthenian or chronological King of the Dynasty, did not erect the largest pyramid, but that it was built by Cheops II., Khnemu-Cheops. In an architectural point of view, the main proof of the origin of the second largest pyramid consists

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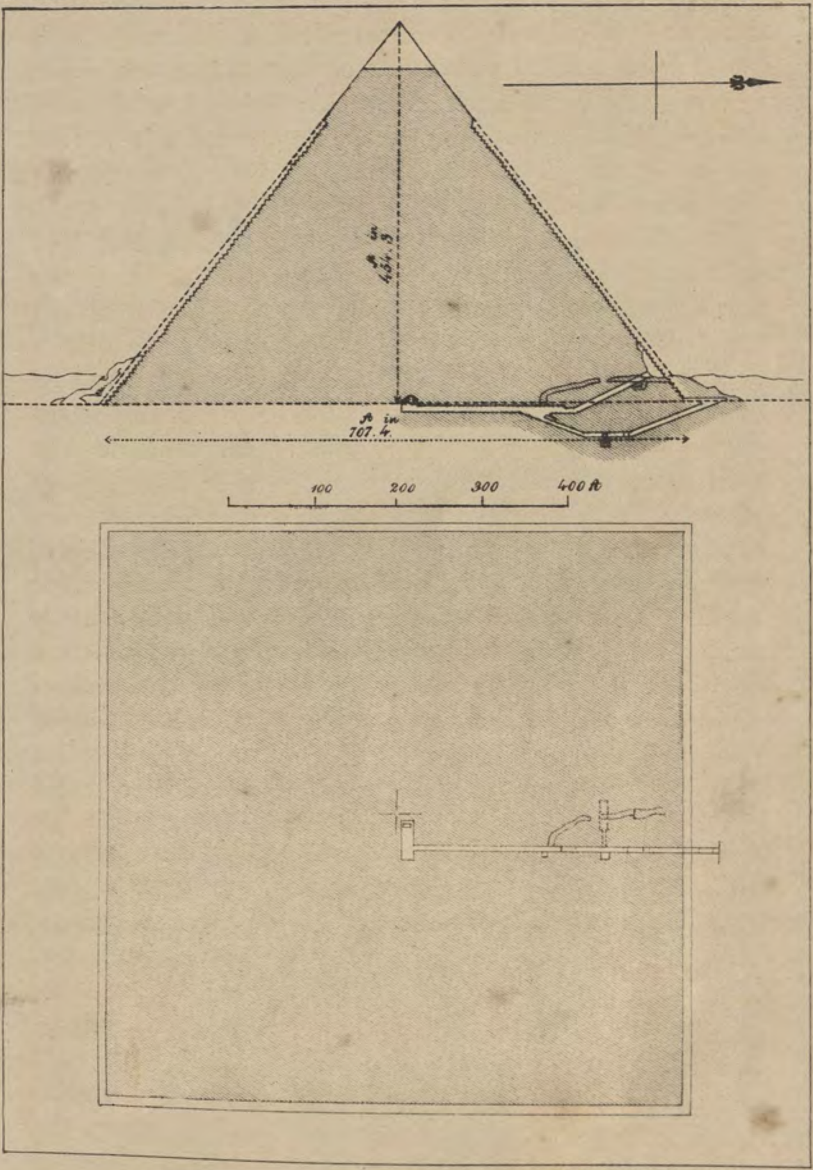
[58] Each pyramid, therefore, in a certain degree, shows the length of the reign of its builder: only that a rich tyrant might do more in five years, than a mild or weak king in twenty.


ft in
454. 9
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100
200
300
400 ft

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers.

THE SECOND PYRAMID.
Plan and Section.

in its style and internal arrangements, which refer it to the second Sovereign of that race. In examining it we have only to show that there is nothing in its construction at variance with the former evidence.

Our description is borrowed principally from Vyse's work, in the second volume of which, besides some scattered notices from the author's diary, will be found Perring's architectural dimensions (pp. 114., &c.), and, among other extracts from earlier accounts, a very important one from Belzoni.

This pyramid stands in a much more elevated position than its neighbour, the extent of which is greater. To the westward and northward the ground is high and rocky, which rendered it necessary to level it down on the two corresponding fronts, so as to form an area round the base of the pyramid. Where the levelling of the rocky plateau ended, an upright ledge of rock ran up to a height of from 20 to 30 feet; which led the French *savans* to conclude, but erroneously, that a trench had been made round the base, as is shown on the Plate.

The structure was surrounded by a pavement, visible about 30 feet to the northward; and a substruction of large stones was laid at some distance from the north-eastern and south-eastern angles of the building, to secure the base. Besides the ruins of a temple near the eastern front, there are remains of another construction, built with enormous blocks, opposite the southern front.

The two lower tiers of the casing, about 7 or 8 feet in height, were of granite, by which Herodotus says that this pyramid was distinguished from the larger one. The remainder is of smooth limestone quarried at Turah on the east coast. Travellers who described this casing in the first half of the 17th century speak of it as if it was then almost perfect. Careri in 1695 is the first who mentioned its dilapidated condition. The apex is somewhat injured, so that the top is now only about 9 feet square. The casing has been removed to within 130 or 150 feet of the present summit. The difference of the casing in the two lower tiers, and the fact of its having been left in the rough, seemed to justify the French *savans* in thinking there had been a talus, or pedestal. Diodorus says there was no inscription; but that there were steps on one side by which it was ascended. The discovery of the interior is entirely due to Belzoni, and was the well-merited reward of his correct judgment.

The pyramid had a double entrance—an upper one, 50 feet above the base (now only 37 feet 8 inches), 43 feet 10 inches to the eastward of the centre; and a lower one in the rock below the pyramid, and concealed by the pavement. The upper one continued at an angle of 25° 55′ for 104 feet 10 inches, when it reached a horizontal passage blocked up after a few paces by a granite portcullis. The passage, as well as inclined entrance, was all faced with granite to within 3 feet 7½ inches of the portcullis. After that came the naked rock. The passage varied from 9 feet 11 inches to 5 feet 10 inches in height, was 3 feet 5½ inches wide, and at last led into the large apartment, with justice called Belzoni's Chamber, but which we should with still greater propriety call the sepulchral chamber of Cheops I., which is 46 feet 2 inches from east to west, and 16 feet 2 inches from north to south. It was cut entirely in the rock except the roof, which was sloped to the angle of the pyramid, and consisted of vast blocks of limestone leaning against each other. Its extreme height at the centre was 22 feet 2 inches. The roof was painted. The chamber terminated 3 feet 10 inches to the north of the centre of the pyramid. 7 feet 3 inches from the western, and 4 feet 4 inches from the southern side of the chamber, a plain granite sarcophagus, without any inscription, was sunk into the floor—7 feet long, 2 feet 2½ inches wide, and 2 feet 5 inches deep. The lid was half-destroyed; Belzoni found it full of rubbish. Some bones discovered the next day (not all of them by Belzoni), turned out, upon examination in London, to be bones of oxen, which led to the supposition that an animal of that kind had been buried there — impossible as it is, owing to the narrowness of the repository which was only made to contain the case of a human mummy. There was likewise a lower entrance, as Belzoni discovered inside, the approach to which, in the pavement in front of the pyramid, General Vyse cleared out to the very end, and which ran into the horizontal passage before the sepulchral chamber. This entrance is at first at an angle of 21° 40′, 100 feet in length, and the same height and breadth as the upper one. The passage was then blocked up by a granite portcullis. After that it runs horizontally 60 feet, and ascends to the upper passage before the sepulchral chamber, a distance of 96 feet 4 inches.

In the centre of the lower horizontal passage which unites the two ends of the lower entrance, Belzoni found to the left (eastward) a chamber hewn out, 11 feet long and 6 deep. Opposite to it was an inclined passage running westward 22 feet, which led into another chamber, like the sepulchral one, and hewn out above in a similar manner. This rock chamber measured from east to west 34 feet 1 inch, was 10 feet 2 inches wide, and its height 8 feet 5 inches at the centre. Some blocks of no great dimensions, which had been cut for it, were found in the inside. At all events, therefore, it was not a sepulchral chamber.

There is one more singularity to be noticed. Traces are visible of an inclined passage which they had begun to make out of the passage before the sepulchral chamber, but somewhat more remote from it than the present way into the lower horizontal passage. Caviglia discovered it in conducting the excavation for some Englishmen in 1837. It is only 18 feet 6 inches long, and runs directly above the present one, having a communication with the upper passage by means of a hole. We agree with Vyse and Perring that this passage was a mere accident; but we draw from it the further conclusion, that the lower entrance was made from the inside outwards, consequently after the upper entrance was finished, probably in order to barricade more effectually from the inside the main entrance, which was visible, to the pyramid. Where the lower entrance runs into the upper passage, a considerable hollow has been made which interrupts the upper passage. The road forced by the spoliators (under the Caliphs, doubtless) led into the passage before the sepulchral chamber, as the Plate shows.

We give the following measurements from Perring:

	Ft.	In.		Ft.	In.
Length of the original base -	707	9;	the present -	690	9
Original perpendicular height -	454	3	,, -	447	6
Original height of the sides -	572	6	,, -	563	6

	Acres.	R.	P.		Acres.	R.	P.
Original extent of base -	11	1	38;	the present -	10	3	30

Assuming the rock to average 8 feet over the extent of base,

The original quantity of masonry would be 71,670,000 cubic feet.
or - 5,309,000 tons.
Present quantity of masonry - - 65,928,000 cubic feet.
or - 4,883,000 tons.

As regards the masonry, the interior seems to be divided into square compartments by massive walls of wrought stone, which were afterwards filled up with a kind of gigantic rubble-work, composed of large blocks and mortar. One thing, however, is quite clear, that it is very far inferior to that of the great pyramid, inside and outside. The granite casing of the entrance is the only good workmanship. Since its removal, accordingly, time and weather, desert-sand and rain, have committed more devastation here than in the other pyramids.

It seems beyond all doubt that this pyramid, as well as those of earlier date, to which it assimilates in every respect, had no chambers in the inside, but that it merely covered with its artificial giant top the sepulchral chamber hewn out of the rock under its centre. The small side chamber in the rock never contained a sarcophagus: it is clear, therefore, that the whole building was appropriated only to *one* King, whose rocky tomb it was intended to conceal and to protect.

It is very different with the great pyramid.

II. The Great Pyramid, the Work and Tomb of the two Kings of the Second Reign, Cheops II. (Khnemu-Khufu) the Brother, and Chabryes Shafra the Son, of the First Cheops.

(Plates XI. XII.)

Its principal dimensions, according to Perring, are:

		Ft.	In.			Ft.	In.
Original base		- 764	0	; present		- 746	0
Perpendicular height, by casing stones		- 480	9	„		- 450	9
Original inclined height		- 611	0	„		- 568	3
	Acres.	R.	P.		Acres.	R.	P.
Original extent of base	- 13	1	22	; present	- 12	3	3

Supposing the rock to average 8 feet over the extent of base,

The original quantity of masonry would be 89,028,000 cubic feet.
or - 6,848,000 tons.
Present quantity of masonry - - 82,111,000 cubic feet.
or - 6,316,000 tons.

The ascent of the pyramid is effected without danger, though not without fatigue; on the top of it is a terrace of about 35 feet square. The dilapidation of the apex continues. The great French work did not really materially advance our knowledge of the interior. Before its publication we were acquainted with the inclined entrance, which runs 49 feet above the base, up to the point where it abuts upon the ascending passage.

The entry, which was forced into the masonry, had conducted the Mahometan resurrectionists into the same passage, for they were doubtless acquainted with the regular entrance. This, however, being barricadoed at the turn by blocks of granite, they searched for the continuation of it; and though they certainly did not discover that of the inclined passage, they did find the ascending channel. Through this they reached, first of all, the point where a horizontal ascent leads into the passage before the so-called Queen's Chamber; but, proceeding straight forward, went into the splendid passage in front of the great sepulchral chamber.

These passages and chambers have been repeatedly described. Davison, in 1763, had measured and described the low room above the King's Chamber, which is also known by his name. Meynard, a French merchant, had already discovered the entrance to it, when Niebuhr looked for it in 1761. The same English traveller had likewise previously found the continuation of the inclined passage, as far as 130 feet from the entrance. The shaft, lastly, had been discovered by him, to a depth of 155 feet. It descends from the point where the passage leads down to the Queen's Chamber, and has been mistranslated "a well." The great heat prevented the French from clearing the shaft completely out, when they had almost reached the mouth, which they expected to find much lower down, on the level of the bed of the Nile, on account of the Egyptian legend recorded by Herodotus. They seem, however, to have remained in entire ignorance of the continuation of the inclined entrance.[59] As early as in 1817, the zealous but very fantastic and ill-informed Caviglia, an enterprising Italian sailor, who cruized in the Mediterranean under the Maltese flag, succeeded in completing Davison's discovery. He also had made a vain attempt to clear out the remainder of the shaft from above, but was compelled by the great heat and foulness of the air to abandon the enterprise. He then turned his attention to the old entrance into the pyramid, which was apparently as little known as Davison's discovery. There he not only found the continuation, but succeeded in reaching through it, 230 feet from the entrance, a horizontal passage, and beyond it a rocky chamber, hewn out 100 feet below the base of the pyramid, almost under the very apex, which rises nearly 600 feet above it. A little short of the termination of the passage, which descends from the entrance, he discovered, on clearing away the rubbish, the mouth of the so-called well, to find which so much labour had been expended in vain. A glance at the plan will show these discoveries, as well as their connexion with Vyse's discovery of the four similar rooms which are above Davison's chamber. The upper one seems, from its wood ceiling, to mark the termination of these arrangements, which were clearly designed to take the weight off the King's Chamber. Its discovery is of the highest historical importance, as it was on the stone casing of these chambers that the painted quarry marks were found. In addition to this, General Vyse followed up and cleared out the ventilators, previously very incompletely known, and the nature of which was consequently not at all understood. They run outwards from both sides of the King's Chamber. Lastly, he completely cleared out the lower passage, and had all the rooms and proportions very accurately measured.

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[59] Jomard, in Descript. de l'Egypte, t. 5. p. 625., text and note.

We have thus obtained a clear idea of the internal architecture of this pyramid. Nothing further of any consequence is to be looked for from the interior, which was thoroughly ransacked, and bored through and through on all sides by Vyse.[60] As Wilkinson remarked in 1831, the mysterious perpendicular shaft, the whole extent of which Caviglia discovered, served as an outlet for the workmen, after they had blocked up the upper passages. Perring, coinciding in this view, has very justly remarked, that as the whole shaft was forced through the masonry, as appears from the mouth of it at the top, it must have been constructed after the building through which it descends.

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[60] Wilkinson, in his Topography of Thebes, throws out the following conjecture: "Several other chambers and passages no doubt exist in the upper part of the pyramid, and one seems to me to be

This circumstance may perhaps be one of great historical importance. It completes the historical impracticability of the whole, on the supposition that the pyramid is the tomb of a single King. Judging by the other pyramids, we should look for the original sepulchral chamber in the rock underneath it; and the statement made by the Egyptians to Herodotus, that Cheops was interred below, would seem to refer to that fact. It is now ascertained that the story of a canal from the Nile running round the tomb and making an island of it, is an exaggeration of a popular legend. But Herodotus speaks expressly in another passage, of a "subterranean excavation," which took a long time to complete.[61] The lower rock chamber, then, is the sepulchral chamber, and, indeed, the original one.

On the other hand, the upper story was entirely detached and isolated from the rest of the structure. The whole arrangements were made with a view to the so-called King's Chamber — the Queen's Chamber is a mere accessory. The sarcophagus was found in the King's Chamber, so that there can be no doubt a King

connected with the summit of the great gallery. I supposed it first to run upwards in a contrary direction to the path, from that end which is above the well, where a block, apparently of granite, projects at the complement of the usual angle of these passages. It probably turns afterwards, and extends in a southerly direction over the great gallery." Vyse (ii. 307.) remarks upon this: "The tubes in the great chamber may possibly communicate with the passage over the great gallery." He seems, therefore, not to have looked for it.

[61] II. 125. τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὄρυγμα.

was entombed there. To communicate from hence below, it was necessary to force a shaft through the masonry. Now as the first builder of it can have been no other than Khnemu-Khufu, the brother, so the King who was buried in the upper portion of it, again, can be no other than Chabryes Shafra, the son, "the Great of the Pyramid," as he is styled on the monument of his engineer. The Menkeres pyramid is indisputably the third.

With these views we explain the interior of the pyramid in the following manner, as two sepulchral monuments.

I. THE TOMB OF CHEOPS II. (KHNEMU-KHUFU), THE BROTHER OF CHEOPS I.

(Plates XI. XII.)

The entrance is formed over the thirteenth layer of stone from the bottom, 49 feet above the base, and descends at an angle of 26° 41′. The opening, as well as the passage beyond it, is 5½ feet wide, by 3 feet 11 inches high. It now commences 23 feet further back, owing to the dilapidation of the exterior. Its original length was 320 feet 10 inches. It is cased with blocks of the same Mokattam stone up to where the rock begins. Wilkinson states there was a triangular piece of limestone fitted into the rocky ceiling of the passage where the shaft runs into it, in order to conceal the communication. The horizontal passage which runs out of it, is 27 feet long, 3 feet high, and 5 feet 9 inches wide. On its western side there is a recess, 5 feet long and 3 deep. The sepulchral chamber commences 8 feet from the centre of the pyramid; it is 46 feet long, east and west; 27 feet 1 inch wide; 11 feet 6 inches high. The roof is 90 feet 8 inches below the base. To the southward of it, exactly opposite the entrance, runs a narrow horizontal passage, 2 feet 7 inches wide, 2 feet 5 inches high, 52 feet 9 inches long, without leading to anything. Vyse considers both this and the sepulchral chamber to have been unfinished; Salt, on the contrary, according to Caviglia's account, held that the present state of the chamber, and especially that of the floor, as seen in the last Plate, was the effect of violence. It is obviously impossible to assert that the sarcophagus, for which this chamber was designed, was never placed in it. It does not even follow that the fragments of it may not have disappeared, supposing it to have been broken into shortly after Khufu's death, whose body, according to Diodorus, was really not deposited in the pyramid. Perhaps even the detestation of the priests and people had risen to such a pitch, after the tyrant's death, that, as stated by Diodorus, he was not even buried with regal honours, but secretly interred in some secluded spot. But whatever hypothesis we adopt, the chamber was certainly intended to receive the sarcophagus of the builder, and it may have been sunk into the floor, which is now in such a state of dilapidation.

The sepulchral chamber itself was known to the Greeks and Romans, if any reliance is to be placed on Caviglia's statement, which seems to be supported by Salt's authority. Caviglia copied some remains of Greek and Latin inscriptions made by visitors in ancient times. (Vyse, ii. 290.) The letters are good uncials, and therefore cannot be of the time of the Caliphate. No similar traces of early visitors are found either in the upper chambers, or indeed in any other rooms of the pyramid. The most ancient are the Arabic inscriptions. The lower passage, therefore, must have been open at least during the period of Roman dominion, if not broken into by Cambyses. But the granite blocks seem to have rendered it inaccessible down to Caviglia's discovery, and not a trace is to be found of its having been broken into on this side. The inscriptions—mere unconnected scraps—are given by Vyse in the passage alluded to above. This circumstance would be in favour of the chamber having been violated by the Egyptians themselves.

In order to be perfectly satisfied that the rock did not conceal another sepulchral apartment, Perring, in the year 1838, sunk a shaft 36 feet below the floor of the sepulchral chamber. This floor is 102 feet 2 inches below the base, which was sunk 137 feet 2 inches above the low water mark of the Nile. If, therefore, there was really a lower apartment into which a canal from the Nile could run, according to the Egyptian legend, its roof, supposing it 10 feet high, must have been seen 25 feet below the bottom of the sepulchral chamber, which is visible. Now, supposing the bed of the Nile to have risen even 10 feet, the distance between them can never have been more than 35 feet; that is, one foot less than Perring's shaft. We applaud the zealous architect's diligence, without attaching critically the slightest weight to the legend. Now, at all events, the point is set at rest, even for those who are of a different opinion.

II. THE TOMB OF CHABRYES-SHAFRA, THE SON OF THE FIRST KHUFU.

(Plate XIII.)

This pyramid seems to have been originally constructed with a double sepulchral chamber. The quarry-marks at least, with the name of Khnemu-Khufu in the rooms above the royal chamber, give probability to such a supposition. Shafra, nevertheless, must either have completed the upper part, or at least have cased and arranged the upper chambers.[62] This is the only way of explaining his title, "the Great of the Pyramid," and the statement of Diodorus about Chabryes, as well as the ignorance of the historians whom Pliny consulted, and of which he complains, as to who really

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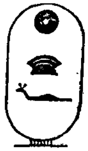

Shaf-ra.

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[62] Lepsius, in his late Mémoire on the 12th Egyptian Dynasty, s. 14., has shown that the Kings from the 4th to the 12th Dynasty took a title after their names. This sign always contains the hieroglyphic of the pyramid.

built it. Shafra's title again would be most appropriate if he completed it. The King who actually completed this pyramid, might with perfect right be called "the Great of the Pyramid."

Its original plan differed in one respect from the earlier with which we are acquainted—indeed from almost all the others. The chamber which every Egyptian tomb necessarily possessed, or at least did possess, besides the regular sepulchral chamber, was not in the rock, but high up over the tomb, in the core of the pyramid. This apartment was probably a double one, the chamber of the Queen, and the chamber of the King. Shafra converted the former into the apartment, and made the upper one his sepulchral chamber, as appears from his having had his sarcophagus introduced into it.

As there is a close connexion between the construction of the entrance and that of the ascending passage and upper chambers, we give a sketch of it here. As above stated, the first 23 feet are destroyed. The vast blocks of fine Turah limestone, however, which rendered it so conspicuous externally, are continued the whole length of the passage up to the sepulchral chamber. We give the section[63] of the sides. Over the entrance are blocks 12 feet 6 inches wide, and 8 feet 6 inches high; above which a roof is formed by two tiers of blocks sloped towards each other, the two lower 7 feet, the two upper 6 feet 8 inches in length. The western passage, which was forced by the Caliphs, has suffered serious injury, just where the ascending and descending passages meet in the ledge of the rock; so that it is no longer possible to ascertain whether the three great granite blocks placed at the entrance of the ascending passage, 14 feet 9 inches long, were intended to conceal one passage, or the other, or both. The ascending and descending passages were of the same height and width. In other respects the whole con-

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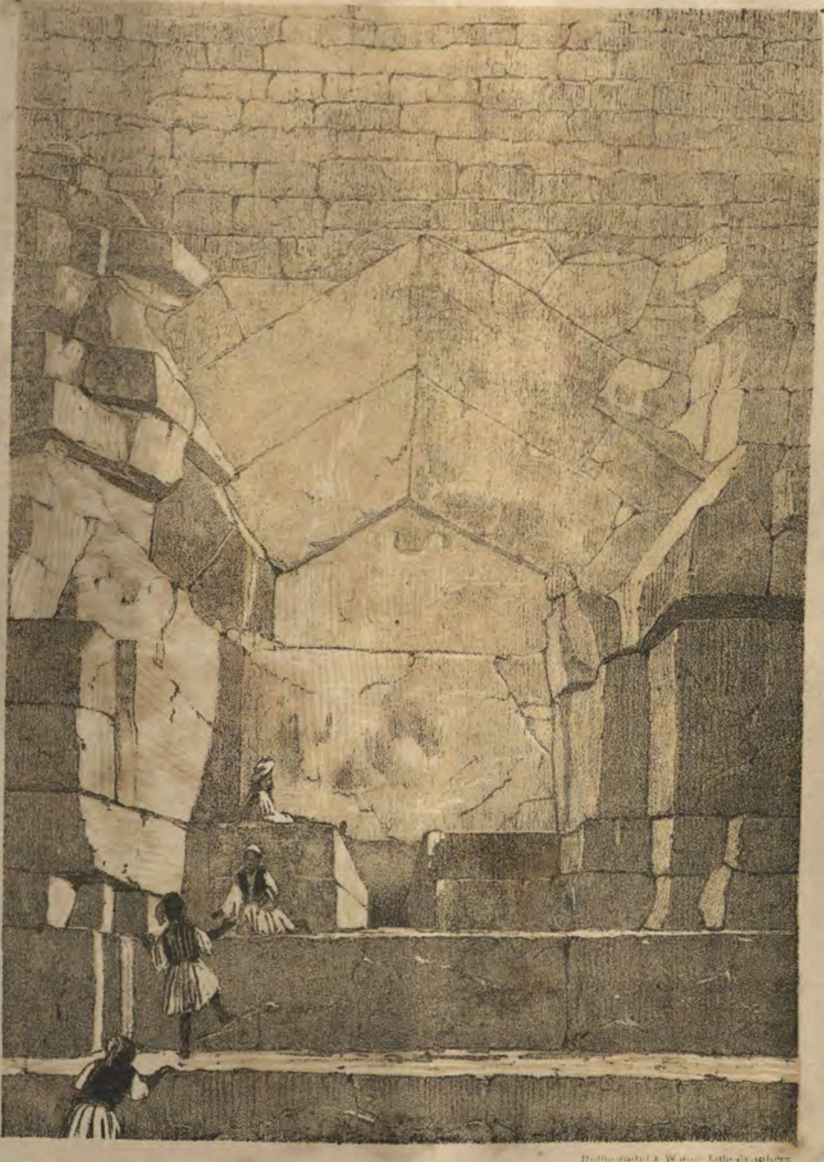
[63] This is drawn after a model of the proposed restoration by Mr. Perring.

Plate XIII

to face P. 162.



Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

THE GREAT PYRAMID
VIEW OF THE ENTRANCE

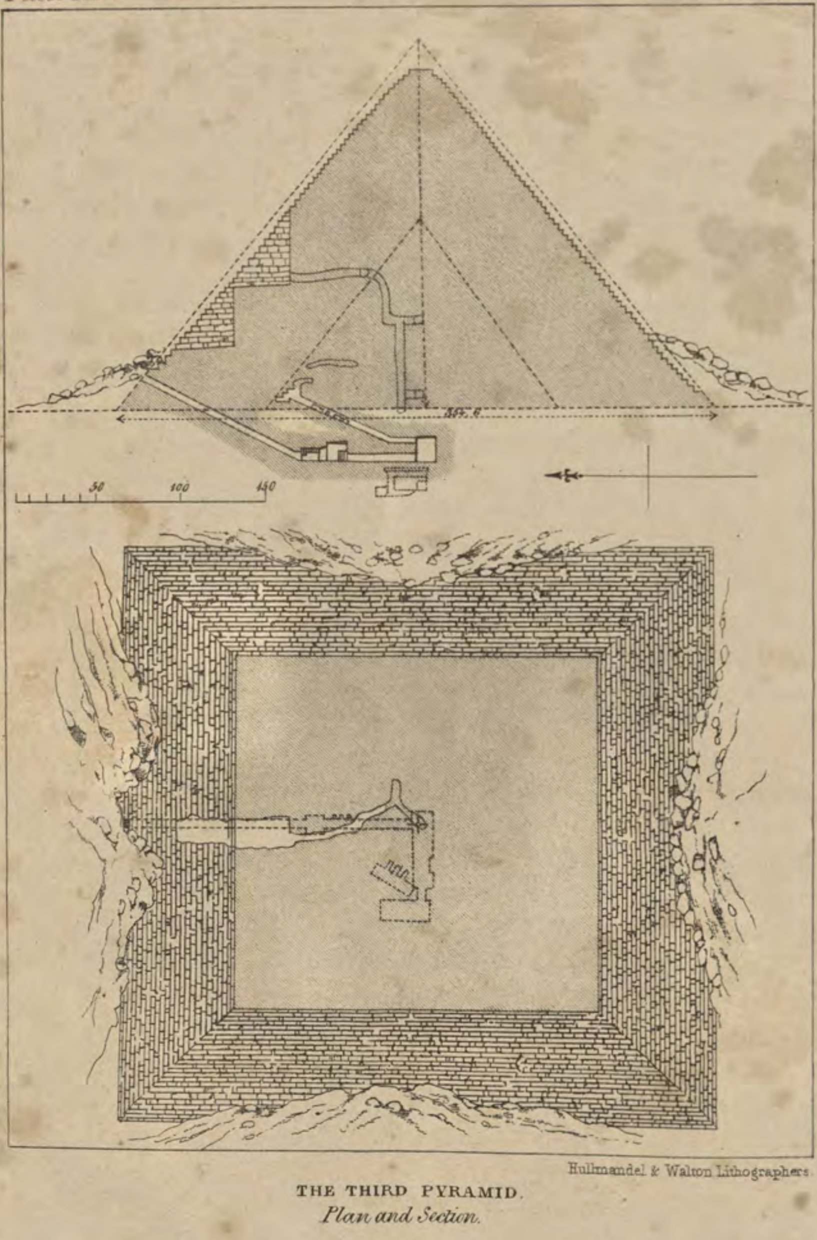
struction of the upper building was on a larger scale, and different from the other. The ascending angle is 26° 18′. It is 156 feet to the point where the ascending passage joins the great passage — the so-called great gallery, which is itself 150 feet 10 inches long, by 5 feet 2 inches wide, and 28 feet high. The ceiling seems to have been an excessively *pointed cove* above the uppermost tier, which is *double* the height of the other. There are on each side seven layers of blocks up to the ceiling, placed in such a manner that each projects a little over the one next contiguous to it, and the ceiling itself only measures 4 feet 1⅓ inch (French). The passage was reduced in width by a ramp on each side, of 1 foot 8½ inches wide, rising to a height of 2 feet from the floor, in which a regular groove was cut, probably for the purpose of introducing the sarcophagus. This casing also is made of Mokattam stone, and is fastened together with such nicety, that the blade of a penknife cannot be inserted between the joints of the enormous layers of stone.

Then comes the horizontal entrance—the usual accompaniment of every sepulchral chamber—a passage 22 feet 1 inch long, and the same width as the first ascending passage, but not so high by a few inches. In the centre, an ante-chamber runs into it, according to the French accounts about 11 feet high and 9 long (French). It is divided longitudinally by four grooves in the walls, which form so many small recesses. In the grooves of the first is suspended a granite portcullis 12 feet 5 inches high according to Perring. A small projecting ledge keeps it steady almost 6 feet from the floor after a lapse of several thousand years. The shrine, consequently, was blocked up to the very threshold.

It was necessary, therefore, to stoop in order to pass from the ante-room into the sepulchral chamber, the axis of which, according to Jomard, is almost precisely that of the pyramid. It is 34 feet 3 inches long from east to west, 17 feet 1 inch wide, and 19 feet 1 inch high. The floor is 138 feet 9 inches above the base. Perring states that one side is about a quarter of an inch lower than the other, probably owing to one of the stones having sunk from its excessive weight. The preservation of the whole building is as complete as the workmanship. Everything is of polished granite. Nine enormous blocks of 18 feet 6 inches (French) are laid across the room to form the ceiling. Three feet from the floor there are air-channels which vary from 6 inches by 8 to an average of 9 inches square. The northern one is still 233 feet long. The granite sarcophagus, which is somewhat shallower and shorter than that of the second largest pyramid, on the side to the right of the entrance, is, like it, entirely without ornament. Here also it may be remarked that it could not possibly have been swung through the passages in any other than a slanting position. Vyse (ii. 283.) has made a collection of quotations from different travellers in the 16th and 17th centuries, to prove that Dr. Clarke (1801) did his countrymen an injustice by asserting that the sarcophagus was broken to pieces by English soldiers. The French *savans* merely remark that they did not find the lid.

Above this splendid chamber there are four low, flat-ceiled rooms, the undermost only of which, Davison's chamber, was known before Vyse's excavation. They are all from 2 feet to 4 feet 10 inches high, and cased with granite. Above them lies Campbell's tomb, the ceiling of which is coved, and its greatest height 8 feet 7 inches. The whole space from the ceiling of the royal chamber to this uppermost roof is 69 feet 3 inches. The object of this arrangement, and the importance of the discovery, which required such immense exertions to effect, have been already stated.

The so-called Queen's Chamber, from which a horizontal passage 109 feet 11 inches long from the entrance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THE THIRD PYRAMID.
Plan and Section.

leads into the great gallery, is likewise built of granite. It is 18 feet 9 inches long and 17 feet wide. The height of the roof from the floor is 14 feet 9 inches, and formed of blocks which slant down towards each other. The extreme height is 20 feet 3 inches, consequently greater than that of the King's Chamber. This chamber had never been thoroughly examined before Vyse's time, owing to the rubbish and dirt. The floor exhibited no marks of having had a sarcophagus sunk into it. It was probably, as before suggested, the apartment which Cheops intended for his own funeral rites, and thus in like manner served for the upper sepulchral chamber.

III. The Third Pyramid, the Tomb of Mykerinus-Menkera the Holy, the Third King of the Dynasty. His Sarcophagus and Bones, the oldest Royal and Human Remains to which a Date can be assigned in the World.

(Plates XIV—XVII.)

This is styled by the classics "the most sumptuous and magnificent of all the pyramids;" and so it appears even in its dilapidation. It was cased with granite up to a considerable height (C. in Pl. XIV.), and the inside surpassed even the first pyramid in beauty and regularity of construction. Its size, indeed, was much less, its area being not quite three acres, the base of each of its fronts measuring only 354 feet 6 inches, its perpendicular height only 218 feet (now 203), and inclined height 278 feet 2 inches (now 261¼). It surpassed those pyramids, however, in the boldness and grandeur of its substruction as much as in beauty. In order to obtain a level for it, instead of lowering the rock to the westward, a substruction more than 10 feet in depth was laid in the opposite direction, and particularly towards the north-eastward, where the rock falls considerably. This foundation, composed of two tiers of enormous blocks, extends considerably

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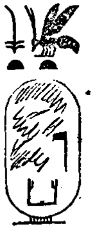


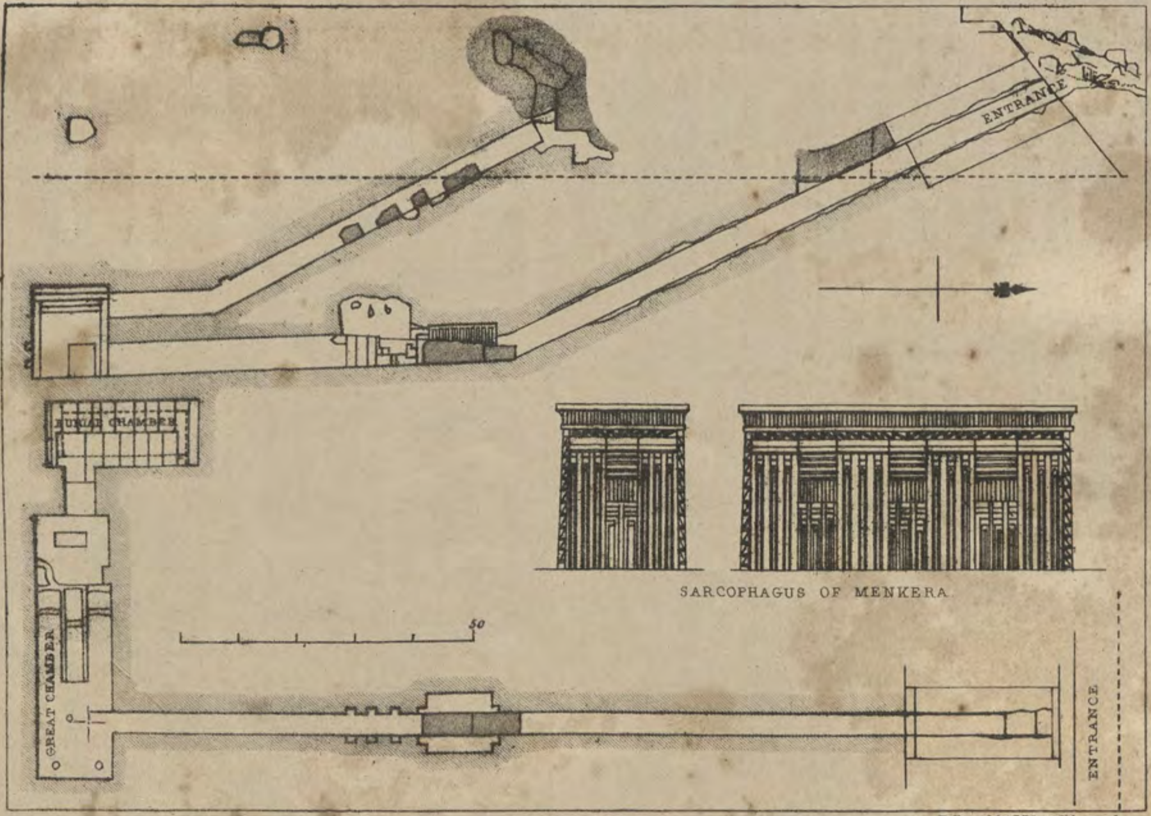
Neter Kar.

beyond the north-eastern angle, which was most threatened, from whence—cased, doubtless, originally with finer masonry—it formed a sort of pavement. There is also another peculiarity in its construction, that it was originally built with steps or stages rising perpendicularly and diminishing towards the top, so that the pyramidal form was completed from this centre by filling up the interstices.

The accounts varied, however, as to the builder of it. Some attributed it to Mykerinus, others to a female who, according to Manetho, was Nitōcris, the third and last female Sovereign of the succeeding 6th Dynasty. The weight of this testimony cannot be denied. How far it is supported by the Greeks, and in the fragments of the history of that family which they have rescued from oblivion, we shall see in the following section. The most irrefragable of all testimony, however, is in favour of Mykerinus—namely, his own sarcophagus, found in the tomb which Vyse ultimately succeeded in opening after great exertions. The solution of the enigma, in our opinion, depends upon a circumstance which has come to our notice through the honesty of those who discovered the interior, although it could not have the same historical importance in their eyes as it has in ours. A glance at the plan and section of the passages (Pl. XV.) will illustrate this.

A passage inclined at an angle of 26° 2′, 13 feet above the base, 104 feet long, and unusually wide and high, leads to the inside of the pyramid. After 28 feet 2 inches the granite casing ceases, because the rock supplies its place. From hence a passage slightly inclined towards the end leads to a large apartment. The way to it is through an *ante-room* 12 feet long, 10 feet 5 inches wide, and 7 feet high. Its walls are covered with white stucco, in narrow longitudinal compartments. The middle of the ante-room was blocked up by large square stones laid across it, which com-

Plate XV. to face P 166


ENTRANCE
BURIAL CHAMBER
SARCOPHAGUS OF MENKERA
50
GREAT CHAMBER
ENTRANCE

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers.

THIRD PYRAMID.

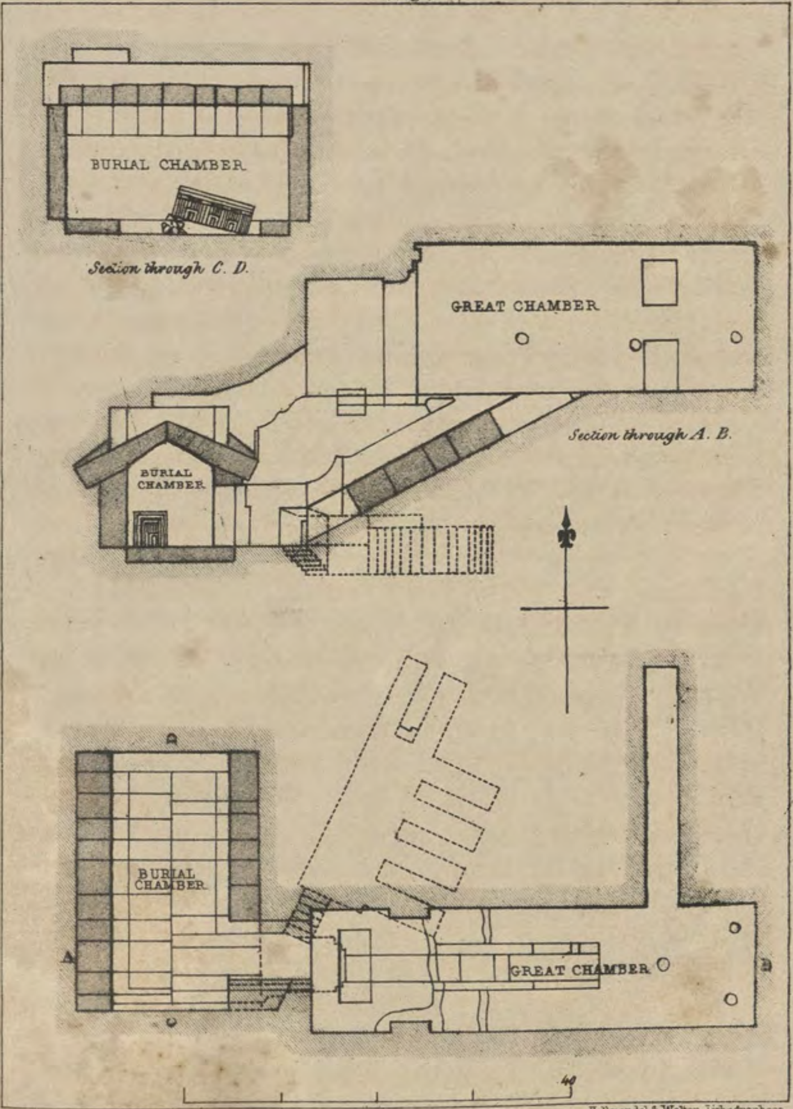
Plan and Section of the Chambers & Paſsages

pletely closed both doorways. When this impediment was removed, three granite portcullises, one close after the other, barred the entrance against an intruder. These additional precautions announced the propinquity of a shrine. The large apartment itself is also in reality a sepulchral chamber 46 feet 3 inches long from east to west, 12 feet 7 inches wide, and the original height 12 feet. The bottom of it was flagged; but the paving has been wrenched off, so that now the uneven surface of the rock is exposed to view. A sarcophagus had been sunk into this mutilated pavement and the rock, the proportions of which correspond with those in the great pyramids. Perring found in the apartment (ii. 18. note) several small pieces of red granite, which he supposed to be portions of this sarcophagus — fragments, no doubt, which have survived the work of demolition. This destruction we most certainly attribute to the Egyptians themselves, in order to account for the total disappearance of the sarcophagus. The plunderers of the pyramids probably broke the sarcophagi to pieces, but they did not take the trouble of breaking the hard granite into such small fragments that they could be swept away through the passages, which must always have been considerable labour, and to them labour in vain.

This is, however, by no means all the construction. At the distance of 17 feet from the eastern end of this apartment the mouth of an inclined passage was visible through the holes in the pavement. It runs for a distance of above 33 feet, sloping down to an inclined passage which, 10 feet further on, led into the sepulchral chamber of Mykerinus. Here again every precaution was taken to bar the entrance, and render the removal of the sarcophagus impossible. The inclined passage is 4 feet 9 inches high, and the same width above. Half way up it is narrowed to a width of barely 3 feet by ramps which extend all along both sides, and these again were barricadoed by blocks walled in for a distance of 16 feet 9 inches. Lastly, just at the entrance to the inclined passage, it was blocked up by a granite portcullis. Immediately to the right of it is a room hewn out, and opposite to it, on the left, seven steps lead up to a small unornamented chamber, cut slanting in the rock, with niches the destination of which is uncertain, but evidently a very subordinate one—for the labourers or their tools perhaps, or to conceal the blocks with which the passage was last of all to be barricadoed. The sepulchral chamber itself is lined with granite slabs 2 feet 6 inches thick, fastened to each other and to the rock by iron cramps of skilful workmanship, two of which were found. This sepulchral chamber is not so spacious as the upper one; it is 21 feet 8 inches from north to south, by 8 feet 7 inches east and west. The roof is formed of blocks 10 feet 6 inches long, meeting in the middle, the lower surface of which is hewn out and coved. The central height is 11 feet 3 inches. Plate XVII. gives a complete idea of this magnificent building. In this sepulchral chamber General Vyse found the sarcophagus of Mykerinus the Holy. We have given an accurate fac-simile of it on the title-page of this Book, and in Plate XVII. The vessel containing the venerable relic itself, unfortunately, went down on the coast of Spain on its way to England. It was composed of basalt, which bore a fine polish of a shaded brown colour, but was blue where it had been chipped off or broken, and appeared to have been sawn. The outside was very beautifully carved in compartments in the Doric style. The lid was found with the above-mentioned mummy case under the rubbish in the large entrance room. Edrisi (Vyse, ii. 71. note) states, that shortly before he wrote, that is about A.D. 1240, a company undertook to open the pyramid. The information furnished him by a very respectable man, who was present on the occasion, gives a very good idea of the

BRANCH OF THE ... ASIATIC SOC...

Plate XVI. to face P. 168.


BURIAL CHAMBER
Section through C. D.
GREAT CHAMBER
BURIAL CHAMBER
Section through A. B.
D
BURIAL CHAMBER
A
C
GREAT CHAMBER
B
40

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

THIRD PYRAMID.
Plan and Section of both Burial Chambers.

state of the interior. "After they had worked at it for six months with axes, in great numbers, hoping to find treasure, they came at last to a long blue basin. When they had broken the covering of it, they found nothing but the decayed, rotten remains of a man, but no treasures on his side, excepting some golden tablets inscribed with characters of a language nobody could understand. Each man's share of the profits of these amounted to one hundred dinars."

From this account, and the results of our previous inquiry, it seems perfectly absurd to doubt the genuineness of the sarcophagus, because the mummy was not wrapped in byssus, as in later times, but in coarse woollen cloths. Independent of its being in the highest degree uncritical to draw a conclusion from the monuments of the New Empire, as to those of the days of the pyramids, which are more than a thousand years older, fragments of similar wrappings have been found by Perring in ancient tombs at the quarries of Turah. The lid, which is in existence, contains the following prayer[64], in two perpendicular columns, offered for the soul of the King, deified under the character of Osiris:

Osirian (deceased)
King
Menkaru-ra,
Living for ever,
Engendered of Heaven,
Child of Netpe (Rhea)
Offspring
[Beloved by Seb (Chronos)]:
Extended is thy mother
Netpe (the Abime of Heaven)
over thee
in her name of
the void of Heaven:
she has made thee
to be as a god
[annihilating]
thy slanderers:
Oh King Menkaru-ra
living for ever!

We have thus proceeded from the entrance to the apartment which was the sepulchral chamber, and beyond all doubt the resting-place of Mykerinus. *But did we reach it by the same way as Mykerinus?* All the passages we have passed through, as Perring shrewdly observed, are chiselled from the inside outwards. How then did Mykerinus get into the pyramid? In the first instance, he could only have passed through the upper passage. Another passage runs immediately above it into the great apartment or upper sepulchral chamber; and again another into it, inclining upwards at the same angle as the entrance, and ending where the rock commenced. If continued on to the original surface of the pyramid, the floor would run to about 33 feet above the base, or 20 above the lower entrance, which is now the only one. *But this upper passage is chiselled from the outside inwards*, whereas the lower passages were chiselled in the reverse manner, after the workmen were in the pyramid. This may be accounted for in one of two ways. Either Mykerinus built the pyramid as we now find it, or a smaller one, the entrance to which was the present upper one. If so, it terminated as much above the base as the present entrance does above the present pyramid. In the former case, the walling up of the entrance which is made in the rock, can only be explained by supposing the original plan to have been abandoned, in order to make a larger pyramid. This is Perring's explanation of it. A *pentimento* of this kind is assuredly very improbable in the most ingeniously constructed of all the pyramids. Manetho expressly says, that Nitŏcris built the third pyramid. Diodorus attributes the building of it to Mykerinus, adding, however, that he did not complete it. Lastly, Herodotus and Strabo, as we shall see hereafter, were informed that it was the work of that celebrated queen.

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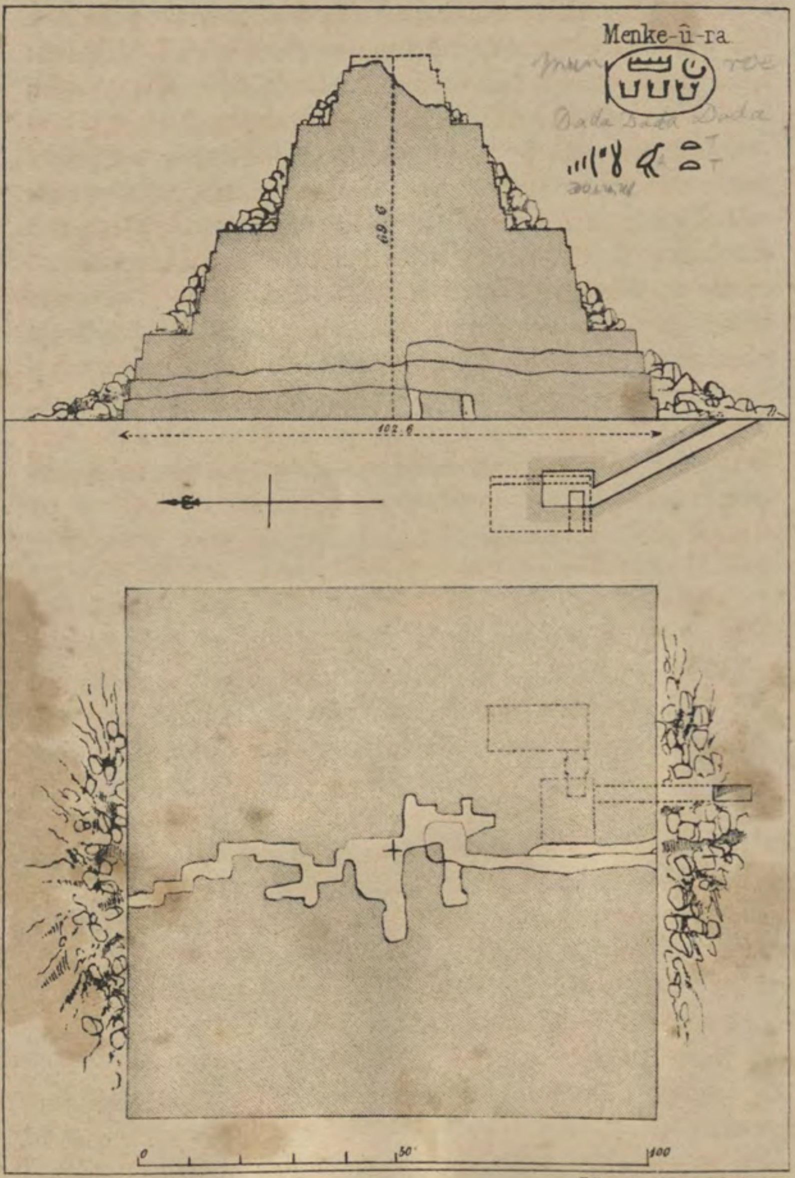
[64] Lepsius (Pl. VII.) has filled up the lacunæ in the hieroglyphics. This is Birch's translation, corrected by himself, from Vyse, Pyr. ii. 94.

The building of Mykerinus had a base of about 180 feet, and was 145 feet high; being considerably larger, therefore, than any of the three small adjoining pyramids, one of which was probably the tomb of the younger Mykerinus. The upper apartment belongs to this building—not that it was the sepulchral chamber, but the


Menke-û-ra
Dada Dada Dada
69.6
102.6
0
50
100

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

FOURTH PYRAMID
Plan and Section

outer sepulchral ante-room. The lower one, where the sarcophagus was found, was the sepulchral chamber. Nitōcris made the great apartment her sepulchral chamber; and Perring himself, as we have seen, found in it fragments of a sarcophagus, with marks of the spot where it stood. Thus every portion of the tradition, and the whole construction of the building, are satisfactorily explained; and so perhaps we may account for the demolition and irregularity of the present entrance, which is not partial—and cannot therefore have been done subsequently or by accident—but complete. This will be understood by a reference to our section, and Vyse's description of it, who was as much at a loss as Perring to explain satisfactorily so strange a proceeding, or indeed the singular plan of the whole structure.

IV. THE MIDDLE PYRAMID OF THE SMALL SOUTHERN GROUP (THE FOURTH), THE TOMB OF THE SECOND MYKERINUS, THE FOURTH KING.

(Plate XVIII.)

To the southward of the third stand three smaller pyramids, side by side, the central one of which, we agree with Vyse in considering the *fourth;* so that we call the one to the left (as seen from the westward) the *fifth;* that to the right, the *sixth.* To the eastward of the great pyramid stand three others of a similar kind, which are marked on the plan as the *eighth, ninth,* and *tenth.* We call the former, the three southern; the latter, the three northern pyramids. There is great similarity between them all as to size and structure. All the northern, and the fourth and fifth of the southern pyramids, like that of Mykerinus, are built in steps or stages, and were filled up subsequently in a pyramidal form. They are all cased with square slabs; on the ninth some unpolished blocks were found (ii. 70.), a direct proof that the stones were fixed in a rough state, which, however, is not at variance with the supposition that they were hewn out at the angle of the pyramid. The sepulchral chambers of the seventh and ninth were faced with thin slabs. The ninth is the best built, and, in the opinion of Vyse and Perring, the setting of the blocks is almost equal to that of the great pyramid. As regards the internal structure of the building, Vyse states (ii. 45.), that the fourth and sixth are composed of large squared blocks of different sizes, put together in the manner of Cyclopian walling. They have all an entrance, a little above the base, or outside it; the sepulchral chamber is in the rock; the inclination and general arrangement, with inclined passages and a large ante-room, the same as in the larger pyramids. They had all a sarcophagus, except the sixth, which was never completed. Those of the fourth and fifth are in existence, that of the former is only 2 feet 7 inches wide and deep; the length of the fifth (6 feet 2 inches) is considerably less than that of the great pyramid; a tooth was found in it, which seems to have belonged to a young female. Tradition says that the wives of the three royal builders were buried in the small pyramids contiguous to the larger. We have positive proof, however, that the fourth belonged to a member of the family of Mykerinus; for which reason we give the plan and details of it alone, according to Perring (ii. 124., see Vyse 45., seq.), with the restoration of its original dimensions, which are not found in that work:

	Ft.	In.		Ft.
Base - - - -	102	6	originally	153
Height of the first step	17	3		
„ second -	19	6		
„ third -	19	6		
„ fourth -	13	3		
Total height - -	69	6	„	82.

After proceeding 27 feet, the entrance inclined at an angle of 27° into an ante-room coated with white stucco, 13 feet 9 inches long, 10 feet 3 inches wide, 8 feet 7 inches high; which was succeeded by other passages inclined at an angle of 21°, 11 feet 8 inches long, leading into the sepulchral chamber, which is 19 feet 2 inches long, by 8 feet 9 inches wide, and 10 feet 4 inches high. The ceiling was formed of blocks of well wrought calcareous stone, laid horizontally. In a recess made for the purpose of receiving these layers of stone, the well-known concluding formula of the title of the Pharaohs (*ma-ânch*, may he live!) was found. Part of it was wanting and had recently been cut out, either by or for Europeans, and there seems to be little hope of its recovery. One of the stone beams of the roof still bears, among other hieroglyphics, the name of King *Menkaru-ra*, as copied on our Plate. We believe it to be the name of the second Mykerinus. At all events we require a pyramid for him, as he has no place in the larger one of Mykerinus. His name is written precisely as it is found here on the Tablet of Abydos. It seems to have been pronounced simply *Menkarura*, and their contemporaries probably had no means of distinguishing them but by their standard-names, neither of which we possess.

There are two other small pyramids (the fifth and sixth) remaining for this wife or daughter. Everything we know of the fifth, according to what has been stated, would seem to indicate that such was the purpose for which they were constructed. The sixth must have had a like destination, but seems never to have contained a mummy.

In the other sepulchral chambers no inscription has yet been found. But there is a hope of future discoveries being made in the fifth, of which Vyse was unable to complete the excavation, owing to the foulness of the air and excessive heat. The pyramid so unphilologically examined by the French officers (with cannon-balls, it is said) is the sixth.

G.

HISTORICAL RESTORATION OF THE SECTION.

This section, so full of important results for Egyptian

Eratosthenes.	Manetho. IV. Dyn. Memphites.	Herodotus.	Diodorus.
Yrs.	Yrs.	Yrs	Yrs.
XV. Saōphis - 29	1. Sōphis - 30	1. Cheops, builder of the second Pyramid - - 30	1. Chemmis (same as Herodotus) - 50
XVI. Saōphis II. 27	2. Sûphis, builder of the largest Pyramid 63 3. Sûphis - 56	2. Chephren, brother, builder of the second largest Pyramid 56	2. Kephrên, (same as Herodotus) - 56 Brothers, Chabryes, son, builder of the second largest Pyramid.
XVII. Mencheres 31 XVIII. Mencheres II. - - 33	4. Mencheres 63	3. Mykerinus, son of Cheops, builder of the third Pyramid.	Mykerinus.
	5. Ratoises 25 6. Bicheris 22		
	7. Nephercheres - 7		
XIX. Pammes - 35	8. Phamenophthis - 9		

When the two branches of the house of Menes, the southern and northern, became extinct, upon the death of Sahûra-Bicheris, the ninth ruler of the 1st Memphite Dynasty, a new princely Memphite house, probably connected with it by blood, ascended the throne of Egypt. The first two rulers were the royal brothers Cheops. All the information we can gather about them is, that Eratosthenes, a careful critic, assigned to the elder the first 29, and to the younger the latter 27, of the period of 56 years. Manetho's division of the reigns gave the former history, extends from the year 415 of Menes to 569, and consequently embraces a little more than a century and a half, namely 155 years.

We shall first place before the reader a synoptical view of the whole.

Tablet of Abydos.	Monuments.	History.
XII. Destroyed.	KHUFU. Quarry marks on the largest Pyramid, Field of Pyramids.	Khufu. Wadi Mágara, Sakkára. Builder of the second largest Pyramid.
	KHNEMU KHUFU. Repeated on the quarry marks of the largest Pyramid, Field of Pyramids, Wady Magara.	Khnemu-Khuf, brother, *and* Shaf-ra, son, succeeds Cheops I., builders of the largest Pyramid. First reigned - 29 yrs. Second - - 27 Sum total - - 56
XIII. - - - - F XIV. MEN(neter) KE-RA.	SHAF-RA. "The Great of the Pyramid," Field of Pyramids of Gizeh.	
XV. MEN-KE-RA.	MEN-KARU-RA. Coffin lid of the King found in the third Pyramid.	Mencheres the Holy; Mencheres II., Builder of the third Pyramid: First reigned - 31 yrs. Second - - 33 Sum total (63) - 64
XVI. NEFRU-KE-RA.	NEFRU-KAR-RA. (Written with the eye, *iri.*) Field of Pyramids of Gizeh.	Nephercheres. Counter-King of the Southern (Æthiopian) line, the Memphite reign of Khnemu.

30, the latter 26; but then he united the two, and made of them one reign of 56 years. The elder built the second largest pyramid, and that vast appendage to to it, the stone-dyke. Upon his death his younger brother Khnemu-Khufu (Suphis, or Cheops) carried on the government in conjunction with his nephew, the son of the first Cheops, whose royal name was Shaf-ra. These two, according to the testimony and notices on the subject, erected the large pyramid for a burying-place. It surpassed that of the brother and father in size as well as magnificence and the skill displayed in its construction. The lower part of it, however, was not cased with the red granite of Syene, the distinguishing ornament of the second largest pyramid.

The misery of the people, already grievously oppressed, was aggravated by the construction of this gigantic building. With King Mencheres came the deliverance. The worship of the gods had even been neglected, and their customary festivals discontinued. Mencheres restored the religious ceremonies, and gave them repose. Compulsory labour was abolished; the building ceased. This second portion of the section comprises two reigns in the Lists of Eratosthenes and the Tablet of Abydos. It was the time of the *restoration.* Mykerinus I. is the hero of the popular traditions repeated to Herodotus, and the same Mencheres who is mentioned in the "Book of the Dead." It is therefore a happy fatality that, after the mysterious pyramids have been so frequently ransacked and mutilated, the coffin-lid of this very monarch, or that of his successor with the same name, and the mummy beneath it, and it only, should have been preserved. The bones of the oppressors of the people, who for two whole generations harassed hundreds of thousands from day to day, have been torn from those sepulchral chambers which they fondly hoped would have preserved their remains for ever from the annihilation they apprehended, and have bid defiance to all search and all demolition. Diodorus, indeed, mentions an Egyptian tradition, according to which neither of the two Kings was buried in his own pyramid for fear of a popular outbreak, but in a secluded spot as privately as possible. The good and humane king, however, who abolished the inhuman soccage, and who on that account was immortalised in ballads and in hymns as the favourite of the nation, although his coffin was broken open, has remained down to our days in his own pyramid, rescued from the desolation of ages, and has met with a resting-place worthy of his fame. His fate may furnish matter for reflection and for thought. The Empire of the Pharaohs, of which he was the eighteenth ruler, has perished. Two other empires of Pharaohs have succeeded it; and those who destroyed the last of them have likewise vanished from the stage of history. The gods of Egypt have sunk in the dust; "Son of Pharaoh" has become a reproach and a by-word in the land of the Pharaohs; even the language is mute among the people, and threatens to disappear from the altar, where, though but partially understood, it still is retained. But the corse of Mencheres reposes at this hour in greater security than it did almost five thousand years ago, in the island, the mistress of the world, whose freedom and free institutions are stronger bulwarks than the ocean which encircles her, among the treasures of all the realms of nature and the most exalted remains of human art.[65] May its rest never be disturbed so long as the stream of history shall roll on!

Mencheres, then, built himself a pyramid, or one was built for him by a grateful nation under his successor; probably the germ of the pyramid in which his corse was found. Pammes (i. e. Khnemu, the Ammonian), the successor of the second Mencheres, according to Greek tradition, was a lineal descendant (that is, a grandson in the female line) of the first or second Cheops. His being called son of Cheops (i. e. grandson or great-grandson) is of no consequence, as both brothers had a right to the name. It is clear that by building the pyramid he caused the downfall of his Dynasty and empire. We find, in the Tablet of Abydos, in Manetho, and the monuments, a King Nephercheres, whom we shall shortly identify as the progenitor of the Elephantinæan Dynasty. He must have been a joint or contemporary sovereign, but of the same race; and the Empire was again divided after the death of Pammes. Perhaps U-SeSeR-KarF, the name of the King who was mentioned at the close of our inquiries into the 3rd Dynasty, belongs to this last section of the declining Empire. The composite form of the name would seem to favour the supposition that he is later than the 3rd Dynasty. In the ensuing Memphite one (the 6th) there is also no place for him. Most of the Tombs in the Field of Gizeh belong to the Dynasty whose pyramids were built there. In examining the name of the chief of Manetho's 5th Dynasty, we shall have an opportunity of tracing this conjecture further.

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[65] We cannot refrain from expressing a hope that some alteration may be made in the arrangement of these remains. At present they lie huddled together among commonplace specimens of antiquity, at the top of a case against the wall, where it requires considerable pains to discover them. On account of their height from the ground, few people can see them at all, and then but very imperfectly. Surely they deserve a more favourable site, in the centre of the beautiful hall, and a glass case to themselves, of which there are many in the collection.

Here closed the first great section of the Empire of Menes. After it had lasted 570 years, a new one commenced, which is represented in the 5th and 6th Dynasties. The subsequent history proves that with the fall of the 4th Dynasty, consequently in the third quarter of the 6th century of the Empire of Menes, the power and sovereignty of the Old Empire was broken up. It was not till nearly 300 years later that Egypt was reunited (by the 12th Dynasty), then, after but a short period, to become again tributary to the Palæstinians for nearly a thousand years.

Is it conceivable that so large a section of the Old Empire as this is should have been entirely passed over in Egyptian tradition, and have left no trace whatever behind it? Is it possible that so large a portion of the annals should have been lost, and no reminiscences have been transmitted to later generations?

We believe the fact to be directly the reverse. Diodorus narrates, from his own peculiar sources of information, that several generations after the good old time (which he makes to consist of the Era of the Sesoosidæ), a powerful ruler, Amosis, arose, who perpetrated many acts of injustice, and deprived many persons of their property. Aktisanes, an Ethiopian, took the field against him, and defeated him; upon which many of his subjects revolted. After the rule of the Ethiopians, however, Mendes or Marros, the builder of the Labyrinth, reigned. King Amosis consequently lived before the 12th Dynasty, and can be no other than our Ammonian, Amōsis, the last King of the 4th Dynasty, which was succeeded by an Elephantinæan (the 5th), represented by other authorities as Ethiopian. We shall discover, however, who Aktisanes was, when we analyze the two Herakleopolitan Dynasties, the 9th and the 10th.

Were there any authority for reading Amōsis in the well-known passage of Pliny, where he mentions the King who was buried in the Great Sphinx, he must also be this Amōsis. The only MS., however, in which any confidence can be placed, that of Bamberg, reads Harmais, the others, Armais; and consequently Amōsis cannot be alluded to in that passage. We may possibly, however, discover Harmais in his Memphite successor. But there is also unquestionably an historical tradition about this enigmatical old King, Amōsis. We have already shown, in the previous volume, by reference to Plutarch and Porphyry, that Manetho the Sebennyte, in a work on Theology and Archæology, stated that the practice of human sacrifices was abolished in Egypt by King Amōsis. It is perfectly clear, from the monuments, that this cannot be the first King of the New Empire, the chief of the 18th Dynasty, whom, moreover, Manetho did not call Amōsis, but Amōs (in Egyptian, *Aah-mes*, the young moon). But it is uncritical to question the truth of the fact itself. Manetho, the priest, could not have invented it; and he would assuredly not have transmitted a tradition so disparaging to his countrymen, had it been possible to disavow it. Indeed the well known sacrificial stamp (a prisoner fettered and kneeling) is palpable and undeniable testimony to the fact. It is, moreover, a trait perfectly in character with a King of the 4th Dynasty, the second of which is represented as having been a *Freethinker.* The other statement, that the King of the same name built a pyramid, can only with certainty be referred to a Pharaoh of this epoch. The point to which the highest historical importance here attaches, is this — that after the fall of the 4th Dynasty, which seems to have been a cruel and bloodstained one, the Empire was again divided. Upper Egypt, or part of it, devolved upon a southern Dynasty of Elephantinæan extraction, which received assistance from Ethiopia, far the largest portion of it, however, being governed by Memphite sovereigns. The former is the 5th or Nephercheres Dynasty; the latter, the one which commenced with Apappus Phiops.

The arts seem to have reached their zenith in the Old Empire at the period just noticed. The drawing and execution of the hieroglyphics is perfect. We possess no statues of that age, but the sculptures are correct and simple in their design. Language and writing, as well as the mode of living and civilization, are essentially the same as we find them 1500 years later, although a critical eye will observe at once some peculiarities of detail. The main result, as regards our researches, is this, that, like the oldest monuments, it offers us, not the commencement, but, in all essentials, the picture of a far advanced stage of civilization. The historical Empire was young; but it must necessarily have rested upon a basis of centuries.

The peninsula of Sinai was subject to Egypt under the first two Kings—the Copperland at least, from their names being found at Wadi-Magara. Her dominion at all events must have extended far to the southward, eastward, and westward, judging by the grandeur and costliness of the works executed at that period. The inheritance of Menes, as already remarked, cannot have been comprised within a narrower compass.

CONCLUSION.

RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE AT OUR MAIN ASSUMPTION, THAT THERE IS NO CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES EXTANT BUT IN ERATOSTHENES.

ERATOSTHENES has by no means transmitted to us all the Kings contained in Manetho's Lists, still less those of the Old Royal Register at Turin of the time of the Ramessides. His Kings are, first, those of the House of Menes, or the 1st Dynasty; then the Memphites, or those of the 3rd and 4th Dynasties of Manetho. Most of the names in the separate reigns of these Dynasties can be shown to be identical with those of Manetho, and indeed in the same order. In default of names which are sometimes grievously mis-spelt, the unmistakeable similarity of the reigns comes to our assistance, —a similarity which cannot possibly be accidental. It is equally impossible that the omission of every name of the Kings of the 2nd Dynasty in the List of Eratosthenes should be accidental. It necessarily proves that the 2nd and 3rd were contemporary; and both, accordingly, could not be introduced into a series which was strictly chronological. We possess also monumental names of the 3rd Dynasty about which there is no doubt. Can it then be accidental, that the Kings of Manetho's 3rd Dynasty (the Memphite one) which exist on contemporary monuments are almost all of them identifiable in Eratosthenes, whereas, also, Manetho's names, which have no parallels in Eratosthenes, do not occur in the monuments? This, however, is not all. The unmutilated scutcheons of the royal Tablet of Tuthmōsis (the so-called Tablet of Karnak) contain precisely the same Kings, and NO OTHERS, while Manetho's names which are wanting in Eratosthenes are also wanting in that tablet. Can this be accidental? But again this is not all. The order of the reigns common to Eratosthenes and the Tablet is the same throughout. We shall find, it is true, that the Tablet, which was strictly genealogical, was, at a later date, carried on through Princes, younger scions of the royal house or sons of a younger branch, but that, where it gives actual *Kings*, no selection is ever made, and it exhibits, wherever we can test it, the complete series of reigning sovereigns.

Whoever, therefore, in spite of this harmony between Eratosthenes and the Tablets and Monuments, chooses to maintain that the Lists of Manetho form a *chronological* series, will, I think, wilfully take on his own shoulders the whole burden of proof; and doubly so, because in general Manetho's own explanation is against him. For if, as is clear indeed to any impartial critic, he fixed the length of the whole Egyptian chronology from Menes to Nectanebo at *three thousand five hundred and fifty-five years*, it is impossible that he can have added together the Dynasties of this section, as well as those of the succeeding one, in the Old Empire, in order to make a chronological series. There would, in that case, be only a few centuries remaining for the whole Middle and New Empire. In the two other divisions of the Old Empire, we shall place this beyond all doubt.

The especial difference between sound historical criticism and gratuitous assumption is this, that in the latter an attempt is made to establish impossibilities, because difficulties occur which make it necessary to think. In comparison with these difficulties, such as arise on the opposite side disappear. The latter, however, are only stumbling-blocks to those who do not reflect that the history of those times is lost, and that we can only restore it from the Lists and Monuments. The Kings of Manetho and the Papyrus, wherever they do not owe their existence to the chimeras of the epitomists, are doubtless perfectly historical. Still this is no reason why the compilers, from want of criticism and method, should not have entered one and the same King, with different versions of his name, twice. At all events the sum total of their reigns does not form a chronology. It is clear that, prior to Menes, Egypt, so far from forming a united empire, was divided into numerous provinces, governed however by indigenous princes of their own, who possessed extensive territory. Can we wonder, then, that we find, even after Menes, independent Dynasties reigning simultaneously. The princely families were the great landowners of the provinces, who called themselves Egyptian Kings as often as they had the opportunity; and without doubt their pedigrees all went back to some prominent King, if not a god, who ruled over the land of Egypt. Thus we see, in the Khufu Dynasty, individual princes of the family possessing a number of villages. Dynastic descent and vast landed property naturally give a claim to dynastic honours.

It seems that the 2nd and 3rd Dynasties lived on terms of amity with each other, and to a certain extent, indeed, shared the imperial sovereignty. Why is such a system of joint sovereignty, or at least the maintenance of amicable relations between two Dynasties, both descended from Menes, so impossible, or even improbable? Dynastic independence, on the contrary, based upon that of some thirty ancient houses or provinces, is the original state. And why should there not have been co-regents in Egypt consisting of members of the same Dynasty, as the Cæsars were? Is not the case of ancient China a parallel one, with which there are so many other points of similarity? Was it not customary in the middle ages of Germany, and assuredly in Schleswig down to the 18th century, to have joint reigns of independent Royal Houses over the same provinces? And in what country has there ever been a more complete system of provincial government, with ancestral princes and gods of their own, than in Egypt? In the 12th Dynasty, twenty-seven Nomes existed; and there were certainly not fewer in early times. After the Thinites were established in Memphis, the Southern and Northern Princes, those of the Upper and Lower country, were necessarily allied in marriage with each other and with the Royal House. Claims were accordingly set up to imperial titles, if not to the succession to the throne. Under such circumstances, is it so unreasonable a supposition that the annals were transmitted by means of royal registers so constructed as that all the reigns were counted one after the other as co-regents with the reigning sovereign? Manetho's statement as to his 30 Dynasties proves that these Dynastic Lists were accompanied by a chronological calculation of the real length of an historical section, as, for instance, that from Menes to Apappus. There are still extant, in the Papyrus, remains of such an epilogus of the sections, which clearly gave not merely the sum of the years of reign annexed, but also the length of the period. Whether this was done critically or uncritically is another question; the Egyptian method was incorrigibly faulty, at all events. Manetho was its first critic — Manetho was an Egyptian — and a priest.

SECOND DIVISION.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

The divided and declining Empire, from the Accession of Phiops-Apappus to that of Amenemes.

Year of Menes, 570—842 - - - 273 Years.

Kings of Eratosthenes, XX.—XXXI. - 12 Reigns.

Royal Tablet of Ramses the Great (Abydos), XVII.—XXXII: 16 Scutcheons.

Royal Tablet of Tuthmosis III. (Karnak), X.—XXIV.: 15 Scutcheons.

Dynasties of Manetho, V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI.

SECTION I.

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH DYNASTIES.—ERATOSTHENES, XX. XXI. XXII., 107 YEARS.

A.

THE FIFTH DYNASTY OF MANETHO.

Elephantinæan Kings.

I. THE LIST OF MANETHO.

MANETHO: Fifth Dynasty—Elephantinæan Kings.			Royal Papyrus at Turin.	Monuments.	Tablet of Abydos. XVI. Nefru-kar-ra (I.)
Africanus—"8 Kings."	*Eusebius.*—"31 Kings."				
	Syncellus.	*Armenian Ver.*			
Yrs. 1. Usercherês - 28	1. Othoês slain by his guards	1. Othius Idem	- -	USESER KEF	XVII. NEFRU-KAR-RA NEBI.
2. Sephrês 13	- -	- -	- -	- -	XVIII. TET-KAR-RA-MA.
3. Nephercherês 20	- -	- -	- -	NEFRU-KAR-RA	XIX. NEFRU-KAR-RA (II.) KHENTU.
4. Sisirês - 7	Yrs. 4. Phiops 100 reigned from the age of 6 years	Yrs. 4. Phiops 100 Idem	- -	- -	XX. MER-EN-HER.
5. Cherês - 20	- -	- -	- -	- -	XXI. SNEFRU-KAR.
6. Rathûrês 44	- -	- -	- -	- -	XXII. RA-EN-KAR.
7. Mencherês - 9	- -	- -	7. MER-EN-HER 8	- -	XXIII. NEFRU-KAR-RA (III.) REREL.
8. Tancherês - 44	- -	- -	8. TET 38	- -	XXIV. NEFRU-KAR..
9. Onnus - 33	- -	- -	9. Unas 30	U-NAS	XXV. NEFRU-KAR PEPI-SNEB.
218 "Altogether 248 years."	(No sum total given.)				XXVI. S. NEFRU-KAR-ANNU. (End of the Upper row of Kings.)

In the second part of this section we shall show in a more authentic manner than we were able to do, owing to the want of monuments, when treating of the earlier portion of the Empire, the 2nd and 3rd Dynasties, that the series of Eratosthenes is really continued in the next Memphite, consequently the 6th, Dynasty. According to our hypothesis, indeed, it could not be continued in any other, and that, as is self-evident, in an unbroken line, after the fourth Royal House became extinct.

There are, strictly speaking, only two points connected with the 5th Dynasty which will require to be proved in solving the present chronological question, in order to substantiate the above hypothesis:

First, that it contains none of the names which occur subsequently in the Lists of Eratosthenes; and, secondly, that Manetho's registration of this Dynasty is really in conformity with a genuine Egyptian tradition.

We are in a condition to prove both these points. We wish, however, thirdly, to substantiate the assumption, that this Egyptian register of Manetho is as certainly well authenticated and of as strictly historical and genuine a character, as that it does not belong to the continuous chronology of the Egyptian Empire.

A glance at the above Table will show that it contains names of a similar kind, in which the predominating feature is the name of Nephercheres, the common one, the family name ending with *kar-ra* or *kar-her* (the offering of Ra or Hor). Accordingly the names of Nefrukarra (Nephercheres) and Menkarra (Menkheres) are kindred to each other in their termination (*karra*), which probably indicates some dynastic relationship. No single name of this kind is found in the List of Eratosthenes, in which the well-known names of the Kings of the 6th Dynasty follow.

II. THE CONNEXION BETWEEN THE ROYAL TABLET AND MONUMENTS, AND ERATOSTHENES.

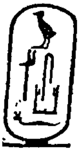
The Tablet of Tuthmosis, as we have shown, contains, immediately after the Kings of the 3rd Dynasty, the scutcheon of Pepi, i. e. Phiops-Apappus, the chief of the 6th. It consequently passes over the 4th. The immediate predecessor of Phiops has a prenomen *Mer-en-ra*, whose name is not yet identified on the monuments. This King cannot belong to the period prior to the 5th, any more than the mutilated scutcheon intervening between him and Snefru does to the seventh King of the 3rd Dynasty. The 5th closes with three Kings whose scutcheons are known. We must assume, therefore, that this Dynasty, as well as the 2nd and 4th, is omitted in the Tablet. The 4th is inserted, however, in the Tablet of Ramses at Abydos, in which there are ten scutcheons containing names similar to those of the 5th, occurring after the 4th Dynasty. We may call them Nephercheres names, from the prevalence in them of that designation. Six mutilated names follow, which must belong to Kings prior to the 12th Dynasty. There is therefore no ground whatever for supposing that those of Apappus and his two successors were among these six scutcheons; the series was doubtless continued as far as the 12th Dynasty, through the 7th, 8th, and 11th; perhaps through the 11th (Theban) Dynasty only.

If, then, the two tablets do not enable us to restore the entire series of Eratosthenes, still it is clear that they contain nothing at variance with the assumption that it was the chronological one. *The number of generations, however, does tally with the number of Kings in Eratosthenes; not at all with the extant Lists of Manetho.* This is of the greatest importance for the criticism of the chronology.

The difficulty which several modern inquirers have encountered in this section consists, however, in the circumstance of Lepsius having found in the tombs of the pyramids of Giseh the names of Kings of that Dynasty, who are mentioned as referring to persons buried in them. It is, of course, fair to suppose that these Kings lived during the building of these pyramids. In many cases it is expressly stated that they were connected with their erection; from which it would seem to follow, first, that they reigned in Memphis; and, secondly, that they were the immediate successors of the builders of the pyramids.

The inference to be drawn from this circumstance, as connected with our present inquiry, is, that, inasmuch as there is but one single name of a King found in the tombs of Giseh, namely USESERKARF, we must undoubtedly identify him with *Usercheres*, the first King of the 5th Dynasty.

29.



U-seser-kar-f.

It is true that we have also a *Nefru iri karra*, the transcript of which is unquestionably *Nephercheres*, the *iri* in the middle being a supplementary expression of the *r* sound already contained in the sign for *nefru* (the lute). We are, however, acquainted with a King Nephercheres, the seventh in Manetho's 4th Dynasty, whose reign and that of his successor (the former with 7, the latter with 9 years), have been shown to correspond with that of the fifth King in Eratosthenes, who reigned 35 years. The same name is also found in Upper Egypt, especially on some alabaster vases brought from Abydos, but written with the mouth (*ru*), as the supplementary *r* sound, instead of the eye. We are not justified in overlooking this variation, as it is universal. The *Nefru* (*iri*) *karra*, found in the tombs of Memphis, is there mentioned in conjunction with *Sahura* (Leps. ii. 47., Sakkára), which confirms the conjecture thrown out in the 3rd Dynasty, that the King *Kerpheres*, who succeeds *Sephuris*

(*Snefru*), is a mis-spelling of Nephercheres. The other, who is found at Abydos (*Nefru*(*ru*)*karra*), is in that case exclusively the King of the same name in the 5th Elephantinæan Dynasty. NO ONE OTHER NAME IN IT HAS BEEN FOUND IN THE FIELD OF PYRAMIDS. The only two names which bear any resemblance to it, *Menkarher* and *Tetkarra*, unquestionably do not belong here. It is true that we find in Manetho *Mencheres* = *Menkarher*, as the name of the seventh King, but the Papyrus, in this respect incontestible authority, in which, as we shall shortly see, the whole series of the last three Kings of this name is preserved, calls the former *Merenher*. We must, therefore, read in Manetho *Mercheres*, instead of *Mencheres;* for the sign *che* (kar, arms upraised), is also introduced in the following prenomen *Tankares* (read *Tatkares*), whereas the Papyrus has *Tet-Tet*, the name, and not the prenomen, which is certainly more correct, as distinguishing it from *Asses-Tetkarra* of the 3rd Dynasty.

It need cause no surprise, therefore, that the first King of this Dynasty is mentioned in conjunction with the Memphite Kings, owing to the confusion which is so palpable at the end of the 4th Dynasty, whose dominion extended over the whole Empire. We shall find that the first legitimate King of the 6th Memphite Dynasty came to the throne at six years old, and that an Othoes, his predecessor, to whom Manetho assigns 30 years, was slain by his guards. This, then, was a time of war. The supposition that the third King of the 5th Dynasty is also recorded in the Tombs of Memphis is the more untenable, because the Nephercheres there mentioned is decidedly connected with a King of the 3rd Dynasty, and consequently belongs to an earlier period.

The notion that the Elephantinæans reigned at Memphis seems to me, therefore, inadmissible. Admitting even that either one or other of these suppositions can be maintained, it would be a hasty inference that the 5th and 6th Dynasties were not cotemporaneous. A joint imperial reign and equal right to the necropoleis around the two imperial cities, Thebes and Memphis, cannot be considered so improbable as to oblige us to adopt a notion so utterly inexplicable and impossible, namely, that in a List of "Kings who ruled at Thebes," and one so unbroken as it is, there should have been an omission precisely of a South-Egyptian Dynasty, if it were not a co-dynasty of the reigning imperial house.

Before proceeding to the further detailed criticism of the nine names in Manetho, we will first see what else is to be discovered respecting this period.

III. The Turin Papyrus: Merenher, Tet-Tet, Unas, the last Three Kings of Manetho's Fifth Dynasty.

The remarkable fragment of the Royal Turin Papyrus, given in our third column, already quoted, proves the series of Manetho to be historical. It contains the names of the last three Kings of his 5th Dynasty[66]; an authentic testimony, therefore, in Manetho's favour, of the 15th century B.C.! The comparison of the two Lists is full of instruction throughout.

In the first place, it warns us against an error into which we are liable to fall. The last element of the names, which sound like Mencheres and Nephercheres, is not *ra*, *re*, the Sun; but *her*, *Horus*, the primeval symbol, and probably that of the Æthiopo-Theban Kings.

The *first* of these three Kings in the fragment is called *Mer-en-her* (beloved of Horus). The *second* is named Tet, and is evidently mis-spelt in the Greek text, owing to a part of a letter having been lost. The name of the *third* King, Unas, confirms the reading of the only good MS. of Syncellus, which we follow in our version of the text of Manetho and Eratosthenes, *Onnos*, not *Obnos*.

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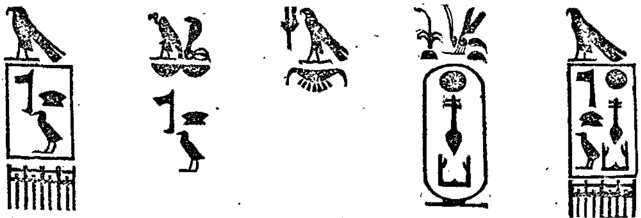
[66] Lepsius, Pl. V.

There is a discrepancy in the dates, and a far more considerable one, which is no less remarkable than the agreement in the names. The difference in the first reign, where Manetho has 9 years, and the Turin MS. 8, is easily explained by the odd months being lost out of the fragments, and which justify Manetho in assigning another year to this King. To the other two he assigns 44 and 33, the Egyptian List 38 and 30. In my opinion these are neither an error in copying, nor unhistorical and fictitious. This simple instance will convey an idea of the difficulties in Egyptian chronology; and we can fully conceive that it required all the talent of such a man as Eratosthenes and the royal commissioners, by patient criticism and examination of the archives, to arrive at the real state of facts, and to reconstruct the true chronology. The 12th Dynasty will furnish us with an instance of vastly greater importance. In the present case the discrepancy is historically of little consequence, chronologically of none at all. The whole series of Elephantinæan Kings is contemporaneous with the Imperial Kings from a given starting point, namely, the close of the 4th Dynasty, and it is wholly unimportant for the chronology of Egypt, whether it terminated a little earlier, or a little later.

IV. CONTEMPORARY MONUMENTS: NEFRUKAR-RA, UNAS.

The fact of the historical reality of Manetho's Kings, which is of the greatest moment in forming a correct estimate of the value of his Lists and the other traditions, has been at last substantiated most satisfactorily, thanks to Lepsius's researches, by *the monuments of Upper Egypt themselves*. It is true that we only know two of them, but they are both in Upper Egypt. We have already shown that if the name of Nephercheres, the third King in Manetho's List, be found on contemporary monuments, he must be *Nefrukar-ra*, who is *only* found in Upper Egypt. The name, moreover, is written in pure ideographs, whereas the Memphite one never occurs without the *eye* sign. We give here the full titles both of Snefru and of Nephercheres, from Lepsius's collection.

30



Har
ntr-shau.

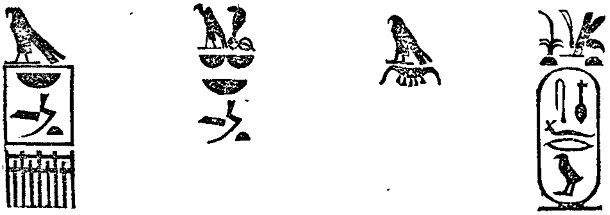
. . .
. . .
ntr-shau.

Bak-nub
cherp.

Su-kheb
Ra-nefer-kar.
Nephercheres.

Har . .
ntr shau
Ra nefer-kar.

31



Har
neb-ma.

. . .
neb ma.

Bak-nub.

Su-kheb
Seneferu.

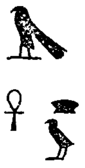
The same holds good of Unas, Onnus. In the Papyru it is given as a prenomen, with *Sut*(*en*)-*Kheb*, sprig and wasp, over it; and on the alabaster vases in the scutcheon, before the name, the sign of his title (Sa-n-ra, son of Helios) is also found. In the southern line, the more simple and ancient designation was retained; in the Memphite Empire from this time forth, that is, contemporaneously with the beginning of the 5th Dynasty, the scutcheons containing the title and family name seem to have been quite distinct.

It has been suggested that, as Nephercheres has one hawk, Mer-n-ra two, and Pepi three, standing on the emblem of gold, this fixes their chronological order.

V. THE TWO ROYAL TABLETS OF KARNAK AND ABYDOS.

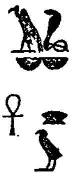
The two old royal series of Abydos and Karnak now remain to be considered. In the former after Sahûra, the sixth King of the 3rd Dynasty, follows *Snefru*, the seventh. Three scutcheons only intervene between him and the chief of the 6th Dynasty, who is preceded by a name Mer-n-ra having some analogy with his prenomen, but which is not met with elsewhere. The scutcheon between him and Snefru (the eighth, the last in the upper row) is destroyed. Lepsius has filled it up with the name of Nephercheres, which must be considered the most natural conjecture, after what has been said as to the reading of the two unintelligible names, Kephuris and Kerpherēs. When we examine the 6th Dynasty, we shall produce direct proof of its correctness from a contemporary monument on which *Nefrukar-ra*, *Mer-n-ra*, and *Pepi-Merira* follow each other.

32



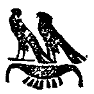
Har
anch Shau.

33



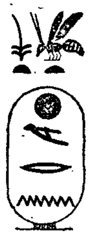
. . .
. . .
anch Shau.

34



Bak-ti-nub.

35



Su-kheb
Ra-mer-n
(Mer-n-Ra).

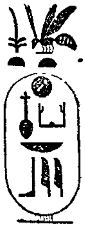
The last name we had under consideration in the royal series of Abydos was Nephercheres the successor of Mencheres (the northern Sovereign of that name, according to our views), or the sixteenth scutcheon in the upper row. The other names in it (17—26) are now wholly obliterated, but they can all be supplied by means of the above mentioned authorities. All these ten Kings are distinguished by having a similar family name, as are those of the fifth house in Manetho; but the twenty-fifth King offers perhaps direct proof of the correctness of our assumption, that the 5th and 6th Dynasties were contemporaneous. His scutcheon has the distinguishing element, the appropriation of the name of Pepi (Apappus); the chief of the 6th Dynasty. We find in the 28th Dynasty a striking instance of this custom of the later Kings of a Dynasty embellishing the simple scutcheons of their ancestors with particular additions. It is, as a general rule, an invariable sign that such are of a later date than the simple scutcheons. But if the contemporaneity of the 5th and 6th Dynasties be denied, it is impossible to explain why a King of the former should appropriate to himself the name of the chief of the latter, as a distinguishing element in his own family name.

We have said that the names of the 5th Dynasty of Manetho, and those which correspond to them on the Tablet of Abydos, evidently possess one common characteristic peculiarity. But it is no less certain that the Tablet does not give the *Kings* themselves, but only *Princes* of that family. In the upper part of the scutcheon containing the twentieth name, the Horus sign instead of the Sun's disk is still legible, which, as the Tablet of Karnak shows, is the title by which Princes were distinguished from Kings. The hieroglyphical signs of Kings above the scutcheons are mere supplements. We might also perhaps suspect that many, or all the others, had the same peculiarity, if it did not impeach the accuracy of those persons to whom we are indebted for the complete copy of the Tablet; for each of those scutcheons, except the twenty-first, that of Sahûra, commenced either with the Horus *or* the Sun's disk, so that where the hieroglyphics are almost obliterated, the ordinary sign, the Sun, might also be inferred. This furnishes, perhaps, the simplest explanation of the fact before alluded to, that great as is the similarity between the names on the Tablet and those of Manetho's 5th Dynasty, there is only one which actually corresponds with them. This is *Mer-n-her* (twentieth scutcheon), which we identified in the Papyrus as the last King but three of the 5th Dynasty. All the rest are totally different, so that we have no reason for supposing them to be actual Kings of the Empire of Egypt, or even of Elephantina. In the instance of the last three Kings in Manetho—and the monuments give no others but those found in Manetho—this is proved indisputably by the authority of the Old Egyptian Papyrus. We cannot wonder indeed that such is the arrangement of the Tablet. Was it possible always to trace back the genealogy in the most direct line by reigning Kings? Was it, in fact, their intention to do so? In the Tablet of Karnak, from and after the chief of the 6th Dynasty, the succession is ostensibly carried on by means of Dukes (ERPA); and that it was so here seems to us a necessary inference. In the sequel we shall show irrefragably that the names do not belong to any later Dynasty, and that the Tablet subsequently gives reigning Monarchs again, the same, indeed, as are found in Manetho and Eratosthenes. We have then seemingly before us a collateral line, either not reigning, or not recognised; that is, a scion of the Royal Family of Thebes, probably one that branched off in the female line. The clue is a valuable one, as showing that royal series of an historical character may have been formed, which would easily swell the number of Princes in the Old Empire to an enormous extent. Even at Karnak, those to whom sacrifices are offered, are called in the votive inscription, "Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt."

The following scutcheons, from 36 to 44, represent the succession as it appears on the Tablet of Abydos;

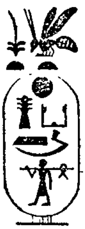
No. 45 is already mentioned at p. 195; Nos. 46 to 48 are the last monarchs of this dynasty from the Turin Papyrus.

36



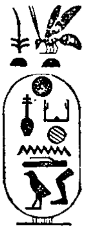
Su-kheb
Ra-nefer-kar II.
—Nebi.

37



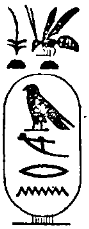
Su-kheb
Ra-tet-kar.
—Ma.

38



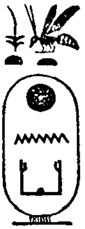
Su-kheb
Ra-nefer-kar III.
— Khuntu.

39



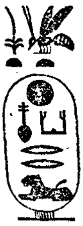
Su-kheb
Har-meren.

40



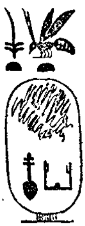
Su-kheb
Ra-en-kar.

41



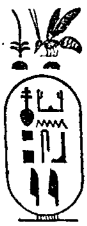
Su-kheb
Ra-nefer-kar IV.
—Ruh-ruh.

42



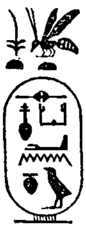
Su-kheb
. . .
Nefer-kar.

43



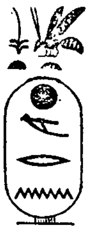
Su-kheb
Nefer-kar—
Pepi-snab.

44



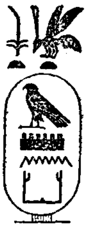
Su-kheb
Snefer-kar II. [?]
—Annu.

45



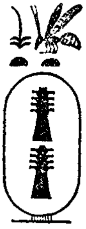
Su-kheb.
Ra-meren.

46



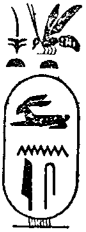
Su-kheb
Har-men-kar.

47



Su-kheb
Tat (name).

48



Su-kheb
Unas.

VI. THE SUCCESSION OF ASES AND UNAS IN A TOMB NEAR THE GREAT PYRAMID.

Lepsius, in his great work (II. Pl. 75.), has published a remarkable inscription, found in a tomb near the Great Pyramid, which is given incorrectly by Mr. Poole from the Rev. Mr. Lieder's copy (Horæ Ægypt. Pl. V.). In this inscription a person states, most unequivocally, that he was the devoted servant of King *Ases* and afterwards of King *Unas*. It is unnecessary to say a word in refutation of Mr. Poole's assertion, unsupported as it is by any argument and at variance with historical criticism, that the Ases or Assa of the monuments represents the fifth and last Shepherd King, Asseth, as according to him An does Jannas, the fourth; and finally, that Unas, the last King of the 5th Dynasty, being a contemporary of Ases, the 5th and 15th Dynasties must belong to the same period of Egyptian history. I have no doubt that Mr. Poole will himself see the impossibility of admitting such synchronisms and parallels, when he returns to these researches.

It is, however, necessary to consider what conclusions are to be drawn from the incontestable fact that a King Ases was the predecessor of Unas. The immediate predecessor of this King Unas is called in the Papyrus, as we have already seen, *Tet-Tet*, who was himself the successor of *Har-men-Kar*. Now *Tet-tet* might be *Tetkeres*, who, according to Manetho (with a slight mis-spelling in our Lists), precedes Unas and follows Menkeres, whose name probably corresponds with *Har-men-kar*, for this Scutcheon reads Menkarher, if the sign of the sun is pronounced last, which certainly was the case in many similar instances. It may indeed be urged, that a person who died in the service of Unas might have served an earlier king of the same family, though not an immediate predecessor. It may also be argued that Ases was a co-regent, whose name is not entered in the Lists.

As regards the inscription discovered by Prisse*, in the tomb of Sakkarà, where we find, after the standard title TET-U, the throne- and family-name of King Assa, written

RA-TET-KAR ASSA:

I have no hesitation in stating my belief that this is the same King of the 5th Dynasty whom we know to have preceded Unas. For the family name Tetkarra evidently belongs to this dynasty, and has nothing analogous to it in the third. It must therefore be admitted that the name was spelled indifferently Ases and Assa; but that is no reason for maintaining his identity with an old King Ases, who, on the official tablet of Karnak, is a predecessor of An, who, in his turn, preceded Nefru. The succession of Ases and Unas renders such an identification impossible. Hence the assumption, that this Karnak Series belongs to the 3rd Dynasty, instead of being refuted is confirmed by these monuments.

The result of connected historical criticism seems, therefore, to be, that the reign before Unas was represented by co-regents. The name recorded in the Papyrus is Tet-tet or Tet-u ?, that in Manetho probably Tetkeres; the complete name mentioned in the Ghizeh-tomb, is Ra-tet-kar Assa. As there is no trace of King Assa amongst the preceding Kings, it is most natural to suppose that he was one of the princes who reigned immediately before Unas.

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* Revue Archæologique, Part II., 1845. Salle des Ancêtres des Tuthmes, III. p. 7.

B.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY.

Memphites.

I. The Lists and Monuments.

Eratosthenes.		Manetho : Sixth Dynasty.				Monuments.
	Yrs.	*Africanus.* "6 Memphite Kings."	Yrs.	*Eusebius.* *Syncellus.*	*Eusebius.* *Armenian Vers.*	
		1. Othoês "was slain by his guards."	30	(See above	5th Dynasty.)	
		2. Phios - -	53			
		3. Methusuphis	7			
XX. 1. Apappûs (reigned, they say, to within one hour) - -	100	4. Phiôps, reigned from his sixth year - -	100			
XXI. 2. (The name is lost.) -	1	5. Menthesuphis	1			
XXII. 3. Nitôkris ("the wife in the stead of the husband") -	6	6. Nitôkris - - "The most courageous and the handsomest woman of her day, of fair complexion; built the third pyramid."	12	Nitôkris (notice, the same as in Africanus.) reigned 203. years. some MSS. 3 years.	Nitôkris (the same as in Africanus, but with the addition: "which (pyramid) is like a hill.") "reigned 203 years."	
Sum total -	107	Sum total -	203			

The List of Eratosthenes contains three reigns, and doubtless three names. That of the second King is lost; but the translation proves, at all events, that it was quite different from the preceding one. Manetho's Lists, though they seem to contain six reigns, may easily be reduced to the same three. We have mentioned above, in analyzing the name of Sôris, who stands at the head of the 4th Dynasty of Manetho, that the first, Othoēs, was a usurper, who ruled as tyrant in Memphis after the fall of the Khufu family. He is expressly described as a tyrant, who lost his throne and life at the hands of his own guards. We shall hereafter recognize him as the founder of the Herakleopolitan Dynasty. Manetho, therefore, could not possibly include his reign in the 6th Dynasty. The entry here was only an historical one.

The true date of Manetho, accordingly, we find to be 203—30, i. e. 173 years.

It remains now to analyze this List by the aid of Eratosthenes and the monuments.

After the demise of Othoës follow Phiops and Methusuphis with 53 and 7 years respectively, then Phiops and Menthesuphis with 100 years and 1 year respectively; that is, the same names repeated, but this time with the date of the first two reigns in Eratosthenes. Then follows Nitōkris, precisely the same name as in Eratosthenes, but with the date doubled, 12 instead of 6. The monuments contain no mention of the first two dates, but do record the second. Those of this Dynasty many of which were neither known nor identified before Lepsius went to Egypt, represent its first King as (MERI-RA) PePI. The following facsimile of all his titles is borrowed from Lepsius's collection.

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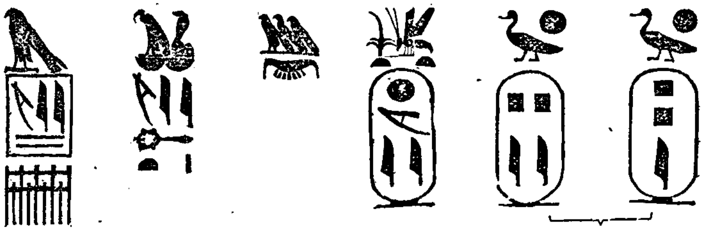

The Egyptian word translated by Eratosthenes, " the greatest," was pronounced PI-APE, or PAPE.[67] APAPPUS, then, and PHI-ÔPS are identical; PHI is the article with the strong aspirate; the A, a prefix. In the historical Papyrus Sallier[68], of the British Museum, the King is called A-PePI. Eratosthenes' version of the name is an exact copy of the Hieratic, and very naturally so, for he constructed his Lists not from the monuments, but manuscript registers of Kings. It would be therefore in itself inadmissible to make a second King, unknown to the monuments, out of this *A-pepi*. The whole internal criticism of Manetho's Lists, moreover, proves that these numbers are obtained by doubling the dates of the same two rulers. The numbers 53 and 7 we by no means consider unhistorical. They are undoubtedly made up by adding the date of the collateral to the principal reign. The successor of Apappus must have reigned coordinately with his father or grandfather, from the 48th year of his sovereignty. Some Lists have even added to the date of his sole reign the last 6 years of his widow and sister. We learn from a notice in Eratosthenes, fortunately copied by Syncellus, that Nitōkris reigned those 6 years in the stead of her husband, in accordance with what Herodotus says, that the Egyptian Princes conferred on her the sovereignty, after having murdered her brother, which brother, by the same authority, was also her husband. Thus explained, all the dates have an historical character; they were also correct in the original historical tradition. Still they no more formed a chronology than did the individual reigns of the contemporary Roman Emperors in the 3rd and

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[67] According to Lepsius, Introduction, p. 514., Apôp=giant.

[68] Examined first by Champollion, and some of the principal passages explained by Salvolini, apparently by means of his master's papers, which he stole.

4th centuries. The mistake probably was Manetho's own, the origin of which has been traced in the first book, or it may even have been made by the earlier interpreters of the traditions of the Old Empire. The monuments, however, also give us the name of the second King, which is lost in Eratosthenes, and in Manetho slightly misspelt. We find repeatedly by the side of Pepi, or in conjunction with him, (Ra-neb-teti) MENTU-HEPT, whose complete titles, which Lepsius discovered, with the different modes of writing them[69], we borrow from his collection.

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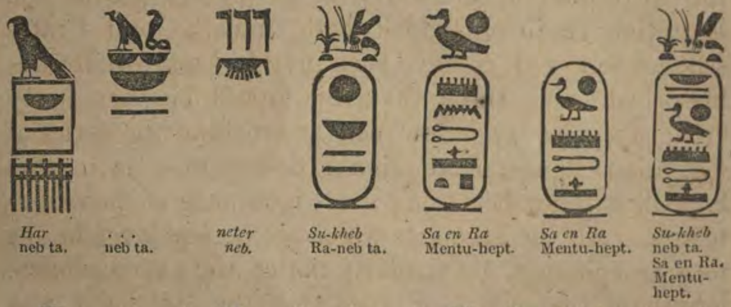

The name in Manetho then is Menthuōphis, that is, "the dependent on Mandu;" or, as Eratosthenes seems to have translated it, "holding fast, like Mars."[70] For Wilkinson has pointed out that the god Mandu was not understood by the Greeks as Pan, but as Ares.[71]

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[69] The complete title was published first from a monument on the Kossayr road, discovered and copied by Burton.

[70] CXETIXOC ΩC APHC instead of EXECKOCOKAPAC. This evidently does not contain the name, but the translation of it.

[71] Manners and Cust., vol. v. p. 31. seq. Ἄρης also occurs as the Greek reading of the name of an Egyptian god in the translation of the obelisk by Hermapion. He was probably the tenth in the Dynasties of gods of the Turin Papyrus. The name is wanting there, but the hawk, his symbol, is preserved. Month is designated with the hawk head: he is also called *Mont-Hor.*

We are not aware of the name of the unfortunate Queen Nitōkris having been found on the monuments, but Birch has no doubt that it occurs in the fifth column of the Turin Papyrus, followed, however, by the names of three other Kings. We meet with a Princess of that name in the New Empire written in hieroglyphics precisely as Eratosthenes renders it, "the victorious Athene," *Neith-ôker.*

Here again everything would seem to indicate that the List of Eratosthenes is the only chronological one, and also that Manetho's tradition is historical throughout. It may however be urged that the introduction of a reign of 100 years proves the Egyptian tradition, which both Manetho and Eratosthenes followed, to have been mythical and wholly unhistorical. We think that this would be very hasty criticism. No one now can assert that the series of Egyptian Kings, from Menes downwards, is mythological, without betraying gross ignorance of the monuments. All the accounts which we possess, even in our meagre epitomes, particularly notice the extraordinary length of the reign—a proof that the statement was not introduced into the annals upon slight grounds. Eratosthenes considered it as strictly historical, otherwise he would not have registered the 100 years in his List. The statement that Apappus reigned exactly 100 years to an hour, mentioned in some authorities he consulted, was only repeated by him upon that ground, it being just as unimportant to him, as it is to us, whether his reign fell short of 100 years by a single hour or several months. Our epitome contains another invaluable entry, that Apappus succeeded to the throne at six years of age, which is likewise stated by Manetho. He must consequently have reached the age of 105 or 106. Is there anything so impossible in this? Long reigns were not uncommon in Egypt, even in the New

Empire. We read, on contemporary monuments, of the 66th year of the great Ramesses. Taking the whole Dynasty together, we have three reigns in 107 years, which is about the average of the old Rulers. Nothing has been urged on the score of improbability about the two reigns of Apappus and his successor, which, together, comprised 101 years.

The monuments record the SIXTEENTH year of the reign of Apappus (PEPI-MERI-RA), the SECOND of *Mentuhept Ra-neb-ta*. This latter datum is no wise at variance with those of Manetho and Eratosthenes; for if, for instance, he reigned three months and a day over the year, it would have been represented on the monuments thus: "in the second year, fourth month, and first day." In the chronology, on the other hand, the one year only could be reckoned.[72]

The contemporary monuments are here the more invaluable, as the corresponding scutcheons are wanting altogether in the Royal Series of Abydos and in that of Karnak. The scutcheon following Pepi (who is preceded by a King *Mer-n-ra*) is destroyed; but the next scutcheons expressly state that all the rest of the tablet consists of Princes, not Kings, and consequently of the younger branch of the royal family.

These monuments, as already intimated, make more frequent mention of Apappus than any of the preceding Kings. It appears from Lepsius's work (to whom we are indebted for arranging what was heretofore a mass of complete confusion) that he was King of almost all Egypt. To the southward, for instance, he is found as far as Silsilis; to the northward, in the whole Heptanomis, as well as along the road to Kossayr and the Copperland of Arabia. Hence, then, the Elephantinæan dynasty would seem to have been absolute as far as the pass of Silsilis; Thebes belonged to the supreme monarch; all which is in accordance with our hypothesis as to the connexion between the ancient Theban and Memphite Kings. No prince ranked in the annals from which the chronology was compiled, as an Imperial Sovereign, unless he were master of those two imperial cities. Hence Memphite and Theban Kings are never met with coordinately. Wilkinson found, in the sepulchral caves of Khenoboskion, his name written as Pepi, with two others to whom he was likewise at a loss to assign a place in history.[73] They stood in the following order:

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[72] We find, in the Tablet of Karnak, a King with the prenomen *Ra-neb-hem*, the fifth before the 12th Dynasty, and we must take care not to overlook the difference between the last sign which is totally different from *ta* (world, *to*). We read on a sarkophagus the name *Ra-Mentuhept*, of whom we know nothing.

Pepi, with the variant *Meri-ra* (in the first passage
there had been originally another name).
Mer-n-ra.
Nefrukar-ra.

These scutcheons have the hieroglyphic of priests before them, which Wilkinson erroneously supposed to refer to the King himself, as Rosellini did in the scutcheon of Khufu. In both cases it simply means that the person in question was a priest of those Kings or during their reigns. The latter is the more probable, and admits of easy explanation on our hypothesis. We have found Nefrukar-ra, Nephercheres, the ancestor of the Southern Line at the end of the 4th Dynasty, to which Apappus succeeded. On the Tablet of Karnak, the King *Mer-n-ra* is the immediate predecessor of Apappus; and we should infer, from the similarity between that scutcheon and the title of King Pepi, that there was a close connexion between them. With Apappus's reign the complete separation of the title and family name came into vogue. Here again it is quite evident that the former was derived from the standard name. In Apappus and his successor, the only distinction between the title and standard name consisted in the Sun (*ra*) being prefixed to the former. A monument, in Wilkinson[74], on the Kossayr road, represents the King, with the Crown of Upper Egypt, as *Meri-ra;* and the same King, sitting back to back to him, with the Crown of Lower Egypt, as Pepi.

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[73] Manners and Customs, vol. iii. p. 281. Egypt and Thebes, p. 401. seq.

We will now cast a retrospective glance over Manetho's Lists, and see what bearing this remarkable monument has upon our hypothesis as to the 5th and 6th Dynasties being contemporaneous. We know, from the monument of Khenoboskion, that Mer-n-ra and Nefrukar-ra were two Kings who reigned before or after Pepi-Apappus; but the Tablet of Karnak having Mer-n-ra before Pepi proves this to be the chronological order:

Nefrukar-ra,
Mer-n-ra,
Pepi-Meri-ra.

Pepi, however, is the chief of a new Dynasty. To which, then, did Nefrukar-ra and Mer-n-ra belong?

If the 5th and 6th were not contemporaneous, Nefrukar-ra and Mer-n-ra ought to be the last Kings of the 5th. Now, we know the succession and names of the three last Kings of the 5th (Elephantinæan) Dynasty from the twofold authority of Manetho's Lists and the Turin Papyrus. According to the former, they reigned 86 (9+44+33) years; according to the latter, 76 (8+38+30). Their names are

Mer-n-her (*Pap. Tur.*), Tet (Tetkar-ra, *Man.*), Unas (Onnos).

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[74] Manners and Customs, vol. iii. p. 282.

As to *Nephercheres*, a well known name in the Lists, it is true there is such a King in the 5th Dynasty; but he is its third sovereign, and died, according to Manetho, 157 years before its close.

If, on the contrary, the 5th and 6th Dynasties were contemporaneous, and seized the throne, the one of Upper, the other of Lower Egypt, after the extinction or downfall of the 4th Dynasty, we must look for Nefrukar-ra and Mer-n-ra in the last Kings of the 4th Dynasty. And indeed Manetho can be made to harmonize perfectly with the Tablet of Karnak and the Monument of Khenoboskion according to our system, which would lead us to look for the predecessors of Phiops, not in the 5th but the 4th Dynasty. In the 4th, we find, in the third and last section, after the Mencheres reigns, corresponding to the 35 years of Pammes, the last King of Eratosthenes,

Nephercheres with 7, and Thamphthis (read
Phamenophthis) with 9 years.

Contemporary monuments do represent Nephercheres as *Nefru(iri)kar-ra*, the same name as in the Tablet of Karnak. Here Prisse has made a discovery of great importance. Upon a monument at El Bersheh, given by him (Pl. 15 & 15 *bis*, text, pp. 3, 4.), the name of Phiops (PPA) occurs interchanged with that of Tet (TT) three times one after the other. Who then is *Tet?* Prisse has successfully established that the scutcheon after Pepi on the Tablet of Karnak was *Teta* (see our Table, Vol I. p. 44.). Is he the *Othoes* mentioned in the confused lists of Eusebius (Vol. I. p. 619.) as the first of the Elephantinæan Kings, or one of the 5th Dynasty? Othoes "was killed by his body-guard." He is therefore not mentioned as the predecessor of Phiops, whom we know to have been

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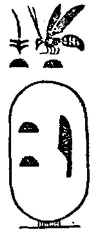

Su-kheb
Teta.

the first King of the 6th Dynasty; and we must at all events abandon the idea of identifying Othoes with the Teta of the Tablet of Karnak, who there follows after Pepi. We have, moreover, no right to say he was the last of the Elephantinæan Kings, because he is said to have been the first. At all events Teta, whose name we read on Prisse's monument flanked on both sides by that of Pepi, is most likely the name of Pepi's successor; for *Teta*'s name stands in the Tablet of Karnak next to that of Pepi. He cannot, therefore, be identified with the Tet of the Papyrus (Tetkar-ra of Manetho), who was the last King but one of the 5th, nor with the Karnak Teta; nor the latter with the Othoes of Eusebius.

Perhaps we shall find something to say about Othoes when we treat of the Herakleopolitan Dynasties. Here we dismiss him and the question of two Dynasties being consecutive, if the names of the two immediate predecessors of the chief of the 6th be not found among the last names of the 5th, where, on the contrary, we meet with quite different names.

Upon looking more closely into the Lists of the 4th Dynasty, where we found Nephercheres, Nefrukar-ra, we have Thamphthis (Phamenophthis?) instead of Mer-n-ra in the series of Khenoboskion. Whatever be the true reading of the name in Manetho, it cannot have been identical with Teta. But the King may as well have had two names (Thamphthis-Mer-n-ra), as his successor Pepi-Meri-ra had upon the contemporaneous monuments. In that case he would be Teta the First.

Whether this juxtaposition be probable or not, it is the only one possible, whereas the assumption of the consecutiveness of the 5th and 6th Dynasties leads to endless absurdities.

We have therefore the following series in juxtaposition:

ERATOSTHENES.	Years.	MANETHO.	Years.	TABLET OF KARNAK.
XIX. Pammes	35	IV. 6. Nephercheres	7	Nefrukar-ra
		7. Thamphthis	9	Mer-n-ra
XX. Apappus	100	VI. 2. Phiops -	100	Pepi-Meri-ra

We can now therefore interpret the Chenoboskion Monument in the following manner:

An Egyptian was priest under
Nefrukar-ra = Nephercheres (the sixth King of Manetho's 4th Dynasty);
Mer-n-ra, contemporary with Thamphthis (the seventh and last King of the 4th Dynasty) = Pammes, who in Eratosthenes precedes
Pepi-Meri-ra (Phiops), (the Chief (second King) of the 6th Dynasty in Manetho).

II. PHIOPS-APAPPUS AND NITŌKRIS IN GREEK AND ROMAN TRADITION, AND THE PYRAMIDAL TOMB OF NITŌKRIS.

Is it possible that the Greek critics, from Herodotus downwards, knew nothing of an enterprising and powerful monarch who reigned a hundred years? From our preceding remarks, this would strike us as very remarkable; and yet it appears, at first sight, to be the case. The name of Phiops occurs only in Pliny's History of the Obelisks, and in but one MS., the excellent one of Bamberg, (owing to which circumstance nobody has hitherto remarked it,) under the form of Phios, which we find in Manetho.[75] It seems from this passage that Phiops erected one of two very ancient obelisks on which there are no hieroglyphics. This silence on the part of the classic writers will strike us as still more remarkable when we come to the question of his tomb. The Kings of the preceding Dynasty had their pyramids; and Greek tradition transmitted the names of the builders of almost all of them, more or less correctly. The Greek writers were also much better acquainted than has hitherto been supposed with the pyramidal tomb belonging to the last of our three reigns, the tomb of the sister, wife, and successor of Manduōphis, who only survived her predecessor one year. Phiops-Apappus must have had a pyramid of his own, which also probably served for the burial place of his co-regent and successor. Nor can this have been an insignificant one, or passed over without remark; yet we nowhere find any clue to it; and, as will appear in the sequel of our investigation of the pyramids, the name of Apappus is not met with in any of the numerous existing pyramids which have been excavated.

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[75] H. N. xxxvi. § 6. "Sunt et alii duo (obelisci) unus a Zmarre (read Zmante, i. e. Ismande) positus, alter a Phio sine notis." This passage generally runs thus — "alter Raphio sine notis." See Appendix of Authorities.

As respects the Queen Nitōkris, we have already explained the statement of Manetho that

"Nitōkris built the third Pyramid"

as signifying that he saw it in its present form, as constructed by this Queen, who enlarged the Pyramid of Mencheres, and that he described it as nearly as possible in the state we now find it, although it has since undergone much intentional dilapidation. He could not be mistaken in this—the hieroglyphics on the casing told him that Mencheres was buried there, as did Herodotus also, who states that the name of the King was legible on its northern front.

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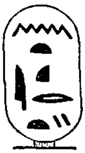

Nitakar.

Nitōkris seems to have doubled the base of the Pyramid, for its original measurement, as already stated, was about 180 feet, and the present one 354′ 6″. The perpendicular height of the old building was about 148 feet; that of the present one, 218, consequently a third more. Of the internal arrangements, therefore, the lower entrance would seem to have been made by her — the original, upper one, was walled up. In doing this, the old casing was torn off, so that it is not extraordinary — as Perring assured me, on my asking him the question — that not a vestige is to be found of the continuation of the original building, which he, as an architect, instinctively looked for.

We have already intimated that Greek tradition recorded the fact, which Manetho related in the guise of a legend, without being aware of it. We shall now explain this a little more fully.

Herodotus (II. 134, 135.) informs us, that some persons supposed the third Pyramid was not built by Mykerinus, but by a courtesan, well known to the Greeks from Sappho's attack upon her, and her own votive offerings at the Temple of Delphi, of the name of Rhodōpis. She was born in Thrace, and was originally a fellow-slave of Æsop in the house of Iadmon, of Samos. Charaxus, Sappho's brother, charmed with her beauty, purchased her freedom and married her. She was consequently the contemporary of Amosis, and lived at Naukratis, the Alexandria of earlier times, so renowned for beauties of that stamp, and was said to have built this Pyramid. Herodotus has proved the utter absurdity of this notion, by most conclusive arguments. He did not bear in mind, however, that the "Rosy-cheeked," as Rhodōpis was called, was the Nitokris of the Egyptians — the ill-fated wife of a King, and a reigning Queen even—celebrated in the Egyptian annals as the greatest heroine and beauty, and of whom there can be little doubt that the imaginative Greeks picked up a number of stories, which they were not slow in repeating and embellishing. Strabo's version of this legend bears on the face of it evident marks of historic truth. Rhodōpis, the pretended builder of the third Pyramid, he says, lived at Naucratis. One day, as she was bathing, the malicious wind carried away her sandal, and laid it at the foot of the King, who was sitting in the Court of Justice in the open air. His curiosity being excited by the singularity of the event and the elegance of the sandal, he could not rest till he had discovered the fair owner of it, and *made her his Queen.* Here, we have "Rosy cheeks" as the Egyptian Queen. Was she really a foreigner? possibly a Babylonian or Median, like the Nitokris of Babylon?. The name, "Neith the Victorious," is strictly Egyptian; and Herodotus says expressly that Nitokris was an Egyptian.[76]

Suffice it to say, that here, as elsewhere, Manetho's tradition is confirmed, explained, and amplified by the monuments as well as the Greeks themselves. According to them all, Nitokris was the builder of our Third Pyramid, inasmuch as she constructed it round that of Mykerinus as a centre. The great skill and magnificence displayed in it — in which respects it far surpassed all the others — are consequently due to her. The building itself has been already described: we annex a sketch of the chamber in which she was entombed.

III. Turin Papyrus.

(Lepsius' Auswahl, pl. iv. ff.)

The Turin Canon contains, in a very mutilated state, a few of the reigns of the 6th, and of two other Dynasties, possibly the 7th and 8th, which come after the 6th. The following represents these Dynasties as they there appear.

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[76] I find, to my great satisfaction, from Zoega's note on the Greek story of Rhodopis, that he was also of opinion that Nitokris must be alluded to.

Sixth Dynasty.[77]

	Years.	Months.	Days.
1.	0	6	21[78]
2.			
3. Ra-nefer-kar[79]	20	0	0
4. [s]n-ta	44	0	0
5. [Papa ?]	99	0	0
6. [Teti ?]	1	1	1
7. Nit-akar.t[80]	0	0	0
8. Nefer-kar	0	0	0
9. Neferes	0	0	0
10. Ab . .	2	1	1
11.	1	1	3
12.	2	1	1
13.	1	0	8

Total, 181 years.

Seventh Dynasty.

1. . . . . .
2. . . . . .
3. Ra-nefer-kar
4. Cha-ti .
5. Sesar-ha .
6. . . . . .
7. Mer. . .
8. Shat . .
9. H[81] . . .
10. . . . . .
11. . . . . .
12. . . . . .
13. . . . . .
14. . . . . .
15. . . . . .
16. . . . . .
17. . . . . [82]
18. . . . . .

Total, 18 Kings.

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[77] See Dr. Hincks, Tra[illegible]i. p. 137. Lepsius, Auswahl, pl. IV.

[78] Fragment 59.

[79] Fragment 48. According to the Abydos Tablet, when the prenomen of a King is used for the first time, it is not accompanied by the nomen, as it always is subsequently; hence this King ought probably to be called Nefer-kar I.

[80] Fragment, 43.

[81] Fragment, No. 47.

[82] Fragment, No. 61.

Eighth Dynasty.

1. . . . . . .[83]	5. . . .
2.	6. Ra-neb-tu [Mentu-hept][84]
3.	
4.	7. Ra-seser[85]

Total, 7 Kings.

IV. Historical Synopsis.

The third section from beginning to end, or the period of the first re-union of Upper and Lower Egypt under Memphitic Kings, not only presents us with many remarkable events, but much also that is great and extraordinary in the destinies of its Sovereigns. The first of the family ascended the throne of Memphis after the race of Khufu became extinct or fell into decay, and the separation of the Southern Thebaid had taken place. He reigned almost a hundred years over all Egypt, with the exception of the nome to the southward of the pass of Silsilis, and over the copperland of the peninsula of Sinai. His numerous monuments exhibit no trace of warlike expeditions and conquests, but frequent indications of his having been a zealous promoter of useful works and a liberal patron of the fine arts.

It seems that his son or grandson, Menduhept-Manduōphis, was joint Sovereign with his aged father for a considerable number of years, but that he only reigned one year after [illegible] death of Phiops. According to Herodotus he los[illegible] a conspiracy of the Egyptian princes. His wife [illegible] the beautiful and heroic Nitōkris. She succeeded in keeping possession of the throne, and in reigning, in the name and right of her murdered husband, six years. During this time she completed the pyramid of the first Mencheres in the most magnificent style and in its present size. It was stated in the Egyptian tales, or popular legends, that the dedication of the newly-erected sepulchral chamber furnished her with a pretext for inviting the murderers of her husband to a festive banquet, at which she caused them to be put to death. Here again allusion is made to a communication between the Nile and the sepulchral chamber, as in the tomb of Cheops: these, however, are mere legendary tales, inasmuch as the sepulchral chambers in both the pyramids are considerably above the level of the river. After the royal widow had taken her revenge, she is said to have died by her own hand. Her ashes and sarcophagus had disappeared probably long before the royal tombs were desecrated by the Persians or Mahometans. Another Memphite family ascended the throne. The fame of Nitokris, as the "rosy cheeked," the heroic queen and builder of the pyramid, long survived her, and passed for thousands of years from mouth to mouth in many a wonderful travesty. Herodotus and even the sober Strabo relate the story of "Rosy Cheeks" with as much pleasure as criticism. The craft of interpreters transformed this charming Egyptian queen into the semi-Hellenic sister-in-law of Sappho, and the Greeks thought nothing incredible or disgraceful in which reference was made to the charm of beauty and Grecian customs.

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[83] Frag. No. 60.

[84] Frag. No. 61.

[85] Frag. No. 63.

Such was the foundation of the legend which, together with the Thessalian story of Psyche in Apuleius, gave rise to the story of Cinderella—the oldest in the world, and from its deep truth, as the mirror of destiny, whether it refer to a beautiful woman or the human soul, the most imperishable. According to the Arab historians, the guardian spirit doomed to dwell there still wanders round one of the pyramids to protect it, and is often visible, by day or at the midnight hour, in the form of a courageous and enchanting woman. Their authorities connect this apparition with the second pyramid, while they make a sulky old man the guardian of the third. There has possibly been some confusion here, and the former vision may be the ghost of the legend of Nitokris.

V. Historical Restoration of the Period of the Sixth Dynasty.

Upon the downfall of the House of Phiops, the third Memphite race, the Empire was broken up, and shortly after, instead of being united, became more and more rent by internal divisions. Its actual condition will be illustrated in the following section.

The remains of the Turin Papyrus have already furnished evidence on this head. A fragment of it, in the first name of which, Birch in 1845, and subsequently Lepsius, read that of Nitōkris, has been shown by Dr. Hincks to belong here.

We conclude with the following synopsis:

Eratosthenes.	Years.	Manetho.	Years.	Monuments and Greeks.
XX. Apappus - "said to have reigned one hour short of 100 years."	100	1. (4.) Phiops (I.) - after Othoes (1.) was murdered by his guards, in the sixth year of his age.	100	MERI MERI-RA PEPI. A-PEPI, Papyrus; 16th year of his reign on contemporary monuments. (Phios) erects an obelisk without hieroglyphics (*Pliny*).
XXI. Menthuôphis -	1	2. (5.) Menthuôphis 2. Phios - 3. Menthuôphis	1 53 7	MENTU-HEPT. 2nd year on a monument.
XXII. Nitôkris - reigned in the stead of her husband.	6	3. (6.) Nitôkris - was buried in the Third Pyramid: a heroine and beauty.	12	Nitōkris reigns after the murder of her husband, revenges him, and commits suicide. (*Herodotus.*) "The rosy cheeked." (*Herodotus, Strabo.*)
Sum total -	107	Sum total -	113	

SECTION II.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH (MEMPHITE), AND ELEVENTH (DIOSPOLITAN), DYNASTIES, AND THE TWO HERAKLEOPOLITAN CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES (NINTH AND TENTH).

THE PERIOD OF THE SEPARATION OF THEBES AND MEMPHIS: 166 YEARS.

A.

COMPARISON OF THE LISTS OF THE SEVENTH, EIGHTH, AND ELEVENTH DYNASTIES.

THE 7th, 8th, and 11th Dynasties are, according to our system, connected. The first two are called Memphite, and were followed by two of Herakleopolis. These latter, according to the plan heretofore pursued, cannot belong to the Imperial Chronology, and form, therefore, no part of our present investigation. The 11th, on the other hand, is called Diospolitan, i. e. Theban; and, from this time forth, the name of Memphite never occurs again in the Royal Lists. We must, therefore, either suppose the Imperial Series to be carried on in the Theban Dynasties, or that none existed at all. We are, however, bound to adopt the former assumption, and the more so because the whole Royal Series in Eratosthenes is called Theban, i. e. Egyptian Kings who reigned in Thebes.

Now this very simple and natural idea is as fully substantiated as we can expect it to be. All the Royal names are unfortunately wanting in our Lists of Manetho, from the 7th to the beginning of the 12th Dynasty, with which the second volume of his historical work commences. The accession of the 12th Dynasty appears, even in the Lists, as a great HISTORICAL EPOCH; for in Africanus, as well as Eusebius, after the names of the 11th Dynasty, we read, "these Kings," whose names are wanting, "were succeeded by Ammenemes." From this point the Lists of Manetho contain the same names again, which it is easy to prove to be identical with those of Eratosthenes; and, thanks to Lepsius's valuable discoveries in the 12th Dynasty, we find all at once a vast number of contemporary monuments, which, in the period of the Decline, are very meagre; as well as numerous public buildings, which are there wanting altogether. This hitherto unmanageable epoch is thus firmly established between two great fixed points of history — the reigns of Nitokris and Ammenema. The general comparison of the Lists of Eratosthenes, and those of Manetho, in the First Book, has established the remarkable unison in their chronological data, more especially in this confused and difficult period, when tested by the system we have adopted. It now remains for us to show that the Eratosthenian Kings, whose place is established between these fixed points, appear, upon closer examination, really to fit into the period in Manetho in a manner corresponding to the relation which has been found by the process of the previous comparison to exist between the two chronologers. The following is the relation which has been shown invariably to subsist between them: — Manetho's dates for the length of a period were originally almost identical with those of Eratosthenes. It never was his intention to add together the sum of all the reigns in all the Dynasties of the Old and Middle Empire, in order to express a chronological series; else how could he have computed only 3555 years from Menes to Nectanebo? There is certainly a discrepancy between them in the chronology of the Old Empire; but this lies within very narrow limits. It depends on misunderstandings which are easily pointed out. Manetho's Lists were certainly of a much more critical character than similar compilations in the time of the restoration. All that was known upon the subject of the Old Empire under Tuthmosis or Ramesses was also known under the Ptolemies. After the Restoration, nothing had occurred to break the thread of Egyptian tradition and literature. Hellenic genius, nevertheless, had, since the days of Herodotus, and more especially after the building of Alexandria, enervated the spirit of criticism among the Egyptians. Whatever was faulty — whatever was matter of uncertainty — had been so ever since the Hyksos Period. Manetho retained the same unsatisfactory and dangerous practice of adding together all the Dynasties and all their reigns, so fatal to chronological researches. It is obvious, indeed, that he was less critical in other portions of his history than in the New Empire. The Lists, which, by being detached from the historical work, expedited the destruction of the latter, became the source of still more serious discrepancies. The mixture of chronological and historical data, and the confusion as to the identity of the Kings, owing to the various versions of their names, or slight differences in the lengths of their reigns, have already been pointed out as fertile sources of similar misunderstanding. Manetho had already overstated the length of the Old Empire by about three centuries, his own calculation of the period from Menes to Alexander being 3555 years, and the sum of the reigns in the Old Empire alone amounting, according to our Lists, to more than 3000 years. These absurdities were chargeable to the account of the Epitomists, who occasionally added dates of remarkable years in the course of a principal or collateral reigns which they found in the historical work, to the notices of lengths of reigns of consecutive Kings. A series might thus be formed, which was more inaccurate, as compared with the real chronology, than the sum of all the reigns of the Augustuses and Cæsars, from Severus to Theodosius, would be, as compared with the true length of that period. The greater the number of historical facts recorded in the Lists, the greater must this difference have been. This may be the reason why so accurate a compiler as Africanus, and still more, one so superficial as Eusebius, should have made his Epilogus of the 4th Dynasty one third too high.

The following is the line of proof intended to be pursued in this book. Should we find the same relation existing here, where the beginning and ending point of the two Lists is positively known, Nitokris and Ammenema, as we have previously found in a greater or less degree, the correctness of our hypothesis, as regards this dark period, will be strongly corroborated, and the possibility be obtained of restoring the most ancient chronology of Egypt. The ensuing inquiry, therefore, will simply consist in carrying out still further, with our present enlarged knowledge, the critical principles preliminarily adopted in the First Book. The present text of the Lists furnishes the following synopsis:

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2" rowspan="3">Eratosthenes.
(XXIII.—XXXI.)</th><th colspan="3">Manetho: Seventh, Eighth (Memphite), Eleventh (Diospolitan) Dynasties.</th></tr>
<tr><th rowspan="2"><i>Africanus</i></th><th colspan="2"><i>Eusebius.</i></th></tr>
<tr><th>In <i>Syncellus.</i></th><th>In the <i>Arm. Version.</i></th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">
XXIII. Myrtæus -
XXIV. Thuosimarês
XXV. Sethinilus -
XXVI. Semphukratês - -
XXVII. Chouthêr -
XXVIII. Meyrês -
XXIX. Tho-maëphtha - -
XXX. Soikûnius -
(7 Kings, 128 yrs.)
XXXI. Peteathyrês
Sum total -</td><td rowspan="5">Years.
22
12
8
18
7
12
11
60

16
166</td><td rowspan="3"><i>Seventh Dynasty.</i>
70 Memphite Kings, reigned 70 days.</td><td colspan="2"><i>Seventh Dynasty.</i></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">5 Memphite Kings,</td></tr>
<tr><td>reigned 75 days.</td><td>reigned 75 yrs.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2"><i>Eighth Dynasty.</i>
27 Memphite Kings, reigned 146 years (according to the Epilogus of the Dynasties in Syncellus, 142 years).</td><td colspan="2"><i>Eighth Dynasty.</i></td></tr>
<tr><td>5 Memphite Kings, reigned 100 years.</td><td>9 (margin 19) Memphite Kings, reigned 100 years.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">(Ammenemes succeeds.)</td><td colspan="3"><i>Eleventh Dynasty.</i>
16 Diospolitan Kings, reigned 43 years.
" <i>After them came Ammenemes</i>, 16 years."
<i>Sum Total.</i></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="3"><table><tr><th></th><th></th><th>Yrs.</th><th>Days.</th><th>Kings.</th></tr><tr><td>According to Africanus - -</td><td></td><td>185</td><td>70</td><td>113</td></tr><tr><td>" Eusebius</td><td>Syncellus</td><td>143</td><td>75</td><td>26</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>Arm. Vers.</td><td>218</td><td>00</td><td>30 (40)</td></tr></table></td></tr>
</table>

The only consolation we have in the present deplorable state of the text of these Dynasties, with headings, the numbers of which have lost all coherence, owing to the omission of the names of the Kings and the date of their reigns, is this: The number of reigns (as they stand in the scrupulous Africanus) is too absurd to have originated in any intentional corruption. The unfortunate alteration, on the contrary, is clearly traceable to the rough attempts at restoration made by Eusebius or his translators. The 70 days of the 7th Dynasty in Africanus are guaranteed by their repetition in the Epilogus both of Syncellus's text of Eusebius (which gives, however, 5 instead of 70 Kings), and in that of the Armenian version, where the number 75 applies to years instead of days. Blunders of this kind always arise from a fanciful alteration of some very striking entry. Now, if 70 be undoubtedly the true reading, and yet nonsense, the probability is that it represents the sum of the lengths of the reigns, and that the number of the Kings was lost. The conclusion therefore would be, that 70, as applied to the number of the Kings, is an impossibility; but that it may have been transposed from the entry of the date of reigns into the beginning of the line. Nobody, at all events, can believe that these Kings really reigned as many *years* as it is certain there are *days* assigned to them. The number of 70, or 75 days, therefore, is guaranteed in several ways — that of 70 Kings *cannot* be right. It is possible, indeed, that in a state of anarchy, of short duration, many Princes may have become Kings all at the same time; but *yet it is impossible that they should have been of the same family;* and here a single Dynasty is spoken of. It is not probable that the possession of sovereignty for only 70 days would have been represented in the Annals as a distinct Dynasty: and here we have 70 Kings of one race in as many days! No one has the slightest right to say they may have been of different families. Anybody who can swallow camels of this kind, and who at the same time is repulsed by the difficulties which attend an historical scrutiny of a primeval period, appears to us not even to possess the first rudiments of historical criticism. Manetho's Dynasties are either a fable or they represent what the word expresses, and what, in many of them, is not only literally expressed, but proved also by contemporary monuments; namely, a succession of Kings of the same race; one, in fact, continued on in the male line until it becomes extinct. Now, as all Egyptologers admit him to be historical (as indeed they must), they ought to be most especially on their guard against such contradictions. It seems highly probable, therefore, that in the present case the entry of 5 Kings, which we have in both texts of Eusebius, is the right reading. In Africanus, owing to a blunder of the copyists, the date of the days also has got into the enumeration of the Kings, and displaced the right date. The most probable and simple restoration is, consequently, the following:

"*Seventh Dynasty, Memphites:* 5 *Kings,* ? *Years,* 70 *Days.*"

Let us, then, suppose the date of years in this Dynasty, which was early lost (i.e. before Africanus), to have found its way into the following line in the Epitomist. We there find a number 20 (K̄) which can hardly be in its right place. But if we transfer it into the other line, it would be a justifiable supposition that the number 70 (Ō) at the head of the Kings is a slight error of transcript for *five* (Є̄), which Eusebius found there. This would make the line run thus:

"Seventh Dynasty: 5 Memphite Kings, who reigned 20 years and 70 days."

In this way every thing is explained. It was difficult for a reign of 70 days to form a Dynasty in the Lists; and assuredly seventy members of one house in it could not be entered as joint or hostile Sovereigns. But neither could a Dynasty which lasted 20 years and 70 days be omitted in the annals. We find, even in the New Empire, similar and still more striking instances in the Egyptian annals of the practice of making the succession of their royal races the kernel of their history. In this way, also, we can explain the circumstance of our finding here the *entry of days*, whereas in general, in our epitomes, even the months are omitted. One of the Kings of the 7th Dynasty reigned *only* seventy days; consequently, this number was *necessarily* entered in the Lists, and thus got into the Epilogus. It is, indeed, not actually proveable, though highly probable, that the number 20 is out of place in the next line, and that 146, or 142, belongs to the following 8th Dynasty of *seven* Kings, the average of whose reigns was between 20 and 21 years, and not 27 ($\overline{\mathrm{Z}}$ instead of $\overline{\mathrm{KZ}}$). But the main consideration as regards the historical criticism is this, that it must be matter of perfect indifference, in this period, whether twenty-seven or seven, whether five or twenty Kings reigned in a given epoch. As to the principal point, however, the duration of the three Dynastics, the 7th, 8th, and 11th, the deviations are but slight; and there is undisputably an approximative relation to the series of Eratosthenes. But Africanus verifies himself in the 8th Dynasty, as the other did in the seventh. On the other hand his unfortunate alteration, which makes either five, or nine, or nineteen Kings to reign exactly the round number of 100 years, corrects itself.

According to him, the 8th Dynasty consisted of twenty-seven Kings; according to the Armenian version of Eusebius, of nine or nineteen; according to the text of Syncellus, of five. This confusion, however inextricable, is of no importance either to history or chronology. We adopt therefore, the text as it is transmitted to us:

Eighth Dynasty: Memphites, 27 (9—19—5), 146 *years.*

In the Epilogus of the Dynasty given by Syncellus, we find 146 instead of 142 years. Eusebius' round number 100, which he repeats in the 9th Dynasty, clearly deserves no consideration.

The length of the *Eleventh*, the next Imperial Dynasty, is in all the Lists 43 years; and there is no apparent motive for corruption. The same is the case with the number of the Kings, which is sixteen. This is certainly an unusual, but not impossible, proportion; for the chronology, at all events, it is a matter of perfect indifference. Eusebius assigns 100 years to the Dynasty. But what is his testimony worth?

The tradition of Manetho accordingly was as follows:

Eleventh Dynasty, Diospolitans: 16 *Kings, who reigned* 43 *years.*

Now if we turn back to the entries of Eratosthenes, which necessarily, or according to our hypothesis at least, must correspond as to the length of the reigns with those three Dynasties, we find a very surprising and corroborative concordance. Here we have, it is true, instead of forty-eight or even 113, only nine Kings; but their years of reign comprise only 166, or, according to our proposed emendation, 182. They correspond, therefore, with the 166 of Eratosthenes. Of these there belong

to the Seventh Dynasty	20 years 70 days.
„ Eighth „	146 (accord. to Syn. 142).
„ Eleventh „	43
Sum total -	209 or 205 years.

The limits of real difference between them accordingly being the greatest and least possible diversity, are, according to the present text, 23 and 19 years.

No one, however, will very readily believe that a dynasty of several Kings only reigned 70 days. These, however, may possibly, according to the Egyptian custom, have been reckoned as a whole year; that is, if the calculation of the next reign started from the succeeding month, Thoth. We must, therefore, always be prepared for adding a year more to those given in the Lists. Whatever decision may be arrived at, it is obvious that the simple application of the plan hitherto pursued without making any serious alterations, and merely by following up the clues of tradition in a text manifestly corrupt, but which has not been tampered with, will produce a very satisfactory solution, even in this section of Manetho's Lists, which has hitherto been given up in despair, or improperly treated because it has been given up. It is certain that, even according to him, the period was a very limited one. There is no ground, therefore, for questioning the correctness of Eratosthenes' chronology, or for denying that they possessed one common basis of historical tradition. We must, however, clearly understand that the present case is different from all the others yet investigated. We see here, for the first time, a struggle arise between Memphis and Thebes, and the latter declare in favour of the Theban Princes. The 7th and 8th Dynasty were evidently periods of very great confusion. They contain the last Memphite Kings known to Egyptian history. With the 11th the sovereignty passed to a Theban house. The 12th, the most glorious of all the Dynasties of the Old Empire, was Theban. Theban Princes carried on the national existence in Upper Egypt; and a Theban race of Princes restored the splendour of the sovereignty of the Pharaohs by the expulsion of the Hyksos from Memphis.

Now there must have been different Lists of Kings in Memphis and Thebes during the continuation of that struggle. The princely house of the 11th Dynasty may have reigned a considerable time in Thebes, and therefore be inscribed in the Theban Lists of Kings, before the Memphites lost Lower Egypt and Memphis. But Eratosthenes gives us the succession of those Kings only who reigned at Thebes. We must therefore inquire how much of the period assigned by Manetho to the two Memphite Dynasties (the sum of their reigns was 142 or 162 years), has Eratosthenes assigned to the Theban Princes? Natural as such an inquiry may be, it seems wholly impossible at the first glance that we should be able to respond to it satisfactorily. In Eratosthenes the names of the Kings and the notices appended to them contain the grossest mis-spellings; in Manetho's Lists there are no names at all.

The Tablet of Karnak, however, gives us the name of the royal house in which, after the death of the son of Phiops, or at latest that of Nitokris, the series was continued on to the 12th Dynasty — in other words, it is a register of the princely ancestors and Theban Rulers of the 11th. In the Leyden Museum, however, there is a very remarkable stele which furnishes authentic proof, hitherto wanting, that this same Theban family, the *Nentef*, or more correctly the *Nàntef*, actually bore the title of King considerably earlier than 43 years before, which is, according to Manetho, the utmost period that can have elapsed between the beginning of his 11th and the accession of the 12th Dynasty.

But before we scrutinize the royal Tablet of Karnak (that of Abydos being destroyed down to the 12th Dynasty), and the above-mentioned stele, as well as other contemporary monuments, we must consider it as the settled result of the previous investigation, independent of some doubtful details, that here again Manetho's Lists contain faithful historical tradition, although the chronology can only be restored by a comparison with Eratosthenes. The arguments in favour of this restoration which we could adduce in 1843 were the following:

First, that it, and it only, is carried out upon a principle, which is suitable to both these Royal series; and

Secondly, and especially, that the series of Eratosthenes renders every other adjustment impossible. As already remarked, the three Dynasties of Manetho are dovetailed in between two clearly defined and fixed points, the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th Dynasty. Eratosthenes assigns 166 years to the latter epoch; and the most natural restoration of Manetho increases it but in a trifling degree.

We had good grounds, therefore, for asserting that any one who scrutinizes the Lists as a connected whole, will find in this period positive proof of the correctness of the path we have struck out. But we are now in a position to go considerably further.

B.

THE ROYAL SERIES OF KARNAK, THE STELE OF THE SESORTESEN AT LEYDEN, AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY MONUMENTS.

It has been already remarked that the Tablet of Karnak introduces Phiops-Apappus (10th scutcheon), as the Chief of the Line. Attention was called to the fact that the succession from Apappus to the 12th Dynasty was carried on through a princely, not a sovereign branch. That succession must now be examined a little more closely. In the second row, which begins with Phiops, there follow six scutcheons (XI. to XVI.), of which only the first and last are destroyed. They do not all, however, contain the full titles of Kings, the first has not even a ring round the name, and the others are designated as *Erpa Ha*, "the Duke," or as *Har* (*Hor*), "Prince," both probably South-Egyptian titles. Their name is pronounced *Nentef* or *Enentef:* the second scutcheon alone contains another name which begins with *Men*, probably *Mentuhept.* Nentef, therefore, is clearly the prominent name in this Phiops branch, which was either the younger or one displaced by the Memphites. The first scutcheon in the third row contains a King of this family. His successor must have been the first of the fourth and lowest row, consequently the very one ranging immediately under him, for all the other scutcheons of the third row exhibit the well-known heroes of the 12th Dynasty, with Amenemha I. at their head.

All the former part of the scutcheon of this immediate successor of the first Nentef King is destroyed as far as the sign of the Sun, which sign, however, is satisfactory proof that it was the scutcheon of a King. In the lowest row there follow six well-preserved scutcheons, *at most*, therefore, six generations—altogether fourteen scutcheons, and consequently, at most, as many generations between Apappus the chief of the sixth, and Amenemha the chief of the twelfth. The List of Eratosthenes contains, between Apappus (XX.) and Amenemha (XXXII.), eleven reigns. The first of these comes after one of 100 years, during which the younger branch was in the third generation. Both, therefore, tally perfectly with our assumption, that the period between Apappus and Amenemha was not longer than Eratosthenes makes it. Can any sensible critic suppose it to be a mere accident that that statement of the length of the period harmonizes exactly with the chronological series, whereas it is utterly irreconcileable with the opposite view, which extends the Old Empire to 3000 years? The *two Herakleopolitan Dynasties* (the 9th and 10th), which are interpolated in that period between the last and last Imperial Dynasty but one (the 8th and 11th of Manetho), each containing nineteen Kings and lasting several hundred years, do not consequently belong here.

We have so far, therefore, every reason to suppose that the period here treated of, both according to the Tablet of Karnak and Manetho, included more generations than we find Kings in Eratosthenes. This, however, in nowise justifies us in assuming that Eratosthenes follows altogether any one of the series of Manetho in this period. The Memphite Empire falls into decay, the 7th Dynasty exhibits the greatest confusion; and after the succession of the Herakleopolitan (9th and 10th), the imperial power is so completely withdrawn from Memphis, that a Theban Dynasty (the 11th) springs up and subsequently reigns throughout all Egypt, while the Memphite Dynasties disappear altogether. That such was the state of things appears not only from Manetho's Lists, but also from the fact, that in spite of all the excavations made by the Prussian Commission, no monuments whatever of this period have been found.

The Thebaid, on the contrary, furnishes numerous monuments of the Theban Nantef family, from which the great House of the Sesostridæ clearly sprung. The Tablet of Karnak establishes this to demonstration. The princes of the Nantef House follow immediately after Apappus, first without a scutcheon, then as princes. We shall find that the monuments authentically prove the immediate connexion of the Theban rulers before the Sesostridæ with this glorious House. We must once more entreat our readers to picture to themselves for one moment what must have been the consequence of such a state of things both to Eratosthenes and Manetho. Manetho must have introduced all the Dynasties as they obtained supremacy—the Theban (the 11th) as soon as it was recognized as sovereign in Memphis. In his Lists, only the last 43 years (143 ?) before Amenemha are assigned to it. Eratosthenes, however, had nothing to do with Dynasties, but merely with Kings who actually reigned in Thebes at a given time. The entry of every one of his Kings commences with the words "He reigned over the Theban Egyptians. . . . ." In his List, therefore, the Nantef Princes must have been introduced much earlier than in Manetho's. This being admitted, the question forces itself upon us, whether there must not be monuments also in existence which will prove that the Nantef sovereignty in the Thebaid extended far beyond the 43 years of Manetho, although the 16 Kings introduced by him into this period of 43 years certainly do not form so long a chronological series as the sum total of their reigns represent?

It follows from this that all the Kings of Eratosthenes, except the first, who corresponds to the 70 days, or, as we have shown to be more probable, to the 20 years and 70 days of Manetho's 7th Dynasty, must be considered as Nantef Kings. De Rougè was the first who noticed this circumstance, and my own researches have likewise brought me to the same conclusion. In the Tablet of Tuthmosis, therefore, we have Nantef Princes at an earlier period, namely, immediately after the son of Apappus Phiops. There are accordingly, it would seem, still stronger reasons for expecting that the corresponding scutcheons in this Tablet would give the throne-names of the same Theban Kings of this princely House whose family names are given by Eratosthenes. For, as from this time forth we find only throne-names in the Royal Tablet, so we have in Eratosthenes throughout only the historical family names. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that, especially in the earlier portion of this period, the *genealogical principle* clearly predominates, in which ancestors who never reigned, Princes, and posthumous Princes even, may be indispensable for tracing the descent from an early King. In addition to this, we must expect to find again in this period joint and collateral Sovereigns, so that in the very same Dynasty Eratosthenes might enter the one, the Tablet of Karnak the other. The Eratosthenian Kings can only be represented as Nantef-Princes: the identity between the family names in the Lists and the throne-names of the Tablet cannot be assumed, unless the correspondence be proved by contemporary monuments.

The sequel of our inquiry will show that what we here merely propose and require as possible or necessary is really the fact.

In the first place, monuments exist containing three royal scutcheons of that period which offer most satisfactory points of similarity with the names of Eratosthenes as well as those of the Tablet. They prove also the correctness of our proposed identification. The first is the King NANTeF (Enantef).

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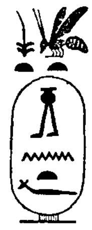

Su-kheb
Nantef.

In 1827 some Arabs discovered an apparently undisturbed royal tomb, in Mount Il-dra Abul Nadja, near Gurnah, to the west of Thebes.[86] It contained a mummy with a golden diadem, on which the uræus or royal serpent glistened. This excited the cupidity of the discoverers, who destroyed the mummy, substituting that of a priest, and then divided the spoil. The coffin fell into Salt's possession, and at the sale of his collection was purchased by the British Museum: the diadem was obtained from the Anastasi collection for the Leyden Museum.[87] The mummy case, which is richly ornamented and gilt, bears the name of Nantef as prenomen (with the sprig and wasp over it). We see at once that he is the first King of the Nantef house of the Tablet of Karnak, already mentioned, the King of the 17th scutcheon, the first in the third row. The only difference in the spelling is, that on the coffin-lid the vowel of the first syllable is inserted. He would seem from this to have had no second name; which would imply that he was only a hostile sovereign, a rival of the then reigning Memphite King of the contemporary 8th Dynasty. His ancestors, although connected with the Memphite line through Apappus, were native princes of the Thebaid, where also we must look for the residence of King Nantef, for his tomb was at Thebes. His successors only after a considerable interval ascended the legitimate Imperial throne, and formed the 11th Dynasty of Manetho.

Contemporary monuments furnish us with better information as to these successors than we could have expected in such a period of decline. There is in the

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[86] Leemans, Lettre à Salvolini, p. 28. seq. Conf. his Pl. II. Scutcheon 22.

[87] Leemans states that when the mummy was opened, a jasper scarabæus, set in gold, with a hieroglyphic inscription, was found in it. The coffin and jewel were sold together by auction; the latter has the name of a late King Sebek-em-saf, inscribed on it.

British Museum a small limestone pyramid, from the collection of Mr. Sams, containing the name and title of King RA TAP MA KHERP NeNTeF-NAA.

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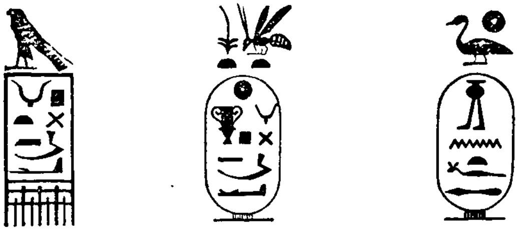

Har Tap ma. *Su-kheb* Ra tap ma kherp. *Sa-en Ra* Nantef naa.

We annex the standard name[88], in which, as well as the prenomen, the word *ma*, written with the cubit, is conspicuous.

The prenomen of Nentefna doubtless was represented in the mutilated scutcheon of the successor, King Nentef, who is the first in the lowest row of the Tablet of Karnak. He probably corresponds to *Thuōsi mares*[89], in Eratosthenes the 24th King; for the standard as well as throne-name contains Mares, and designations of this kind were necessary to distinguish the later from the earlier Nantefs. In the 12th Dynasty of Eratosthenes Mares can be identified as the personal name of Amenemha III., who, like Nentefna, has *ma* in his throne-name.

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[88] Leemans (Pl. II., 19, 20, 21. Conf. p. 26. seq.).

[89] Codex B. has ϑυωσίμαρης, Cod. A. ϑυοσίμαρης. The Gloss gives κραταιὸς ὅ ἐστιν Ἥλιος. The formula ὅ ἐστιν, with which the Greek translation is usually introduced, is here out of place. We therefore omit the ὅ, and read κραταιός ἐστιν Ἥλιος, inasmuch as Eratosthenes, right or wrong, considered the *ma* in *mares*, from the sound, to be equivalent to *ma, locus, vice*, and he may have rendered it by the copula. Or we may read κραταιὸς οὗ ἐστιν Ἥλιος=fortis in loco (ma) Solis. Θυωσι, according to this explanation, would correspond to what is otherwise considered τωσι, for the latter part of the name Sesortesen=Sesortosis is, as we shall see subsequently, rendered by Eratosthenes κραταιός.

The 25th King in this row (Sethinilus) must likewise have been called Nantef, or Nantefna (in Greek Nantefinaus, or Enentefinaus), and have been so designated by Eratosthenes. The translation requires this; *tef*, father, and *na* great, must be its component elements. Now, the name Nantef alone may be translated "the great of the father," i.e. "the greater than the father." In Nantefna, the idea is strengthened by the fact of the father being himself called "great." Hence also, we may attempt a restoration of the mutilated word.[90]

The lower row of names at Karnak begins with a prenomen, which seems identical with the fourth Karnak scutcheon before *S-kennen-ra*, and to correspond therefore with the third King after Nantefna. The only apparent difference between the two scutcheons of Karnak and Gurnah is, that the second and third signs have changed places, so that the first would be read *Tu-neb-ra*, the second *Neb-tu-ra*. In Gurnah he is succeeded by the scutcheon and figure of Ahmēs, the chief of the 18th Dynasty.

Now this same King *Neb-tu-ra* stands, in the royal series of the Ramesseum, between Menes, the first of the row, and the same Ahmēs-Amōs, the chief of the 18th Dynasty. Agreeing, then, as we do, with Lepsius, that this *Neb-tu-ra* of the Tablet of Karnak and the Ramesseum are identical with the *Tu-neb-ra* of the royal series of Karnak, we obtain a King MeNTUHePT Neb-tu-ra (Tu-neb-ra), and at the same time the family name of the twentieth King in the series of Karnak. We annex his complete titles, with the above-mentioned variation of the prenomen, as Lepsius discovered them on the monuments.

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[90] The text reads EBACIΛEYCE (i.e. CEN, as Syncellus generally writes the word), CEΘINIΛOC. The mutilation and misspelling will be best understood by placing them in juxtaposition:—

— CEN CEΘINIΛOC
(ENEN) TEΦINAOC.

Upon this conjecture everybody is at liberty to form his own opinion; but it must be admitted at least that the unmistakeable Greek translation proves that the Egyptian words *tef* and *na* must have formed part of the name, in this order indeed; and these words really occur on a contemporary monument in the King's name. I cannot possibly agree, therefore, with M. De Rougè, that the words "*αὐξήσας τὸ πάτριον κράτος*," appended by Eratosthenes to the name of *Σεθινιλος*, are not the translation of it, although it is misspelt, but merely an historical remark signifying that this King increased his father's power. He may have done so; indeed he may have alluded to it in the name; but that does not justify us in considering the resemblance to the meaning of the name, when properly spelt, as accidental.

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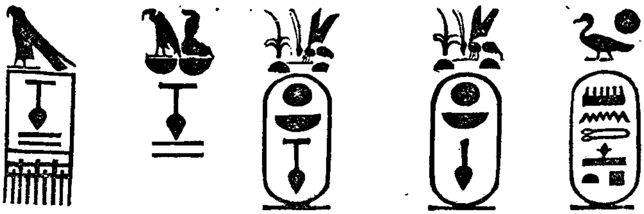

Har sam ta. … sam ta. *Su-kheb* Ra-neb-sam. *Su-kheb* Ra neb tu. *Sa-en Ra* Mentu hept.

According to our identification, this monumental King must correspond with the twenty-seventh of the List of Eratosthenes. In spite of the corruption of the Greek text, it is still possible, perhaps, that it may enable us to discover traces of the same Egyptian name. We may conjecture, for instance, that Eratosthenes called this Mentuophis, Mentuphis II., to distinguish him from the son and successor of Apappus (Mentuhept I.); and it is possible that, under the unintelligible name of the Lists, Nebtay-rês (i. e. Neb-tu-ra) may be concealed.[91] Era-

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[91] The relation between our restoration of this most corrupt passage, and the reading of the MSS. of Syncellus, is this:

ΕΒΑCΙΛΕΥCΕΝ ΧΟΥΘΗΡ ΤΑΥΡΟC ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟC, *i. e.*
ἐβασίλευσε ΜΕΝΤΟΥΦ. ΝΕΒ ΤΑΥΡΗC ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟC abbreviated for
ἐβασίλευσε ΜΕΝΤΟΥΦΙC ΝΕΒ ΤΑΥΡΗC ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟC.

Neb means Lord, *tu* (in Coptic *tao*), perfect, complete: the transtosthenes, however, as intimated above, may have introduced the name of another King. At all events he was a Theban, and one of the Nantef House.

We think, by what has been already advanced, that we have proved the identity of the six Theban Kings of Eratosthenes (who correspond, chronologically, with Manetho's twenty-seven Memphite Kings of the 8th Dynasty) and the seven scutcheons of the Tablet of Karnak, which begin with King Nantef and end with the immediate predecessor of the 12th Dynasty, to such an extent, at least, that this identification, which on our general hypothesis is the only possible one, is even now not unauthenticated by the monuments.

We may cite, in confirmation of these views, another very remarkable stele, also already alluded to, found at Semneh in Nubia, and now in the Leyden Museum, because it will establish the correctness of the whole of our identification of the two rows in the Tablet and Eratosthenes. It proves that these Kings are Thebans, who reigned, during this period of confusion, a considerable length of time in Thebes contemporaneously with the Kings of the 8th Dynasty, who occupied the throne of Memphis.

This monument, which has been published by Leemans and explained by M. De Rougè[92], contains one of the usual funereal formulas, the prayers being addressed to an *Enentef-akr* and his father *Amensu*. The act itself took place in the three and thirtieth year of the reign of Sesertesen I. Enentef-akr speaks as follows:

"The father of the father of my father was appointed scribe of the canal of the river of the great burial

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lation, therefore, of Eratosthenes, is the most exact imaginable. The general sign, "the sun," is not noticed.

[92] Revue Archéologique, Dec. 1849, p. 554-576. Lettre à M. Leemans sur une stèle Égyptienne du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas.

place of Abydos, when Her-uah-anch Sa-Ra-NNTF reigned (the Horus, the life-devoting Son of Ra, Nentef (Enentef)). I am now come into this chamber."[93]

This Nentef was clearly a different King from the Nentef of the British Museum; for his standard name is there given, which is different to that of all the other Nentef Kings.

It appears, therefore, that there are on the Tablet of Karnak four distinct Enentefs, three of whom are distinguished by having the Horus instead of the usual royal title prefixed to their names; one was a Duke, and not a King, and he is the only one of the four introduced into the Tablet without a scutcheon, which shows the great importance of this family in the Theban Annals.

In addition to the Tablet of Karnak there are in existence the following records of this line:

1. A coffin in the British Museum.
2. The pyramidion, coffin, and mummy of King Nentefna, with his prenomen and titles already cited, who is stated on his coffin-lid to have been buried by his brother, also a King Nentef.
3. The coffin and body of Nentef, with the prenomen *Ra her-her-ma Kherp.*
4. An Enentef, with the standard name *Ra-uah-anch,* on a Tablet at Leyden.
5. Another, with the standard name Tat-bau, "established by Spirits," on a Tablet in the British Museum, No. 563.

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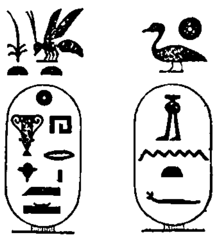

Su-kheb Ra-her her ma kherp.

Sa-en Ra Nantef.

From this, however, we do not necessarily infer that there were five distinct Nentef Kings.

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[93] Literally, according to Birch's translation, "Was then made scribe &c., the father of the father of my father, in the reign of," &c. &c.

C.

SURVEY OF THE RESULTS.

We have shown, first of all, that, in Manetho, the length of reigns in the 7th, 8th, and 11th Dynasties, down to Ammenemha, approximate very closely to the 166 years assigned by Eratosthenes to the interval between the death of Nitokris and the accession of Ammenemha.

We have shown, secondly, that the number of generations between Apappus and Ammenemha, as represented on the Tablet of Karnak, agrees very satisfactorily with the dates of the reigns which compose the chronological series of Eratosthenes, and that, in fact, it includes 30 years more, if we bear in mind that Apappus reigned 100 years, or three generations. In order to make the parallel complete, we will now proceed to compare the Tablet of Abydos and the other two series.

We have shown, in the third place, that the Karnak scutcheons contain all the names of the Theban princely house of Nentef, but that Eratosthenes introduces the Theban Kings at least a generation earlier than the 11th Manethonian Dynasty, so that he also makes the Nentef Kings the immediate successors of the Memphite Kings.

We now proceed to the computation of the length of the period comprised in that monument. Such a computation can, of course, only be made here by generations, and consequently can only be an approximative one.

Enentef-akr's invocation coincides with the 33rd year of Sesortesen I.

His birth we assume to coincide with the 1st year of Sesortesen I.

That of his father, 30 years before the beginning of this reign.

That of his grandfather, 60 years before the beginning of this reign.

Now, supposing this latter event to coincide with the date of the appointment of the great-grandfather as scribe of the canal at Abydos, the period of the reign of our King Nentef will be the first half, or, at the earliest, the beginning of the reign of the twentieth King of the List of Eratosthenes, the last but one before Ammenemha.

Little, then, as this will enable us to make an accurate computation of the time of his reign and of the exact date when this princely Theban house became sovereign, it still renders it highly probable that this event took place much earlier than the 43 years which Manetho assigns to the 11th Theban Dynasty. It becomes also more probable that the Kings of Eratosthenes, prior even to the last but one of the predecessors of Ammenemha, belonged to the Nentef line, i. e. were of Theban origin.

Upon this assumption, however, it necessarily follows, from the direct coincidence of the Nentefs and Sesortesens, *that the Kings of both the Herakleopolitan Dynasties — the 9th and 10th — were contemporary with the Theban Kings*, and did not reign between the Memphites of the 8th and the Thebans of the 11th and 12th Dynasties. Here, then, we have direct proof of the *individual* correctness of our hypothesis:

That the non-Memphito-Theban Kings are necessarily contemporary, and that the List of Eratosthenes tells us so, and why they were so.

But before proceeding to examine these collateral Herakleopolitan Dynasties, we will submit to our readers a tabular summary of such of the principal points connected with the history and chronology of the period in question as we think have been established during the progress of the inquiry.

MANETHO'S SEVENTH AND EIGHTH (MEMPHITE) AND

Eratosthenes. *Kings reigning in Thebes.*		Yrs.	Manetho. *Memphite Kings.*	Tablet of Abydos. *Theban Princes and Kings.*
XVIII.	1. Amyrtaios Myrtaios (Native of Memphis or Thebes?)	22	*Seventh Dynasty.* 70. (5?) Memphite Kings reigned (20 years) 70 days.	*From the close of the 4th Dynasty* (XVI.) *downwards.* Scutcheons XVII.—XXIV. (to the end of the top row.) 10 Nephercheres scutcheons.
	Contemporary Theban Kings.			
XXIV.	1. Tosimares (instead of Thuosimares.)	12	*Eighth Dynasty.* 27. (7?) Memphite Kings reigned 146 (142) years.	In the lower row. 6 mutilated scutch.
XXV.	2. Enentefinaos (instead of Sethinilos.)	8		16 scutcheons: the first corresponding to the beginning of the sixth Dynasty (South-Egyptian Princes): the last = XXXII. from Menes = eleventh Dynasty = Peteathyrês, Eratosth. XXXIst. scutcheon from Menes. The twelfth Dynasty succeeds.
XXVI.	3. Semphucratês	18		
XXVII.	4. Mentuphis (instead of Chouther)	7	——	
XXVIII.	5. Mei-irês	12		
XXIX.	6. To-mae-phtha	11		
XXX.	7. Soikûnis (7 Kings, 128 yrs.)	60	Theban Kings.	
XXXI.	1. Pete-athyrês "Ammenemha succeeds	16 16	*Eleventh Dynasty.* 16. Diospolitan Kings reigned 43 years. "After these follows Ammenemha."	(XXXIII. Ammenemha I.)

D.

THE TWO COLLATERAL DYNASTIES BETWEEN THE EIGHTH AND TWELFTH; THE NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES, HERAKLEOPOLITANS.

OCTHOES IX., AND OTHOES VI. IN MANETHO. — AKTISANES THE ETHIOPIAN — THE AMMŌSIS OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

The necessary consequence of our hypothesis, namely, that the two Herakleopolitan Dynasties cannot be included in the chronological series, but were collateral with the Imperial Sovereigns, has already been established on authentic grounds. The fact of the two Royal Tablets, as well as the List of Eratosthenes, requiring the 11th Dynasty to follow immediately after the Kings of the 7th and 8th, which again they agree in representing as

ELEVENTH (DIOSPOLITAN) DYNASTY RESTORED.

ROYAL SERIES OF KARNAK. *Throne-Names.*	MONUMENTS.
X(XI.) = Pepi-Merira (and his son).	
XII.—XVI. Nentef-Princes.	
XVI. Name destroyed, contemporary with the Memphite Amyrtæus = VII. Dynasty.	NANTF, father of King NNTF at Semneh. [Coffin found at Gurnah?]
(End of second row).	
1. XVII. (III. row 1.) NeNTeF, King.	NANTEF (see following), buried at Thebes: gilt mummy case, in Brit. Mus.; only prenomen.
2. XVIII. (IV. 1.) NANTEF.	RA TAP MA-KHERP NENTEF; small pyramid in the Brit. Mus. (= Eratosthenes, XXIV.?)
3. XIX. (IV. 2.) NANTEF.	RA-HER-HER-MA-KHERP NANTEF: mummy case found at Gurnah.
4. XX. (IV. 3.) RA-SNEFRU-Kar.	
5. XXI. (IV. 4.) NEB-TU-RA.	MeNTUHePT NeB-TU-RA or TU-NeB-RA (Karnak). conquered Asiatics or other Northern people.
6. XXII. (IV. 5.) RA-NUB-KHEPER.	
7. XXIII. (IV. 6.) SeSeR-eN-RA.	SeSeR-eN-RA (as prenomen with the sprig and wasp), together with King An : on the votive tablet of the first SeSertesen (conf. in third Dynasty An and Raseser).
XXIV. Ammenemha I.	(AMeNeMHa I. succeeds).

followed by Ammenemha, the chief of the 12th Dynasty, constitutes the proof of the truth of our assumption. If, then, we are convinced that not merely the only possible restoration of the chronology of Manetho's Dynasties, which results from a legitimate application of our hypothesis, be the one here proposed, but that it is also really the correct one, we cannot evade the question, how the intercalation of two collateral Dynasties of Herakleopolitans as the 9th and 10th — for they are both undoubtedly historical — is to be explained. Now the question is, what, according to our system, must have been the starting point of the 9th Dynasty? No one will venture to deny that the latest period at which it can have closed (and it is the most probable one) is the year preceding the foundation of the rule of the 12th Dynasty by Amenemha. In conformity with our system we must assume that the first of them, which could not be contemporary with an earlier one than the 8th Memphite Dynasty, was the founder of a reigning branch. As regards its starting point, we need not assume that it cannot have commenced earlier than the first year of the preceding (8th) Dynasty. For as the 11th is the first Theban Dynasty, and on the other hand the first eight are all Memphite, it is easy to conceive that Manetho may have intercalated the Herakleopolitans immediately between the two. The circumstance of his Lists making an *Othoës* the chief of the 6th Dynasty is in favour of this assumption, he having been a tyrant who obviously did not belong to the legitimate line. He is said to have reigned 30 years, and then to have been slain by his guards. The chief of the 9th is called *Achthoës*, or *Ochthoës*, and is afterwards stated to have been the first tyrant, and one who grievously ill-treated all Egypt. He was said to have been killed by a crocodile, which may perhaps merely imply that he died a violent death.[94] If we carry out this assumption, the following will be the most probable chronology of Manetho in conformity with the preceding results:

	Years
1. Othoës, Ochthoës, Achthoës, a tyrant who after the downfall of the 4th Dynasty, reigned over all Egypt from Herakleopolis, contemporaneously with the Elephantinæan supremacy in the South	30
2. Phiops and his race (203—30 years of Othoes)	173
3. Dynasty VII.	$20\frac{1}{5}$
4. Dynasty VIII.	142
5. Dynasty XI.	43
Total	$408\frac{1}{5}$

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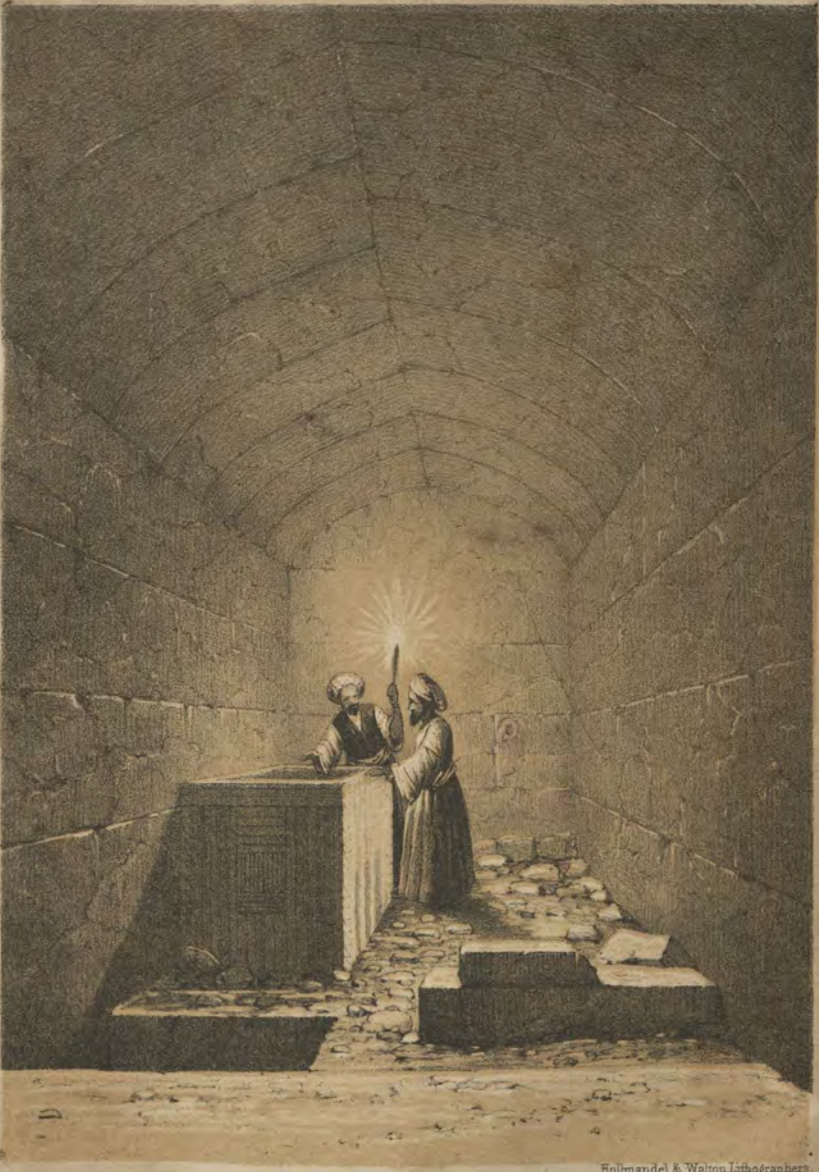
[94] Conf. Horapollo, II. 33.; and, above, the death of Menes by a hippopotamus, and the legend about the death of the builder of the Labyrinth.



Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers.

THIRD PYRAMID.
VIEW OF SEPULCHRAL CHAMBER.

or, considering the $\frac{1}{5}$th of a year as a whole, and adding it on to the reign of the King who lived during that fraction of it, 409 years.

Now, if we turn to the text of Manetho's Lists of the two Herakleopolitan Dynasties, we shall find that he does in fact assign exactly 409 years to the 1st (the 9th) Dynasty. Any one who does not consider this accidental, will, for this very reason, admit that the 10th, or younger Herakleopolitan Dynasty, was contemporary with the continuation of the Ochthoes line. In all probability, however, the separate Herakleopolitan kingdom, which was fortified by its position and its deserts (at that time, indeed, also by an impregnable fortress, according to a tradition to be mentioned in the sequel), was broken up in the 220th year of the Dynasty, as 189 years are assigned to it, and there can be no doubt that on the accession of Amenemha, the chief of the 12th Dynasty, this irregular state of things terminated. This lasted but a short time, however, as we shall shortly see. Here is Manetho's tradition. The *ninth Dynasty* ceased at the beginning or at latest soon after the beginning of the 12th Dynasty, consequently soon after the close of the period we have just examined. We may indeed venture here again to take for granted that in the 12th Dynasty the whole empire of the Pharaohs was re-united, and the co-existence of an Herakleopolitan state and a united empire is an impossibility. In order to conceive this possible we must suppose *Herakleopolis Parva* in the Sethroite nome, consequently Sethrum itself, the city of Typhon to the westward of Pelusium[95], to have been the birthplace and residence of that family. This must be the conclusion, because no one who does not consider Manetho's work to be a mere tissue of nonsense and contradiction, as it has been considered, can possibly conceive a little empire of *Herakleopolis Magna* established at the gates of Memphis, while there were Memphite Kings upon the throne before the period of their final extinction under the 8th Dynasty. By reviewing Manetho's own tradition, however, we shall easily find the right track:

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[95] Seth-rô is probably "the Seth (Hercules) of the outlet" (ro = os, *στόμα*), so called from the situation of the city of Seth at the mouth of the Pelusiac arm into the Lake or marshes. Lepsius (Introd. p. 340.) shows that Pelusium was called the Gate of Egypt. (Conf. Herod. II. 141. *αἱ ἐσβολαί*.)

Ninth Dynasty.	Tenth Dynasty.
Herakleopolitan Kings	*Herakleopolitan Kings*
19, reigned 409 years.	19, reigned 189 years.
The first of them, Ochthoês (Achthoês, *Euseb.*), was as ferocious a tyrant as any of his predecessors, and the greatest oppressor of all the Egyptians. He became insane, and was killed by a crocodile.	

Such is the extent of the chronological tradition and criticism of this dark period, with the small fragment of history hitherto unintelligible. We must not forget that series of Dynasties and Kings do not give us a History, and, moreover, that there is every indication of this period of 150 years having been one of the greatest decline and desolation. The paucity of the monuments, the circumstance of several Princes of the 7th Dynasty having reigned the short term of 22 years, and the position which the next Dynasty occupies as the one under which the restoration took place, all tend to this conclusion. Nor need it have created any surprise had the Greeks told us nothing about such a period of decline. This, however, will perhaps be the most convenient place for giving a fuller explanation of a statement in Diodorus (I. 60.), already quoted in the First Book, and remarked upon in our analysis of the close of the 4th Dynasty. He states that many generations after the time of the old Sesostris and his son, but prior to Mares, the builder of the Labyrinth (the fourth King of the 12th Dynasty), a King Amosis (or Ammōsis) reigned. He was so unpopular that a revolution took place, and the Empire devolved upon Aktisanes, an Æthiopian, a humane ruler, who commuted the punishment of death to banishment at Rhinokolūra (on the extreme frontier to the eastward of Pelusium), whither criminals, after having their noses cut off, were transported.

We have already shown that this Ammōsis can be no other than the last King of that Dynasty in Eratosthenes, whose name reads Pammes, i.e. Pa-Ammon, "belonging to or like Ammon," and who is identical with the Thamphthis, i.e. Phamenophthis, of Manetho. We have seen that with this King, not only the House of Khufu-Mencherēs, but also the united Empire of Menes, ceased to exist, and that the southern portion as far as Thebes fell into the hands of the Æthiopians, while in Lower Egypt a Memphite Dynasty was supreme, in which line the native registers of their Kings were continued. In this period of disorder, therefore, we find the north-eastern frontier rendering itself independent; for this Aktisanes is the Ochthoes, Achthoes, Othoes, whose tyrannical rule over all Egypt has been already proved from Manetho mentioning him in connexion with Apappus, at the head of the 6th Dynasty. The confusion with "the soft Æthiopians," is Diodorus' own remark, or that of one of his superficial Alexandrian authorities. The Æthiopians were very naturally mentioned in this period; but transportation to Rhinokolura could only have been the act of the contemporary Herakleopolitan tyrant, for Rhinokolura is situated in the Herakleopolitan Nome. The commutation of the sentence of capital punishment to mutilation of their noses, and transportation to a desert without water, likewise appears to me rather to suit the impetuous Ochthoes than the philanthropic Æthiopian.

Hence, we obtain the following satisfactory parallelism:

COMPLETE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PERIOD FROM APAPPUS TO AMENEMHA.

Divided Empire after the downfall of the 4th Dynasty, from the year of Menes:

According to Eratosthenes	-	570th year of Menes.
„ Manetho	- -	736 „

Consequently, Apappus-Phiops, XX King in Eratosthenes, 6th Dynasty, commenced:

570 according to Eratosthenes	-	year of Menes 570
736 „ Manetho	-	„ 736

THEBAN LISTS.

Abydos-Tablet, 5th Dyn.
Elephantinæans, i. e. Æthiopians.
SNEFRU (Man. V. 2.).
Eratosthenes (Compare Tablet of Karnak):

XXIII.	- - -	22 yrs.
XXIV. XXX.	7 reigns	128 „
XXXI.	- - -	16 „
Sum total	-	166 „

MEMPHITE LISTS.

Eratosthenes, 6th Dynasty.
(Memphite, i.e. national Kings.)
Apappus-Phiops.

Man. 7th Dyn.	(Memphites)		20⅓
8th „	„		142
9th „	„		43
Sum total		-	205⅓
			[206 years.

HERAKLEOPOLITAN CO-REGENTS.

Ocththoes Othoes - - - - - 409 years.
From 570 to 758, 9th Dynasty alone.
„ 759 to 978, 9th and 10th Dynasty coordinately.

Consequently, Amenemha, XXXII King in Eratosthenes, beginning of 12th Dynasty,

=	735 according to Eratosthenes	-	years of Menes, 736
	979 „ Manetho	- -	„ 979

THIRD DIVISION.

THIRD PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

THE RE-UNITED EMPIRE AND ITS DECLINE;

OR,

THE SESORTOSIDÆ AND THEIR FIRST THEBAN SUCCESSORS.

ERATOSTHENES, KINGS, XXXII.—XXXVIII.: SEVEN REIGNS (4+3), YEAR OF MENES 843—1076: 234 YEARS (147+87).

ROYAL TABLET OF RAMSES THE GREAT (ABYDOS), XXXIII.—XXXIX., SEVEN SCUTCHEONS.

ROYAL TABLET OF TUTHMOSIS III. (KARNAK), XXX.—XXXI., SEVEN SCUTCHEONS.

MANETHO'S TWELFTH AND BEGINNING OF THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.

SECTION I.

CRITICISM AND RESTORATION OF THE LISTS OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

A.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH FROM CHAMPOLLION TO LEPSIUS.

THIS Dynasty forms the most important portion of our inquiry into the Old Empire, no less from its connexion with the authorities from which our chronological knowledge of it is derived, than from the events which occurred in it, its own historical value, and its monuments. It is of material importance, in order to understand the nature of the inquiry itself. In consequence of a discovery made by Lepsius, certain Kings, who, upon the authority of a record 3000 years old, had hitherto passed for the immediate predecessors of the 18th Dynasty, are transposed into the Old Empire. A Royal series in Manetho, of which there seemed to be no extant monuments, has turned out to be most amply and most satisfactorily authenticated by them. The identity of this 12th Dynasty, and the last section of Eratosthenes, which, in the outset of the inquiry we were obliged to assume, is suddenly substantiated in the above record, and this Dynasty of Manetho, as well as the criticism of the Father of Philology, is crowned with most triumphant success as compared with all other traditions, when tested by contemporary monuments. Not only these monuments, with the instructive notices they contain, as well as Manetho, but also the two old Royal Tablets, with almost all their scutcheons preserved, and lastly, the List of Kings in the Turin Papyrus of the 14th century B.C., furnish corroborative evidence of the correctness of Eratosthenes' chronology. It is important, therefore, to explain the connexion between Lepsius's discovery and the previous assumptions on one side, and our own historical research on the other. The Duke of Northumberland and Colonel Felix were the first who established the high antiquity of a King whose name they deciphered as Osirtesen. They found it on an obelisk which they saw to be far older than the well-known obelisks of the New Empire. They discovered about the same time, in Benihassan, a series of Kings, four in number; two Osirtesen, and two, clearly belonging to the same race, which they read *Amumeneit*, or *Ammoneith-Thot.* The prenomens on this series of scutcheons evidently correspond with those of the immediate predecessors of the 18th Dynasty on the Tablet of Abydos. In this manner, the greater part of the family names, corresponding to these prenomens, were at length discovered, and it seemed as though we had found out the immediate Theban predecessors of Aahmes-Amōs, the chief of the 18th Dynasty and the New Empire. The name of Osortesen had been previously communicated to Champollion, who mistook it for the Osorchon of the Lists, and supposed it to belong to the 22nd Dynasty, consequently to the middle epoch of the New Empire. His journey to Egypt, however, convinced him of the correctness of the discovery of the two English travellers. From that time forth, therefore, it seemed to his school, as well as to English travellers and scholars, a settled thing that the immediate predecessors of the 18th Dynasty were discovered. Out of the Osortesens and Amenemhas — or however they read the latter name — they accordingly made a series of Kings, which they sometimes called the 17th, sometimes the 16th and 17th Dynasty. Wilkinson went still further, and asserted that the twenty-third and twenty-fourth scutcheons in the Tablet of Karnak, the last in the third, and first in the fourth row, must belong here, and represent Amenemha I. (whom he calls *Amun-m̀-gori*), and Osirtesen I. This Rosellini questioned. Champollion's posthumous papers show that he agreed with Wilkinson. The following Table (in pages 252, 253.) gives a synopsis of the systems founded upon these views by the two schools. It is useful to bear them in mind, not only in order to have a clear idea of the historical state of facts, but also to understand the previous citations from the monuments of those Kings.[96]

M. De Rougè has the merit, and it cannot be too highly appreciated, of having thoroughly explained to his countrymen the indisputable and authentic truth of this great discovery, which they did and still do evince a great inclination to pass by unnoticed. It has been unanimously adopted in England by all distinguished critics, as far as I know; and it is a painful thing to see it combated with a degree of warmth unworthy of himself and of his age, out of mere theological prejudice, by a man of great ingenuity and of profound Egyptian knowledge, although his inferences are not always sound and conclusive.

For our own part, as soon as we heard from Sir William Gell at Rome of the discovery of the Obelisk of Heliopolis, we hailed it with hearty congratulations in the monthly review of the Archæological Institute. In reference to the restoration of the chronology, after

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[96] The Table is taken from the following works: — *Champollion, Seconde Lettre au Duc de Blacas,* 1826, p. 141. 151. *Rosellini, Monumenti Storici,* i. p. 54. seq., ii. p. 255. *Felix, List of the Pharaohs:* written in English in 1828: published in Italian (*Serie dei Faraoni*), Florence, 1830. *Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica,* 1828. *Topography of Thebes,* 1835, p. 509. Repeated in *The Manners and Customs,* i., 1837, p. 42.

A.

Sixteenth Dynasty: 5 Kings.

Champollion, 1826.	Years.	Rosellini, 1833.	Years.
1. Osymandyas, B.C. 2272	- 50	1. (87) 2. (88) 3. (89) (from Menes according to the monuments), B.C. 2272	141
2. .... 3.	- 109		
4. Amesses-Amosis	- 25	4. (90) Amesses, Amōsis-Osortasen I.	- 43
5. Timaus-Concharis	- 6	5. (91) Timaus-Concharis-Amenemha I.	- 6
	190		190
The Hyksos overrun the Empire B.C. 2082.		The Hyksos overrun the Empire B.C. 2082.	

Seventeenth Dynasty: 6 Kings.

(Contemporary with the first 6 Shepherd Kings.)

1. (*Abydos*, 8th scutcheon before Amōs, 35th of the Tablet).	1. Amenemha II., son of Amenemha I.
2. Amenemha-Pi (*Abyd.* 4th scutch. before Amōs, 36th).	2. Osortasen II., son of Amenemha II., 14th year.
3. Amenemha (*Abyd.* 3rd scutch. (37), 6th or 14th year).	3. Osortasen III.
4. Amenemha (*Abyd.* 2nd scutch. (38), 44th year).	4... 44th year } only the prenomens known.
5. Amenemha (*Abyd.* 1st scutch. (39).	5... } only the prenomens known.
6. Amosis Misphramuthōsis (*Ab.* 40th scutch.).	6. Misphratuthmosis-Amosis, 22 years.
Altogether 260 years. The Shepherds are besieged in Avaris.	Altogether 260 years.

Beginning of the 18th Dynasty, B.C. 1822.

having, in 1835, established that of the Old, Middle, and New Empire, we could entertain no doubt that the previous arrangement of those remarkable Kings was wholly untenable. The 17th Dynasty was, according to Africanus, the 3rd Shepherd Dynasty — the 16th, the second. How could Theban Kings be introduced into either the one or the other? Accordingly, we sup-

B.

FELIX, 1828 (1830).	WILKINSON, 1828 (1835 and 1837).
17th Dynasty of the Osortesen: 7 Kings.	16th and 17th Dynasties: altogether 7 Kings.
	XVI.
1. Osortesen I.	1. Osortesen I., 43rd year B. C. 1740 (Joseph in Egypt B. C. 1706).
2. Ammoneith-Thota I.	2. Amuni-Amumeneit I. (1835: Amun-m̀-gori II.).
3. Ammoneith-Thota II.	3. Amuni (1835: Amun-m̀-gori) II.
	XVII.
4. Osortesen II.	4 (1). Osertesen II.
5. Osortesen III.	5 (2). Siphtep, also Osirtesen III. (1835: *Nofriftep*), 14th year.
6. Ammoneith-Thota III.	6 (3). Amuni (Amun-m̀-gori, 1835) III., 41st year.
7. Ammoneith-Thôta IV.[97]	7 (4). Name destroyed, only the prenomen known, B. C. 1580.

posed them to be the last of the sixty Kings of the 13th Dynasty, the first of which we made to synchronize with the close of the Old Empire. Although unable to explain the succession, we maintained that the Tablet of Karnak contained the whole Dynasty. The first Amenemha, and the chief of this royal race, seems, according to the natural order of that monument, not to be its first, but last sovereign; and his successors preceded him in the reverse order, with the exception of the oldest Osortesen, his immediate successor, with whom the fourth and last row commences. He would seem, therefore, to be necessarily either the latest (or earliest) of all. As neither the names of the Kings of the 13th Dynasty, nor those of the 16th and 17th are found in Manetho, it was impossible to test the general hypothesis beyond that point. The 12th Dynasty on the other hand we assumed, in pursuance of our system, to be identical with the thirty-second and thirty-fifth Kings in Eratosthenes. Two great historical facts were hereby established.

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[97] This name belongs to the so-called Amenses (18th Dynasty), whose prenomen Col. Felix erroneously considered to be the same as that of the last king before Amos.

First, that in the Old Empire a great conqueror lived, belonging to the 12th Dynasty, to whom Manetho ascribed many of the exploits of the Sesostris of Herodotus.

Secondly, that Mares, the fourth King in Eratosthenes, corresponds with Lamares, the fifth in Manetho, whom he describes as the real founder of the Labyrinth.

Lepsius, again, found certain indications in the monuments of those Kings — especially in the remains of a building of the oldest Osortesen, in the Temple Palace of Karnak—which led him to conclude that between the building of this, the most ancient portion of it, and the subsequent additions to it by the Kings of the New Empire, a period of desolation under the Hyksos must intervene. He thought this still more probable from the extreme difference between the style of the columns in Osortesen's reign and that of the other known Egyptian buildings. His prophetic conjecture was published in the bulletin of the Archæological Institute at Rome for the months of July and August, 1837.

It was only in 1840, however, that, by studying the Turin Papyrus and the Tablet of Karnak together, he was led to one of the most important discoveries in the whole range of Egyptian archæology, viz.:

That the Tablet of Abydos jumps over the whole Hyksos period, inasmuch as the so-called Osortosidæ belong to the close of the Old Empire, and are Kings of the 12th Dynasty.

The last two, as well as the epilogus of all the reigns of the Dynasty, he found in the Turin Papyrus. Seyffarth had established the length of the first King's reign, and some remains of the dates of the others were preserved, so as to leave no doubt as to how many of its Kings were registered.

From this discovery, Lepsius at once inferred that the sign which had hitherto, without sufficient authority, been read *user*, *oser*, must be pronounced *seser*, *sesor*, inasmuch as the names *Sesonchôsis* and *Sesôstris*, in Manetho, cannot be explained upon any other principle.

He had previously discovered in the scutcheon of the Tablet of Abydos, which immediately precedes Amōs, not only the family name (Amenemha) heretofore unknown, but another King *Sebeknefru* — so that names were provided for all the 8 reigns, which is the number in the Papyrus and Manetho. Lastly, a journey which he made to Turin in January, 1841, for the express purpose of studying that record, our principal guide in restoring the 12th Dynasty, was richly rewarded. Upon closer examination, and after taking an accurate copy of the whole Papyrus, he not only substantiated a doubtful number, but discovered some invaluable remains of the dates of the reigns.

B.

DECISIVE IMPORTANCE OF THIS DYNASTY FOR THE CHRONOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF THE LIST OF ERATOSTHENES.

IN adopting his discovery in our own chronological system, we drew from it the three following deductions :

First, that the four Kings of Eratosthenes correspond with the eight Kings of the monuments, the Papyrus, and Manetho, and the seven of the two old royal tablets. Four of those eight names, therefore, must represent co-regents.

Secondly, that the 147 years of their reigns give the chronological succession, or duration of the Dynasty; whereas the 213 years of the Papyrus, as well as the 176 of Manetho, are merely the epilogus of the individual reigns, some of which were contemporaneous.

Thirdly, that the 12th Dynasty proves the actual correctness of the principle we laid down as universal in the Old Empire upon a general criticism of the Lists, and on which we have acted thus far—that the Egyptians as early as the commencement of the New Empire, registered in their Lists of the Old Empire the whole number of years reigned, as the epilogus of the Dynasty; and that Manetho at least had no key for reducing that epilogus to the real chronology—which reduction was only made by Eratosthenes.

Thus, then, the 12th Dynasty is the touchstone and keystone of our whole chronological system for the Old Empire. If the views already advanced be correct, we have established the only proof which was wanting, namely one of a direct and cogent nature, in support of our main hypothesis; and indeed, a complete chronology of the Old Empire, actually substantiated by records 3000 years old, and contemporary monuments of still higher antiquity; whereas in the histories of Greece and Rome, there is none till long after, that is, before the Olympiads, and the building of Rome.

But if these views be fallacious, we possess no chronology whatever. The monuments can give none, although they mention particular years of reigns, and especially so in the 12th Dynasty. The two old royal Tablets also contain no chronological data, in addition to the fact of their recording only seven Kings, and not exactly the same seven, although the two together contain all the eight monumental names. Manetho's Lists, again, throughout are full of dates which evidently do not belong to the chronology, and which in the present case agree neither with the monumental dates, nor those of the old Papyrus—not to mention, that Africanus gives 176 years, and Eusebius 245, of which he proves 198. The Papyrus itself, lastly, if really intended to give the length of the Dynasty, records no other Dynasties of the Old Empire, and only proves, consequently, the hopeless condition of Egyptian chronology.

Our undertaking, indeed, may seem to many a reader from the outset, even if at one with us thus far, very hazardous and presumptuous. Can the four Kings of Eratosthenes be correct in opposition to the contemporary monuments, primeval Tablets and Lists, which all record eight identifiable Princes?—and can his 147 years be more correct than the 213 years of a chronologer of the time of the great Ramesses? Do not even detached dates on contemporary monuments seem irreconcileable with his data? Was it only in appearance that we have succeeded thus far in making the dates in Eratosthenes harmonize with those of Manetho, simply because there was no other means of testing them? In the present case it is clear that our system must fail unless there were Amenemhas and Sesortesens who reigned contemporaneously more than once, from the time of Amenemha I. Their contemporaneity must be of such a nature, indeed, as to explain not only the dates in Eratosthenes but those in the Papyrus also, as well as the monuments. Even if we do not insist on the accuracy of Manetho's dates, it is impossible to suppose those of the old Papyrus fictitious, or those of the monuments mis-written. We must however insist on the historic truth of Manetho's dates, for we assume that they are based on historical tradition—that they are taken from his historical work, and that on the whole they have been correctly transmitted to us by Africanus.

We commence our inquiry with a synoptical table of the authorities, the Lists of Eratosthenes and Manetho, the royal series in the tablet of the Tuthmoses and Ramses, the Papyrus and cotemporary monuments. Of the Papyrus only four dates of reign and the sum total were established till Lepsius' second journey to Turin (in Jan. 1841). He then found those of all the other reigns.

SYNOPSIS OF THE LISTS, TABLETS, AND REGISTERS.

Eratosthenes: XXXII.—XXXV. Four reigns.	Turin Papyrus. — Eight reigns.	Manetho: Twelfth Dynasty, Diospolitans. Seven Kings.	
		Africanus.	*Eusebius.*
yrs.	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.
1. XXXII. (Ammenemês) - - 26	1. Amenemha - 19 Seyffarth.	(1.) Ammenemês - 16	(Ammenemês) 16
	2. Sesertesen I. - 45	Gesongosis - 46	Sesonchosis - 46
	Amenemha II.	"Son of Ammenemes."	
2. XXXIII. Stammenemês II. - 23	3. 10, 20, 30 + an unknown unit.	2. Ammenemês 38	Amanemês - 38
		"Murdered by his own eunuchs."	
3. XXXIV. Sistosis 55	4. Sesertesen II. 19	3. Sesôstris - 48	Sesostris - 48 Said to have been 4 cubits, 3 palms, 2 digits in height.
	5. Sesertesen III. 30 + an unknown unit.	"Subdued in 9 years all Asia and Europe as far as Thrace, and erected Stelæ, so that the Egyptians consider him as second only to Osiris."	
4. XXXV. Mares - 43	6. Amenemha III. 40 + an unknown unit.	4. Lacheres - 8	Lamaris (*Arm. ver.* Lampáres) - 8
		"Built the Labyrinth, in the Arsinoite Nome, as a tomb for himself."	
Sum total, 4 Kings 147		5. Amerês - 8 Ammerês.	His successors reigned - 42
	7. Amenemha (IV.) 9 yrs. 3 m. 27 d.	6. Amenemês 8 (Ammenemnes.)	(These numbers make up 182 years.)
	8. Sebeknefru - - 3 yrs. 10 m. 4 d.	7. Skemiophris 4 "Sister."	
	Length of reigns - 213 yrs. 1 m. 17 d.	Reigned in all 160 years, consequently with Amenemha I. 176 years.	All together reigned 245 years.

C.

GENERAL COMPARISON OF THE LISTS AND TABLETS.

Before we endeavour to make these Lists harmonize with each other and with the monuments, we must settle some preliminary points.

The first is the detailed proof of the correctness of

MONUMENTS, AND A GENERAL COMPARISON OF THEM.

MONUMENTS.		
Royal Series of Tuthmôsis III. at Karnak. Seven Kings.	Royal Tablet of Ramses the Great at Abydos. Seven Kings.	Contemporary Monuments. Eight royal scutcheons.
1. Ra-s.hept-het (23rd scu.) AMENEMHA (I.)	1. destroyed (33rd scutc.) - - - -	Ra-s.hept-het. AMENEMHA (I.), 8th (11th) year.
2. Ra-ter-kar (24th scutc.) SESURTESEN (I.)	2. destroyed (34th scutc.) - - - -	Ra-kheper-kar. SESURTESEN (I.), 43rd, 44th year.
3. Ra-nub-karu (22nd sc.) AMENEMHA (II.)	3. Ra-nub-karu (35th sc.) AMENEMHA (II.)	Ra-nub-karu. AMENEMHA (II.), 35th, 37th year (? son of Amen I., father of Sesur~~tesen II.)~~.
4. destroyed (21st scutch.)	4. Ra-sha-kheper (36th s.) SESURTESEN (II.)	Ra-sha-kheper. SESURTESEN (II.), 11th year.
5. destroyed (20th scutch.)	5. Ra-scha-karu (37th sc.) SESURTESEN (III.)	SESURTESEN (III.), 6th, 14th year.
6. Ra-matu (19th scutch.) AMENEMHA (IV.)	6. Ra-en-mà (38th scutc.) AMENEMHA (III.)	Ra-en-ma. AMENEMHA (III.), 42nd, 43rd year. Quarries at Turah.
7. Ra-sebek (18th scutch.) SEBEKNEFRU-RA.	7. Ra-ma-tu (39th scutc.) AMENEMHA (IV.)	Ra-matu. AMENEMHA (IV.)
(End of the first half of the tablet; on the opposite side begin the Kings of the Middle Empire.)	(*Aahmes*, the chief of the 18th Dynasty, the 1st of the New Empire, 40th scutch., follows.)	SEBEK-NEFRU-RA.

our mode of filling up the gap between the 31st and 33rd King of Eratosthenes. It becomes clear enough, as soon as we understand Syncellus's method of registering those Kings. We shall explain it by restoring the whole dynasty, with the two reigns immediately preceding.

			Years.		Year of the World.	
30th King :	Soikûnis	reigned	60	-	3666 60	*i. e.* at his accession.
31st „	Pete-athyrês	„	16	-	3726 16	„
32nd „	[Ammenemês	„	26	-	3742 26	„
33rd] „	Stammenemes II.	„	23	-	3768 23	„
34th „	Sistosis	„	55	-	3791 55	„
35th „	Marês		43	-	3846	„

It results from the fact of the 34th King being introduced immediately after, that the chasm must occur between the progressive number 32, and the name of the King Stammenemes II. which directly follows it — and still more clearly so from the circumstance of that King being called the second, although no one of the same name occurs before. No name therefore could so easily or with so little danger be omitted as that of the first Ammenemēs, for so he ought to be called according to all the other accounts, although the second of the name seems here to be called Stammenemes. The date of the commencement of his reign is established from the length of that of his predecessor being known—3726 + 16 = 3742, which is consequently the date of the accession of Ammenemēs I. In like manner the end of his reign is given by the years of the world in the column for Ammenemēs II., which is preserved. This is 3768 — the difference between it and 3742, viz. 26, must be the length of the missing reign.

But what are we to do with the strange names of Stammenemēs and Sistosis? As we cannot fail to see that the former (33) is Amenemha, which is guaranteed not only by the Papyrus and Manetho but also by numerous contemporary monuments, the first part of which contains that of the God (Amun) Ammon, we should perhaps not hesitate to conjecture that the first two letters are an abbreviation of Sesortosis. But the *Sisto-Sichermes*, the 34th King of Syncellus's present text, cannot contain Sistosis (= Sesortosis) and Amenemha. He must have given Eratosthenes' explanation of the latter annexed to the name of the 32nd King, the first of the name, and it must have begun with the Greek transcript of the God *Amn*, Amun. We can understand therefore why no explanation is given of Stammenemes (the 33rd), if the first name of that reign (Sesortôsis) occurred only in the following one. It is indisputable, however, that the translation annexed to the 34th King can have reference to no other names than the Sesortôses, and not to the 'Amenemhas. It now reads, "Hercules the strong;" but if the latter part of *Sistosichermes* contains no Egyptian name, Hermes must be considered as the beginning of the translation, which therefore reads, "Hermes or Hercules the strong." The latter part of it, the adjective *tôsis*, is one of frequent occurrence in the same form, and is therefore known—(compare the Coptic root, *tôs*, to establish, rule)—the former part consequently must be the name of the Deity, which Eratosthenes wished approximatively to hellenize as Hermes or Hercules. *Sis* can no more have represented the one or the other than it could have formed any Egyptian King's name of that dynasty. We have already remarked, on the other hand, in the inquiry into the 3rd dynasty, where this name is first mentioned, that SESOR occurs as the symbol of lordship. It is certainly an obscure point how this symbol (the jackal-headed sceptre) is connected or used with Hermes and Hercules. Hermes is *Tet*, *Thoth;* and Hercules, *Chonsu*, *Sen*, before a labial *Sem*.. Here there is no mention of these names, but of a symbol of lordship, which was especially belonging to one or other of these Gods. Now it has been shown in the former volume (p. 393.), that a Deity who is the God of *Ses* or *Sesen*, "the eighth region" (Schmûn), is called Hermes; and Eratosthenes certainly had this designation in view, and probably not without reason. It is still possible that there is authority for it as a name of Hercules.[98] We may therefore have the less hesitation in reading *Sesortôsis* instead of *Sistôsis* in Syncellus.

This gives us the following general and preliminary comparison of the two records:

I. Ammenemēs I.	1. Ammenemēs I.
II. Sesortosis (*and*) Ammenemēs II.	2. Sesortosis I. 3. Ammenemēs II.
III. Sesortosis II.	4. Sesortosis II. 5. (Sesortosis III.)
IV. Mares	6. Ammenemēs III. 7. Ammenemēs IV. 8. (Sebeknofru).

There is so much concurrent testimony that Manetho's sixth King, Ammeres, is merely a corruption of Ammenemēs, and that the eighth, the supposed "sister," Skemiophris, is a misspelling of King Sebeknofru, that it is unnecessary to multiply proof.

Before proceeding to a closer analysis — and this is the *third* preliminary point—we must consult the monuments, as to whether they furnish any information upon the blood relationship of these Sovereigns. Whether the name of Ammenemha I. stood at the top of Manetho's List might be questionable before it had been critically examined. We now, however, see clearly enough that the Epitomists omitted it here, because they had inserted it with the date of his reign at the end of the 11th dynasty. It is still more clearly proved by the fact of the present Lists designating their first King as a *King's son*. This most certain hypothesis, therefore, as before observed, is in nowise invalidated by the monuments, still less overthrown. It is generally admitted that the four scutcheons of the first two Amenemhas, and the first two Sesortesen, in the tomb at Gurnah, stand in the following order:

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[98] The name of Hercules, ΓΙΓΩΝ, which the old lexicographers say is Egyptian, agrees perfectly with the corrupt reading ΓΕϹΟΝ, ΓΕϹΩΝ, which we find in the MSS. of Syncellus in this passage, instead of ϹΕϹΟΡ—which is not astonishing from the similarity of character in the old alphabet. M. De Rougè thinks this misspelling proves that the jackal-headed sceptre was not pronounced sesor, seser, sessor, but tseser, geser, djeser.

Sesortesen I.— Amenemha I.— Amenemha II. — Sesortesen II.

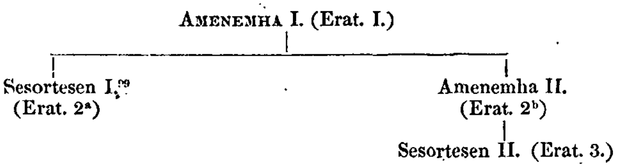
Lepsius's researches have proved, however, that this is by no means the case. On the wall of the tomb (the first) we find the scutcheon of Amenemha I. between that of Sesortesen I. to the right, and that of Amenemha II. to the left. On the second wall stands Sesortesen II. alone. The order, therefore, is as follows:

First wall:	Amenemha II.	Amenemha I.	Sesortesen I.
Second wall:	Sesortesen II.		

Putting the two together, it follows that the reign of the second Sesortesen was the last. The order of the three Kings who precede him must be determined by the Lists; and they require the scutcheon of Amenemha I. to be read before the two others, he being the King by whose side the other two are standing and doing homage, which is most satisfactorily explained by our hypothesis.

It would be very important to be able to substantiate an incidental conjecture of Colonel Felix, who thought he might venture to affirm with certainty, on the authority of a stele (which he saw but did not publish) belonging to Signor Anastasi, at Alexandria, that

Amenemha II. was the son of Amenemha I., and the father of Sesortesen II. If this be correct (admitting, with the Lists, that Sesortesen I. was the son of Amenemha I.), Sesortesen I. and Amenemha II. were brothers, and the former the paternal uncle of Sesortesen II. The connexion by blood would then be as follows:



In other points our assumption of the chronological connexion between those reigns is independent of these genealogical data.

Lastly, as regards the peculiar arrangement of the *Tablet of Karnak*, the first Sesortesen undoubtedly precedes or succeeds all the other Kings, inasmuch as his scutcheon is found before those of the preceding dynasty, but is placed with these in the lowest, or fourth row, whereas the third is filled by the other Kings of the 12th dynasty, in such a manner, that if their names are read according to the direction of the hieroglyphics, they appear in the reverse order. Amenemha, for instance, the chief of the dynasty, stands exactly in front of Tuthmōsis who is sacrificing. Sesortesen, on the other hand, his son, seems to be the connecting link in the dynastic connexion with the earlier legitimate Kings. At all events, this extraordinary deviation from the natural order seems to indicate a peculiar connexion between the first two reigns. We now proceed to submit them to critical examination.

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[99] It appears from the tomb at Benihassan (Burton, Exc. Hier 33.), and the Tablet published by Mr. Sharpe, Pl. 83., that Amenemha I. was sole ruler before Sesortesen I.

D.

THE LENGTH OF THE FIRST TWO REIGNS: AMENEMHA I. AND SESORTOSIS I.

ACCORDING to our hypothesis, in order to explain the different data in the Lists, the first assumption must be that Amenemha I. and Sesortosis I. reigned a considerable time conjointly — the former having come to the throne first, and the latter being the survivor. For the monuments give the 44th year of the second reign, while, according to Eratosthenes, it only lasted 23 years, and the first two together only 49. Unless we suppose a joint reign, we clearly, therefore, cannot substantiate the validity of the List of Eratosthenes. Known contemporary monuments, however, really mention a joint reign of this kind, with such circumstantial details, that they enable us already to explain not merely that seeming contradiction, but also the difference between its dates and those of the Papyrus. *There is in fact a stele at Paris, which contains the very co-regency we have assumed, with a notification of the eighth year preceded by* the names Amenemha (I.) and Sesortesen (I.).

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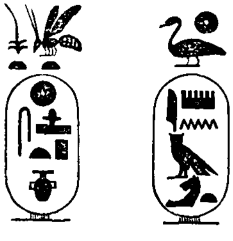
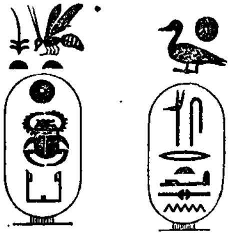


Su-kheb Ra-s.hept-het. *Sa-en Ra* Amenemha.

58



Su-kheb Ra-kheper-kar. *Sa-en Ra* Seser.t sen I.

These two, then, reigned contemporaneously, although their reigns are known not to have commenced simultaneously. There is another stele there (both copied first by Lepsius) which mentions the *ninth year of Sesortesen I.*, preceded by the scutcheon of Amenemha I., but without any other of the titles. Now, as Sesortesen I. is always registered in the Lists as the second King of the dynasty, so is he in the above-mentioned monuments entered *after* Amenemha I. We must therefore suppose he survived Amenemha, and reigned for some time alone. Hence it follows that *at latest* from the eighth year of the reign of the chief of the dynasty, Amenemha I., there were three possible ways of calculating the regnal years. In the first place, they might begin with Amenemha I., the chief of the dynasty, and reckon on to the death of his survivor and co-regent, the second ruler of the dynasty. By this means, the sum of the first two reigns in Eratosthenes, 49 years, is obtained. Secondly, the computation might commence at the beginning of their joint reign, which, according to the known monuments, was, *at latest*, the eighth year. We may call this the Sesortesen-, the former the Amenemha-reckoning. The third mode of computation was the most natural and accurate. In this the years between the establishment of the dynasty and his death were reckoned to Amenemha, the remainder of the 49 years to Sesortesen. Eratosthenes, the father of scientific chronology, adopted the latter system, and the Papyrus does not seem to contain a single passage at variance with this division of the 49 years. The number 19, found by Seyffarth in the first line of the dynasty assigned to Amenemha I., above the number 45, which is still legible opposite the name of Sesortesen I., harmonizes most surprisingly with that chronology, and the above-mentioned monumental dates of their joint reigns. If, with him, we suppose the numeration of the dynasty to be progressive, as a Sesortosidæ era, making the first year of Amenemha=1, we have in Eratosthenes:

Year 1=the first year of Amenemha I.
26=the death of Amenemha.
27=the accession of Sesortesen I.
49=the death of Sesortesen I.

Assuming, on the authority of the monuments, that the eighth year of Amenemha is the eighth of our series, and considering this as the starting-point of the joint reign; the year 26 of this era is the 19th year of the joint reign; and the Papyrus, which assigns 19 years to Amenemha, would seem, therefore, to have made the joint reign the starting-point of the dynasty.

The monuments, however, only prove that the joint reign did not occur *later* than the eighth year; it may possibly have commenced earlier. One of them, again, may have made Sesortesen reign a few years alone before the commencement of their joint reign; the other may have done the same by Amenemha. We must therefore base our criticism upon some hypothesis unconnected with these contingencies. The most natural one we can adopt for this purpose is the following:

1. That the death of Sesortesen I. was a settled point with the Egyptian chronographers, the only difference among them being as to the date of the commencement of the reigns of Amenemha and of Sesortesen. Consequently, taking, with Eratosthenes, the Sesortosidæ Era as our basis, the era $49=\frac{45}{46}$ year of Sesortesen, according to the Papyrus and Manetho. In that case, the first year of Sesortesen, according to the Papyrus = Era 5.

2. That the year in which Amenemha I. died was also undoubtedly an undisputed point. Consequently Era $23=\frac{18}{19}$=datum of Papyrus for the first reign.

Both these hypotheses make the fifth year of the Sesortosidæ Era according to Eratosthenes an historical starting-point, which the monuments fully justify; and they prove also that the joint reign commenced, *at latest*, with the eighth year of Amenemha. The authentic traditions in the Papyrus and Manetho show that the different modes of calculating the dates of reigns, here shown to be possible, were in reality adopted. The ease with which these discrepancies are got over by means of the Sesortosidæ Era of Eratosthenes would seem to prove that this is the strictly historical principle. It would seem, moreover, that Sesortesen I. computed the length of his reign in such a manner that the period of the joint sovereignty was counted to him. There are numerous monuments of his extant, which record his forty-third and forty-fourth years; i. e. the forty-seventh and forty-eighth of the era. Now the question is whether the notation adopted above — "the eighth and ninth years of Amenemha *and* Sesortesen" — is to be taken according to the same calculation; that is, = Era 12 and 13. Such an assumption would not be at all at variance with our system. The existence of different computations, however, renders it more probable that those years express the eighth and ninth years of the reign from the first year of Amenemha; that is, that they are the years 8 and 9 of the era. Was it not the usual practice in Egypt, and in itself a very natural one, to record in joint reigns the time that each individual co-regent ruled? Was not the danger incurred of the real chronology being obscured or lost by such a notation the only drawback to this method? The danger is obvious; for chronology depends above all things on the establishment of a connected succession, which can only be obtained with certainty by means of a progressive era. What clue has the chronologer to guide him where there are several equally accurate dates of co-ordinate reigns jumbled together throughout? No history offers a more striking proof than the Egyptian of the fatal consequences which may result from so faulty a method.

The Papyrus shows that, as early as the 13th century B.C., the dates of reigns of single rulers of a dynasty of the Old Empire were added up together precisely in the same manner as Manetho did. This could have been done originally with no other object than that of preserving all the separate dates. We have seen, however, the probability that no criticism of this kind was in vogue in the Old Empire. Chronologers, contemporaries of the Kings whose reigns they recorded, could not possibly have fallen into the error of making a sum total of the dates of all the reigns of a Dynasty into a chronological epilogus; but for one living during the New Empire to have made such a blunder is not impossible — one who, after the lapse of more than a thousand years, attempted to frame a chronological system out of such lists of Kings as happened to be still in existence. The careful notation of individual reigns by months and days did not prevent misunderstandings. Originally, no doubt, there was a chronological notation along with it; but this might easily be lost. It cannot be denied that a confusion in the annals in regard to the chronology took place at a very early period. The making an epilogus of the sums of all the Dynasties was merely another step in the same direction. This was the error into which his epitomists fell, though one, as we have seen, from which Manetho himself was evidently exempt.

E.

THE LENGTH OF THE THIRD REIGN: SESORTOSIS II. AND SESORTOSIS III.

WE have so far shown that the first two reigns — those of Amenemha I. and Sesortesen I. — made up together 49 years of the era. But, according to our restoration of the text of Eratosthenes, the second reign ran in the following manner:

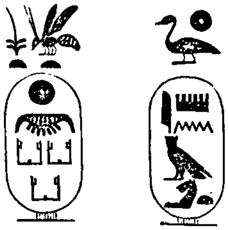
Sesortosis (I.) *and* Amenemha (II.), 23;

and this was succeeded, as the third reign, by

Sesortosis (II.), with 55 years;

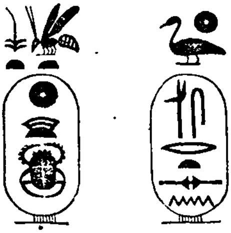
so that the whole reign of Amenemha II. was incorporated in those of the second and third Sesortôsis.

59



Su-kheb Ra-nub-karu. *Sa-en Ra* Amenemha II.

60



Su-kheb Ra-sha-kheper. *Sa-en Ra* Sesortesen (II.)

The next question is, then, whether the reigns of Sesortesen I. and Amenemha II. really coincide. According to our assumption, this must *necessarily* be the case; for Eratosthenes, in conformity with it, introduced them as one. If the two did not reign contemporaneously, for a period at least, our hypothesis falls to the ground. Here again, however, the monuments corroborate it in the most satisfactory manner. The very important stele in the Leyden museum, published by Leemans, and explained by Lepsius, calls the *twenty-fourth year of Sesortesen I. the second of Amenemha II.* Consequently the 43rd year of Sesortesen I. coincides with the 1st year of Amenemha II., and the 47th year of the era. Now, as the reign of Amenemha II., according to Manetho's express statement, which is confirmed by the monuments, lasted 38 years, the death of Amenemha II. (in the 38th year of his reign), in Eratosthenes, coincides with the 35th year of Sesortosis II., consequently with the (49+35) 84th year of the era.

Again, the reign of Sesortesen II. must have included the reign of a subsequent King of the same name, Sesortesen III. In the Royal Tablet of Abydos this King is introduced after Sesortesen II.; and the monuments give his sixth, perhaps his fourteenth year. Neither Manetho nor Eratosthenes mention him; but there is a place left for him in the Papyrus. The most natural arrangement, therefore, is to divide the 55 years assigned by Eratosthenes to Sesortesen II. between the second and third King of the name in the Papyrus. In that case, as intimated before, Mares, the fourth and last King in Eratosthenes, answers to the third Amenemha of the royal tablets. The former reigned 43 years, and the latter, according to the monuments, precisely the same period. The result is, that either Amenemha IV. alone, or jointly with Sebeknefru (according to the Papyrus and monuments), is included in those 43 years.

It is clear, that by this means space enough is gained, on the whole, to admit of all the reigns recorded in the tablets and monuments, as well as the Papyrus, being arranged collaterally with the progressive chronology of Sesortōsis II. and Mares. In order to make the proof complete, however, it may be requisite to answer the following questions.

1. How is it to be explained that Manetho assigns 48 years to Sesortōsis II., instead of 55 in Eratosthenes?

2. How happens it that Sesortōsis III. is neither mentioned in the tablet of Karnak nor in Manetho?

If we assume that Sesortesen III. was not associated in the sovereignty with the second of the name, who was probably therefore his father or grandfather, more than 7 years, their joint reign must have commenced from the 49th year of Sesortesen II., and any register which specified the younger one might very well introduce the elder with 48 years. Down to the present time we have no positive certainty as to any later dates of the reign of Sesortesen III. than his sixth and fourteenth years, and these indeed without mention of the joint reign. We may however suppose that their relative position was such as to render that unnecessary. If he survived the younger Sesortesen—and, taking the two circumstances together, the balance of probability would seem to be on that side—the Lists might omit the latter altogether, and assign the whole period of the co-regency to the elder. Thus the tablet of Karnak would be explained, and Manetho's date, although not his system in the Lists, be warranted; for having given 48 years to the elder, he ought not to have omitted the younger. But evidently we must try to find the solution elsewhere.

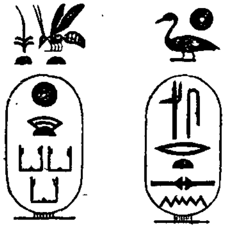
F.

THE LENGTH OF THE FOURTH REIGN: AMENEMHA III. AND AMENEMHA IV.

THE Mares of Eratosthenes is no other than Amenemha III. himself, mentioned here by his title in order to distinguish him from the preceding Kings of the name. The literal pronunciation of this title is *Ma-n'-ra* (the sun being pronounced last, as in Menkera and other names). The omission of the conjunctive (*n'*) need not surprise us, nor is it without analogy. For instance, *Ra-n'-seser*, the eighth King of the 3rd Dynasty, was pronounced *Ra-seser*, and *Rasōsis*. We here repeat the remark that we have to deal with an *extract*, and that Eratosthenes may very possibly have repeated the family name again, although we do not find it in our Lists. It is unnecessary to prove that titles might serve to mark personal distinctions, even after they ceased to be the sole appellation of the Sovereign. Nothing could be more natural than such a designation, where the Egyptians wished to distinguish between Kings of the same name. The pronunciation of the name, as well as their dates of reign, make the identity of *Ame-*

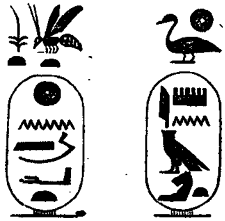
nemha-Ma-n̓-ra and *Mares* however fully obvious. The Mares of Eratosthenes reigned 43 years. The 42nd year of Amenemha III., the highest they were supposed to give, had long been known from the monuments. We have now the 43rd in Perring's drawings from the quarries of Mokattam at Turah, and we shall also find that, in all probability, both the Papyrus and Manetho made that the length of his reign.

61



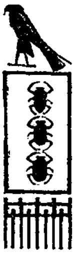
Su-kheb Ra-sha-karu. *Sa-en Ra* Sesortesen III.

62



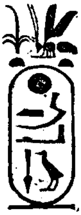
Su-kheb Ra-en-ma. *Sa-en Ra* Amenemha III.

It now only remains to inquire how the 9 years of Amenemha IV., and the 4 of Sebeknefru in the Papyrus, dovetail into those 43 years. Those monuments, which, like the Tablet of Abydos, make no mention of Sebeknefru, must have assigned 13 or 14 years to Amenemha IV., the principal Sovereign. There are as yet so few which contain the two short collateral reigns, that Lepsius was the first to introduce the name of Sebeknefru, as well as the family name of Amenemha IV., into the Lists. The latter he found with the standard name, which occurs in conjunction with a name of Amenemha. Now, as the first three Amenemhas have a peculiar standard name, this must be a fourth, namely, *Ra-ma-tu.* This title indeed is a very singular one; for *matu* is merely the designation of a deceased King, the Justified, the Blessed. It alludes probably to some historical fact, which tradition only could unveil. We here give the standard name and prenomen, which Lepsius found, side by side.

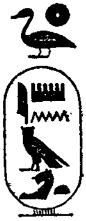


Har
Kheperu.

63

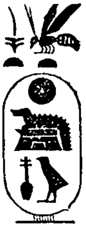


Su-kheb
Ra-ma-tu.



Sa-en Ra
Amenemha III.

64



Su-kheb
Ra-Sebeknefru.

As we possess no data of the lengths of the last two reigns, we have the less reason to wonder that the monuments with which we are acquainted give us no information as to their connexion with Mares. The omission of the last name, however, in the great historical series of the Kings at Abydos, and the almost invariable occurrence of the title of Amenemha IV. without the family name, are direct proof that we have not to deal here with principal Sovereigns.

G.

REDUCTION OF THE DATA OF THE PAPYRUS AND MANETHO TO THE CHRONOLOGY OF ERATOSTHENES.

We promised, in proof of the correctness of our hypothesis, and of the incomparable superiority, in a critico-chronological point of view, of the List of Eratosthenes, to explain not only the data and dates of the monuments, but also those of the Papyrus and Manetho. This we believe we have accomplished, as far as was necessary for explaining the chronology of Eratosthenes. We think, however, we can go further, and restore the whole system of numeration of them both.

Till lately but four dates and the epilogus of the computation in the Papyrus had been established. The last researches of Lepsius on the spot, and his copy of it, have given us much more information on the subject, as our synopsis proves. He has discovered remains of the dates of all the other reigns, and they complete in the most surprising manner the triumph of the chronology of Eratosthenes. The very dates, which are either not explained at all, or not satisfactorily so, by Manetho and the monuments, are most happily accounted for by him. The details are as follows:

	Years.	Months.	Days.
First reign: according to the evidence and clues furnished by Seyffarth	19	x	x
Second „ still legible - - -	45	x	x
Third „ „ x(xx or xxx) +	x	x	x
Fourth „ „ - - -	19	x	x
Fifth „ „ - - xxx+	x	x	x
Sixth „ „ - . xxxx+	x	x	x

According to the above the Papyrus must have reckoned:

	Years.	Mon.	Dys.
For 1. according to Seyffarth's probable statement -	19	x	x
2. „ the analogy of Manetho's 46 years	45	x	x
3. „ monuments (32) and Manetho's (38)	37	x	x
4. the two together the sum of the reign -	19	x	x
5. of Sesor. II. in Eratos. (55) consequently	35	x	x
6. according to the monuments and Eratosthenes (43)	42	x	x

Now if we take eight months as the average, wherever Manetho or others give a whole additional year, in which case the Lists must have given *more than* six months, and in other cases four or three, we obtain the following restoration:

THE 12TH DYNASTY ACCORDING TO THE PAPYRUS OF THE 13TH CENTURY.

			Yrs.	Months.	Dys.
1	Amenemha	Ra-s.hept-het (I.) - -	19	4	0
2.	Sesortesen.	Ra-kheper-kar (I.) - -	45	8	0
3.	Amenemha.	Ra-nub-karu (II.) - -	37	8	0
4.	Sesortesen.	Ra-sha-kheper (II.) - -	19	8	16
5.	Sesortesen.	Ra-sha-karu (III.) - -	35	4	0
6.	Amenemha.	Ra-n'-ma (III.=MARES) -	42	3	0
7.	Amenemha.	Ra-ma-tu (IV.) - - -	9	3	27
? 8.	Sebeknefru	- - - - -	3	10	4
	Which gives the sum total of the Papyrus -		213	1	17

It is particularly important for the whole criticism of the historians, the Epitomists in general, and Eusebius especially, to restore Manetho's dates from themselves.

THE 12TH DYNASTY ACCORDING TO MANETHO'S HISTORICAL WORK.

Diospolitan Kings — Eight.

	Reign.	Chron.
(1.) Ammenemha (I.), as successor of the 11th Dynasty, introduced in the 11th Dynasty with	16 yrs.	49 yrs.
2. (1.) Sesortosis (I.), son of Ammenemha	46	
3. (2.) Ammenemha (II.)	38	55
4. (3.) Sesortosis (II.) Sesôstris	48	
5. (4.) Mares (i. e. Ammenemha III.) (Eusebius' sum total from 5—8)	42	43
[Of which he reigned jointly with Ammenemha IV.]	8	
6. (5.) Ammenemha (III.) The same date for the same king	42	
[Of which he reigned jointly with Ammenemha IV.]	8	
7. (6.) Ammenemha (IV.), according to the Papyrus (instead of 8)	9	—
8. (7.) Seveknôphres	4	—
Gives the sum total transmitted by Eusebius	245 yrs.	147 yrs.

This, therefore, is an authentic and palpable instance of the correctness of our hypothesis relatively to Manetho's Lists in the Old Empire:

First, that these Lists were framed like the Old Egyptian: i.e. all the historical Kings were given with their years of reign, without any reference to a progressive chronology;

Secondly, that they were corrupted, partly owing to carelessness (the omission of Amenemha I.), partly to intentional, arbitrary corrections (as in numbers 5 and 6, where the improbability was too transparent to any one who took it for a chronology), and partly to errors of copyists (as in the last reign but one);

Thirdly, that Eusebius was negligent and thoughtless only in those cases where a fancied necessity of finding a synchronism did not tempt him to mutilate tradition, and that he made use of other sources of information besides Africanus's version of the Lists;

Fourthly, that the epilogi contain every thing, except the duration of the Dynasty.

We here close our synopsis with a complete comparative survey of the chronology of the 12th Dynasty, in which we hope to show clearly the connexion between the computation of Eratosthenes, and the numeration in the Papyrus and Manetho. At the head of this synopsis we place the era of the Sesortosidæ, as devised by his ingenuity. Parallel with it we give the dates according to the Egyptian method, reduced to that era. Our own conjectural restoration, made upon the above system, is distinguished by being printed in smaller type.

The Chronology and Reigns of the 12th Dynasty.

Succession.	Eratosthenes.	Turin Lists of Kings.	Manetho.	Contemporary Monuments.
	I. Ammenemês I. XXVI years.	I. Amenemha I. (XIX years.)	I. Amenemha I. (XVI years.)	
1	1	a) Alone - 1	Alone - - 1	
2	2	2	2	
3	3	3	3	
4	4	4	4	
5	5	5	5	
		II. Sesortesen I. (XLV.) - - 1	II. Sesortosis I. XLVI. - - 1	
		b) Amen. jointly with Ses I. 1	Amen. jointly with Sesort. 1	
		Amen. I. jointly with Ses. I. 2	Amen. jointly with Sesort. 2	
6	6	Sesort. I - - 2	Sesortosis - 2	
7	7	Amen. I. jointly with Ses. I. 3	Amen. jointly with Ses. 3	
8	8	Sesort. I. - 3	Sesortosis - 3	"8th year of Amenemha I. and Sesortesen I." (Stele in the Louvre).

Succession.	Eratosthenes.		Turin Lists of Kings.		Manetho.		Contemporary Monuments.
			c) Joint reign of Amen. and Ses. I. According to the Papyrus:		Joint reign of Amenem. and Ses. I. According to Manetho:		
			Am. I. 1	Ses. I. 4	Am. I. 1	Ses. I. 4	9th year of Sesortesen, with Amenemha's scutcheon before it. (Stele at Paris.)
9		9	2	5	2	5	
10		10	3	6	3	6	
11		11	4	7	4	7	
12		12	5	8	5	8	
13		13	6	9	6	9	
14		14	7	10	7	10	
15		15	8	11	8	11	
16		16	9	12	9	12	
17		17	10	13	10	13	
18		18	11	14	11	14	
19		19	12	15	12	15	
20		20	13	16	13	16	
21		21	14	17	14	17	
22		22	15	18	15	18	
23		23	16	19	Amenemha + 16	Sesortosis I. 19	
24		24	17	20		20	
25		25	18	21		21	
26	Ammenemês I. +	26	Amenemha I. + 19	Sesortesen I. 22		22	
	II.						
27	Sesortosis I. XIII years	1		23		23	
28		2		24		24	
29		3		25		25	
30		4		26		26	
31		5		27		27	
32		6		28		28	
33		7		29		29	
34		8		30		30	
35		9		31		31	
36		10		32		32	
37		11		33		33	
38		12		34		34	
39		13		35		35	
40		14		36		36	
41		15		37		37	
42		16		38		38	
43		17		39		39	
44		18		40		40	
45		19		41		41	
46		20		42		42	
47		21	III. Amenemha II. 1 XXXVII. + x mon. Sesort. I. 43		Sesortosis I. - 43 III. Amenemha II. 1 XXXVIII.		

Succession.	Eratosthenes.	Turin List of Kings.	Manetho.	Contemporary Monuments.
48	Sesortosis I. 22	Amen. II. - 2 Sesort. I. - 44	Ses. I. 44. Am. 2	44th year of Sesortesen I., and 2nd of Amenemha II. (Stele in Leyden.)
49	Sesortosis I. +23	Amen. II. - 3 Sesortesen I. +45	45 3	
50	III. Sesortosis II. 1 LV years.	Amen. II. - 4 IV. Sesortesen II. XIX years +X mon. - 1	Ses. I. 46 + Am. 4 IV. Sesortosis II. - XLVIII. 1	Sesortesen II., and Amenemha II., mentioned together. (Sarcophagus at Florence.)
51	2	Amen. II. - 5 Sesort. II. 2	Ses. II. 2. Am. II. 5	
52	3	3 Am. II. 6	3 6	
53	4	4 7	4 7	
54	5	5 8	5 8	
55	6	6 9	6 9	
56	7	7 10	7 10	
57	8	8 11	8 11	
58	9	9 12	9 12	
59	10	10 13	10 13	
60	11	11 14	11 14	
61	12	12 15	12 15	
62	13	13 16	13 16	
63	14	14 17	14 17	
64	15	15 18	15 18	
65	16	16 19	16 19	
66	17	17 20	17 20	
67	18	18 21	18 21	
68	19	19 22	19 22	
69	20	23 (Sesort. II. ends here.)	20 23	
70	21	V. Sesortesen III. XXXV. yr. 1 Amen. II. - 24	21 24	
71	22	Am. II. 25. Ses. III. 2	22 25	
72	23	26 3	23 26	
73	24	27 4	24 27	
74	25	28 5	25 28	
75	26	29 6	26 29	
76	27	30 7	27 30	
77	28	31 8	28 31	
78	29	32 9	29 32	
79	30	33 10	30 33	
80	31	34 11	31 34	
81	32	35 12	32 35	
82	33	36 13	33 36	
83	34	37 14	34 37	
84	35	Amenemha II. 38 +	35 38 +	

Succession.	Eratosthenes.	Turin List of Kings.	Manetho.	Contemporary Monuments.
		Sesortesen III. 15		
85	Sesortosis II. 36	16	Sesort. II. 36	
86	37	17	37	
87	38	18	38	
88	39	19	39	
89	40	20	40	
90	41	21	41	
91	42	22	42	
92	43	23	43	
93	44	24	44	
94	45	25	45	
95	46	26	46	
96	47	27	47	
97	48	28	Sesort. II. + 48	
			V. (VI.) Ameres (read Amenemha) VIII years - 1	
98	49	29	2	
99	50	30	3	
100	51	31	4	
101	52	32	5	
102	53	33	6	
103	54	34	7	
104	Sesortos. II. + 55	Sesortesen III. 35	+ 8	
	IV.		VI. (V.)	
105	Marês - - 1 XLIII.	Sesortesen III. + VI. Amenemha III. 1 XLII yrs. + x m.	Lamaris (read Marês) - - 1 XLII. (VIII years.)	
106	2	2	2	
107	3	3	3	
108	4	4	4	
109	5	5	5	
110	6	6	6	
111	7	7	7	
112	8	8	8	
113	9	9	9	
114	10	10	10	
115	11	11	11	
116	12	12	12	
117	13	13	13	
118	14	14	14	
119	15	15	15	
120	16	16	16	
121	17	17	17	
122	18	18	18	
123	19	19	19	
124	20	20	20	
125	21	21	21	
126	22	22	22	
127	23	23	23	
128	24	24	24	

Succession.	Eratosthenes.	Turin List of Kings.	Manetho.	Contemporary Monuments.
129	Marês - 25	Amenemha III. - 25	Marês - - - 25	
130	26	26	26	
131	27	27	27	
132	28	28	28	
133	29	29	29	
134	30	30	30	
135	31	31	31	
		VII. Amenemha IV. IX yrs. 1	VII. Amenemha IV. IX. (VIII.) 1	
136	32	Am. IV. 2 Am. III. 32	Am. IV. 2 Mares 32	
137	33	3 33	3 33	
138	34	4 34	4 34	
139	35	5 35	5 35	
140	36	6 36	6 36	
141	37	7 37	7 37	
142	38	8 38	8 38	
143	39	9 39	9 39	
		Amenemha IV. +	Amenemha IV. +	
144	40	Amenemha III. - 40	Marês - - - - 40	
		VIII. Sebeknefru 3 + x. m. 1	VIII. Skemiophris (read Sebeknofris) IV years. 1	
145	41	Sebek. 2 Amen. 41	Sebek. 2 Marês 41	
146	42	3 42	3 42	
147	Marês + 43	Sebeknefru + Amenemha IV. +	Sebeknofris 4 + Mares +	

SECTION II.

HISTORICAL CRITICISM AND RESTORATION OF THE FIRST TWO EPOCHS OF THE 12TH DYNASTY.

A.

THE FIRST EPOCH OF THE 12TH DYNASTY: THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOVEREIGNTY: AMENEMHA I. AND SESOSTRIS I.: 49 YEARS. THE OBELISKS OF HELIOPOLIS AND KROKODILOPOLIS, AND THE TOMBS OF BENI HASSAN WITH THE "GREAT STRANGERS."

We have here two well defined personages registered:

1. Amenemha I. (Ra-s.hept-hat Amenemha), *the Patriarch of the House*, associated with Sesortosis I. as co-regent, 26 years from and after his eighth year. The only information recorded by the Epitomists as to Amenemha's reign is, that he was murdered by his eunuchs. This would seem to imply a revolt of the harem, which did not extend to Sesortosis, and perhaps was instigated by him. The monuments never mention Amenemha, but in conjunction with him.

2. Sesortosis I. (Ra-kheper-karu Sesortesen), *the founder of the power and cultivator of the Fayoom.* Sesortosis the First is clearly the hero of the first epoch of the Dynasty, which extends to the 49th year of the Chronology. Of this period Eratosthenes assigns to him only 23 years without the first Amenemha, and indeed, in such a manner, that the second Amenemha was associated with him during his latter years. We

learnt from the monuments that this was the case in the three last years of the reign of Sesortesen I.

Wherever this celebrated personage occurs, either alone or jointly with one of the two Amenemhas, the monuments evince, not merely a high state of perfection in art, but prove also that the Egyptians had extensive possessions in Africa. A stele found by Rosellini, at Wadi Halfa, in Nubia, and accurately described by him [100], now in the museum at Florence, represents a number of African prisoners being brought before him. Their names are unknown till we come to *Kes*, which would seem to signify the *Kuschim* of Scripture, or the Æthiopians. The fact of his name being engraved at Wadi Sarabut-el-Kadem also proves that he was Lord of the Copperland, and the peninsula of Sinai. This, however, by no means justifies us in considering him as a conqueror, for Nubia and the peninsula of Arabia were the hereditary dominions of the Pharaohs. The *Obelisk of Heliopolis*, near the village of Mataréëh, the oldest extant, is a proof of his care for the construction and ornament of the temples. Tradition still speaks of another which stood opposite to it, it being customary to place them in pairs, and vestiges of an avenue of sphinxes, which stood in front of them, are stated by Wilkinson [101] to be visible at this day. These obelisks were votive monuments belonging to the Temple of Helios in the City of the Sun, as stated in the inscription on the obelisk translated by Rosellini. The copies and descriptions [102] of it prove that there is not so much difference between it and the obelisks of the New Empire which are known in Europe, as there is in his other extant remains. We mean the obelisk of *Arsinoe* (Krokodilopolis), near the village of Begig, in the Fayoom. This remarkable monument is different from all other obelisks. According to the accurate description given of it by Caristie[103], the fronts do not match, two of them being twice as wide as the others; and the top not terminating in a smaller pyramid, but running off into a kind of globe. The hieroglyphic inscriptions are only on the broader fronts. It is 39′ 2″ high, but was broken in two pieces by a fall. The finishing of both of them is most perfect, and the beauty of the hieroglyphics unsurpassed in any monument.

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[100] Mon. Stor. I., *seq.*

[101] Topography of Thebes, p. 316.

[102] Burton, Excerpta Hierog. No. II., and Rosellini M. R. No. XXV., 1. See Text Monum. Storici, T. III. A., p. 33, *seq.*

The *Tombs at Beni Hassan*, not far from the old *Speos Artemidos* in the southern Heptanomis[104], are still more interesting for the history of Egyptian architecture and life; especially that of a general of the Pharaoh whose name was Amenemha. Here stood the elegant columns, or more properly columnar pillars, in the frontispiece of this volume, which Jomard, without knowing anything of their antiquity, saw at once were works of the old Pharaonic times, and was struck with their strong resemblance to the Doric order. Every traveller who has described them, has felt the same impression.[105] Lepsius was the first who stated them (in 1836) to belong to the Old Empire, and to be prototypes of the Doric order. They are squared. The shaft is slightly tapering, and has sixteen delicate flutings, above which is a plinth and architrave, but without any division between them, and above these again a frieze exactly in the style of Doric architecture. Its lower surface is finished with a row of dentils. It cannot be ascertained whether there was a cornice moulding all round it, as the upper part of the frieze is destroyed. The height is five times the diameter of the shaft, 5½ times that of the whole column with pediment and plinth. Lepsius showed, in the article above alluded to, that this sort of column is met with in various remains of the same Dynasty, and especially in the small portion of the Temple Palace of Karnak, which was evidently preserved with especial care by the Kings of the New Empire. We may therefore designate it as the style of the 12th Dynasty and Old Empire, as distinguished from the ordinary Egyptian, which is used in the buildings of the New Empire.

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[103] Descr. d'Egypt. A. D. tom. iv. p. 517. *seq.* (large edit. p. 43. *seq.*). A part of the inscription in Burton II., pl. 29., and Rosellini, p. 37.

[104] Rosellini, Monum. Civili, I. 49., and the corresponding plates.

[105] The most accurate description and copy is given by Lepsius in the Journal of the Archæol. Inst.: "Sur l'Ordre des Colonnes piliers en Egypte, 1837."

The votive figure of this King in our possession, dedicated in the same words to King An and King *Sesen-n'-ra* (or *Raseser*), but especially to the former, has been already mentioned in the 3rd Dynasty, and again in the 11th. The colossal statue, formerly in the Drovetti collection, now one of the ornaments of the Egyptian Museum at Berlin, gives an authentic representation of the King Sesortesen I. himself. In the scutcheon containing the name, Ramesses the Great had his own name engraved, as did his successor Menephthah his name in the fragment of a colossus, exactly matching this one, also purchased out of the same collection for the Royal Museum. The prenomen and style of the workmanship are evidence of its date. We find several instances of the later Pharaohs appropriating the honorary representations of earlier Sovereigns.[106] They always evince great reverence for the person represented, and may be looked upon in the light of homage.

The first Sesortosis, therefore, is evidently the leading personage in the first epoch of the reunion of the Old Empire. Here again, however, the significant word of history is unfortunately wanting; even its very last echo, indeed, the legend and myth. The monuments themselves have disappeared, with few exceptions, owing to the vast number of years that have elapsed, the rapine and destructiveness of the Hyksos, and progressive decay during 2500 years. Nor, in fact, is there any promise of obtaining fresh information, unless something now concealed within the bosom of the earth should be brought to light.

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[106] Lepsius, in the Bulletin of the Archæol. Inst., July and Aug. 1837; Rosellini, Mon. Storici, III. A. p. 27. seq.

B.

THE SECOND EPOCH OF THE 12TH DYNASTY. SESORTOSIS II. AND SESORTOSIS III., THE GREAT SESOSTRIS. 55 YEARS.

In no part of the subject does the inquirer feel the want of the living word of history so much as here — nowhere has he more reason to lament the loss of Manetho's original work. He and Eratosthenes, in common with the Papyrus of the Ramesside period, mention the first Sesortosis; but, in the latter record, there are two Kings who correspond to their second and last King of the name — Sesortosis the Second and Sesortosis the Third, the former with 19, the latter with 35 years of reign. The monuments leave no manner of doubt as to the real existence of these two Sesortoses. Eratosthenes assigns to his second, 55 years; Manetho, 48. Manetho, however, before the introduction of their common successor, Amenemha-Mares, enters after Sesortosis, another King Amenemha, misspelt *Ameres*, with 8 years of reign. It is obvious, therefore, that these two reigns in Manetho, with 48+8= 55 56 years, correspond to the 55 assigned by Eratosthenes to his second Sesortosis.

Now, in Manetho's Lists there is this remarkable notice annexed to the second Sesortosis, that "he is the real *Sesostris*," the great conqueror; the Lists, indeed, never mention him by any other name.

It is consequently most important to ascertain which of the two authentic Sesortoses of this epoch is the great hero, *Sesortesen Ra sha kheper*, or *Sesortesen Ra sha karu.* It is self-evident that the gloss in the Lists is as applicable to the one as the other, for Manetho here introduced only one King of the name. But the Papyrus, conjointly with the monuments, furnish us with the requisite solution. It assigns to Sesortesen the Second 19 years, and to the third of the name a date between 30 and 40. We have already seen that, in order to make up the sum total of the dynasty which is still extant, we must supply the missing unit of the reign of the third Sesortesen with 35+more than six months. We thus obtain

for Sesortesen II.	19 years + x months.	
" " III.	35 " + "	
Sum total	55	

that is, precisely the number given in the List of Eratosthenes to Sesortosis II.

We find on the monuments the 11th year of the second Sesortesen and the 14th of the Third. But the more important point is that they always represent the Third as the great hero. We cannot do otherwise, therefore, than recognize RA-SHA-KAR.U, AMNMHA as the great hero of the Dynasty.

I. SESORTOSIS THE SECOND (RA SHA KHEPER) (according to the Papyrus 19 Years).

A tomb in Beni-Hassan, similar to the one described above, of the time of the first Sesortosis, both as to plan and the character of the representations, and which is very remarkable from the correctness of the drawing and brilliancy of the colouring, evinces the high state of advancement in the Empire and the standard of art during his reign. We allude to the celebrated tomb of Nevatp, or Nevôtp, a functionary of high rank under Sesortesen II.[107] We find represented in this and the adjoining tombs almost all the occupations of ordinary life —the chase, fishing, dancing, chess-playing, and a game with the fingers, the Italian *Morra*. Men are blowing glass, just as the Egyptians of the Middle Empire and we ourselves do. There is, however, in the same tomb, a representation of the sixth year of the same King, which is of peculiar importance, where 37 strangers of the race called Mes-stem, are brought before Nevōtp with great pomp, from his lord. Their fair complexion, dress and hair, as well as the inscription, show them to be foreigners. A chief appears at the head of his men, armed with a club, a bow, a shield, and lance, while another is touching a seven-stringed lute with the plectrum. The inscription calls them "the great foreign prisoners." Champollion seems to have been quite satisfied that they were Greeks, even after he was convinced of the antiquity of the Dynasty, perhaps from the incorrect notion that Manetho calls them "Hellenic shepherd Kings," owing to his text having been scandalously falsified by the Monk Goar. They have also been taken for the patriarch Jacob and his sons; and certainly, though designated as submissive, they do not appear in the guise of prisoners with their hands tied, but armed and at liberty. This would seem to intimate that they were an honorary deputation sent by some conquered tribes of the north, or possibly that they brought presents, as the gazelle and the arms would lead us to infer.

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[107] Rosellini, Monum. Civili, I. 59. seq. The representation of the 37 Asiatics, Monum. Storici, III. A. p. 48. seq.

We must here beg to offer a few remarks on the manner in which the names of foreign tribes on the Egyptian monuments have usually been treated. As regards our knowledge of the people and countries represented and mentioned on them, we are on the eve of great discoveries; but we shall do wisely not to anticipate these discoveries prematurely. For instance, it seems to us premature to consider it a settled point (as Champollion has done in his Grammar), that the nations described on those monuments as *Northerns* are Asiatics; and to search after their names, if they do not appear to represent countries with which we are acquainted, such as Kanana and Naharăim, i. e. Canaan and Mesopotamia, among modern tribes, or at most in Iran and Turan, and—not to find them. Is the whole of Northern Libya—is Cyrenaica, Syrtica, the land of Numidia and Gætulia—in a word, the whole northern coast of Africa—a southern country or even a land of Negroes (Nahas)? Must the intercourse of the Egyptians have always necessarily been limited to Palestine and Syria, or parts of Asia still more to the northward, which can only have been one of a hostile nature, and is it impossible for them to have come in contact with the districts of northern Africa?

It can hardly be matter of surprise that in the total absence of authority for that portion of the names of races, which is, almost without exception, of great historical interest, so little that is satisfactory has hitherto been discovered. We must, however, caution our readers against any explanations of them which are unsupported. First of all, the parent races and countries must be discovered; but, in order to define them more distinctly, the geographical connexion must be proved. The Biblical names, the only ancient names known from written records, together with the clues afforded by their complexion and presents, are the safest standard by which to test them.

Colonel Mure's Memoir in the Annals of the Archæological Institute at Rome of the year 1836 (a writer to whom we are indebted for a very masterly and learned history of the most ancient literature of Greece), is a model of such researches; and Mr. Birch, Miss Corbaux, Dr. Hincks, and Mr. Osburn, have subsequently made similar contributions.

There are no buildings or inscriptions of the second Sesortosis extant which record his conquests or other great exploits. The case is different, however, with his successor.

II. Sesortosis the Third (Ra Sha Karu); Sesostris the Conqueror and Constructor of Canals, and his extant Monuments.

The first notices respecting the grand constructions of this Sesortesen, *Ra Sha Karu*, are derived from Lepsius's description of the gigantic foundations of the fortresses. These are still visible in the narrow pass of the Nile, at Semneh, in Upper Nubia, a little above Wadi-Halfa, on the two banks, where they were erected upon rocks rising perpendicularly from the river.[108] He describes them as being on the most colossal scale, like that of the cyclopean walls, and they were evidently intended to be crowned with redoubts or forts to command the narrow pass. This fortification is in so perfect a state of preservation, that an Egyptian temple is still standing on the finest and highest point of it, built of enormous square blocks which must have been brought there at two different periods, from different and very distant quarries. The oldest of these, of a dark yellow fine-grained sandstone, bear the name of the third Tuthmosis of the 15th century B. C. The foundations themselves, however, from the inscriptions on these gigantic masses, prove them to have been built by Sesortesen the Third, and, in fact, of blocks of granite hardly inferior in durability to the rocky wall on which they stand. Sesortōsis the Third is here therefore ostensibly the great Egyptian conqueror of the country, and the founder of a mighty sovereignty over it. We shall see the use his great successor made of these constructions, and how he completed them. The two temples, however, were erected by Tuthmosis the Third, the great restorer of the Pharaonic power in Egypt, although perhaps he only restored an edifice of his ancestor, and dedicated them to his venerated predecessor, *as God*. M. De Rougé[109] has published upon this subject a valuable treatise, showing the attribution of divine honours to this Sesortoside conqueror under the Restoration to be the only instance on record of such homage being paid to a Sovereign. Tuthmosis the Fourth offered him the same homage in a temple at Amada in Nubia. He is again the object of the divine reverence of an Egyptian in an old temple at Mashakit, also in Nubia. He is addressed in the inscription as God, great Lord of Nubia. Here, then, we have Sesortōsis-Sesostris, the great conqueror of Nubia, who established there a firm and vastly-extended sovereignty for his successors, honoured with divine attributes in a higher sense than was ever displayed towards any Egyptian King. We may therefore the more confidently apply to him the statement of Herodotus, that the Egyptians honoured Sesostris next after Osiris, inasmuch as the hero of the New Empire, Ramesses, the son of Seti (Sethōs), is so far from having been the object of such distinguished homage, that he was less venerated than his renowned father Seti I., or his honoured progenitors and forefathers by the mother's side, Amenōphis I. and the divine Nefruari.

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[108] Extract of a letter from Lepsius to Ehrenberg, from Philæ, Sept. 10. 1844, published at Berlin by order of the Royal Academy of Sciences.

Mr. Horner has published a valuable treatise upon Lepsius's explanation of the singular relation between the height of the Nile 2000 or 3000 years B.C., and its present level. "Observations on Professor Lepsius's discovery of sculptured marks on rocks in the Nile-valley in Nubia; by Leonard Horner, with a Plate: Edinburgh, 1850." (From the Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal for July, 1850.)

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[109] Revue Archæologique, iv. p. 478. seq. (1847).

Before we proceed to the other extant contemporary monuments of Sesortōsis-Sesōstris, we must consider the nature of the tradition concerning him.

III. SESORTŌSIS-SESŌSTRIS IN MANETHO, IN POPULAR LEGEND, AND GREEK TRADITION.

After having advanced these monumental proofs, it will be worth while to examine a little more closely the written traditions about Sesostris, the great conqueror and lawgiver, which we have already touched upon in speaking of the eldest Sesortōsis, the hero of the 3rd Dynasty of Manetho. Here we establish, in the first place, that the name *Sesōstris* is derived from Manetho. This is proved by the purport of the historical notices appended to his name, in which the celebrated warlike expeditions known as the exploits of Sesostris are attributed to the second Sesortōsis. Hence it is impossible for Manetho to have mentioned that King by the name of Sesostris; he could only know him as Sesortōsis. In order to mark the distinction, he says this King of the 12th Dynasty is the real Sesostris of the Greeks, and not Ramesses, the son of Sethōsis, the hero of the New Empire, with whom Herodotus confounds him, and whose exploits and history later Greek historians have confounded more or less with those of the King of the 12th Dynasty. Aristotle even called the great lawgiver, the first Sesortōsis of the 3rd Dynasty, Sesostris.

We must now examine a little more closely the particular features in this very remarkable account, which, like so many others, has only acquired historical interest and become intelligible, and that partially indeed, by means of the monuments and chronology. Africanus has preserved in his extract three distinct facts:

First: that on the authority of Manetho it was THIS King, whom he as well as Eratosthenes considered the third of the family, who IN NINE YEARS conquered Asia and Europe as far as Thrace. The *extent* of these conquests, be they Sesostride or Ramesside, we may, with Tacitus, admit to be historical. *The nine years*, however, although Herodotus may be the authority for the general fact, are not mentioned by him, but by Diodorus only. The question then arises, whether Manetho, who must necessarily have alluded in his historical work to the world-renowned Sesostris-Sesosis legend, and who is well known to have corrected Herodotus, really stated these conquests to have been made by the King of the 12th Dynasty, or merely quoted them as *history*, while he mentioned the *nine years* simply as matter of *tradition?* The letter of the extract clearly says the former; but we cannot venture to impute a thing so contrary to current opinion to the Egyptian inquirer without further examination. Admitting that in his historical work he only claimed this feature in the so-called Sesostride legend for the real Sesostris, in contradistinction to the son of Sethōs, may not the particular version of it given by the hasty epitomists have been their own remarks? In the present state of our knowledge this must remain a moot point.

In the second place, Manetho, according to the epitomists, asserted moreover that this ancient King caused columns to be erected, on which emblems of manhood or effeminacy were engraved, to show his respect or contempt for the nations whose lands he overran. On this point also we know enough to justify us in stating that the account given by Herodotus, as to the stele of the Ramesside, *which he saw*, is in essential points well authenticated. The monuments at Beyrout and in Asia Minor have come to light again, the former of which represents the great Ramesses; but neither of them contains the emblems above alluded to. Such, indeed, never occur on the monuments, nor the hieroglyphics, at least used in that sense. It is very probable, therefore, that Manetho only gave it as a quotation, and, at all events, intended to correct Herodotus. But supposing he did admit the existence of any such representation, and, in fact, as connected with the Sesortosidæ, this would lead us to inquire whether there were not some popular Egyptian legend which attributed them to *him*, and not to Ramesses, which led Manetho, without entering into its historical accuracy, simply to refer it to the King with whom it was connected in the old ballads? We must leave this altogether a moot point, and proceed to the general inquiry whether Greek tradition itself does not allude to a Sesostride hero of the Old Empire? It is one for which we must claim the attention of historical critics. The existence of a primeval conqueror of the name of Sesostris is no more unsupported by testimony than is that of a still earlier lawgiver of the same name. We have already repeatedly mentioned the Scholia on a passage in the Argonautika of the learned Apollonius Rhodius, the successor of Eratosthenes at the Museum, in which mention is made of a primeval Egyptian sovereign and conqueror. We annex the passage itself. In order to do justice to the poet's description, we must especially realize to ourselves the character of that scholar, and of his poetry, in which he did not lose sight of his scholarship. We must, moreover, recollect that Argos, who is speaking, and the Argonauts in general, are considered by the chronologers as contemporaries of Hercules, a century earlier than the Trojan war. Argos is speaking of a primeval age during which this conqueror lived, long before his own time, of which barely any traces remained. The mention of the colony founded at Colchis proves that he meant Sesostris. All the scholiasts indeed admit it; and who else could he be? Certainly not the great Ramesside, who, as the Alexandrians must have known, lived only a short time before the Trojan war. Let us hear what the poet himself says (IV. 259.):

"There is a different course which the Priests of the Gods have suggested
Out of Tritonian Thebes who sprang in the earliest ages,
Ere the bright orbs had appear'd which revolve in the heavenly spaces,
Or the renown had been heard of Danaus' hallowed scions.
Then the Arcades liv'd, they alone, the descendants of Apis,
Arcades, fabled in song to be born ere the Moon was created,
Nurtur'd on fruits of the oak on their own aboriginal mountains.
In the Pelasgian land Deucalion's eminent offspring
Had not establish'd their rule, when Aeria teeming with plenty,
Egypt, mother of men and first-born of mortals, were famous,
And the Tritonian stream which pours its refreshening waters
Over Aeria's plains in riches and vigour abounding.
Though no rain ever falls, by no showers its furrows are moisten'd,
Plenteous harvests are reap'd, the gift of that bountiful river.
Here, it is said, that of old there arose the great conquering hero,
Boldly who carried his arms through Europe and Asia resistless,
Trusting his people's support, and on personal courage relying.
During that lengthen'd campaign many cities he founded, among which
Some no longer exist: for numerous races of mortals
Have pass'd into Hades since those days. Yet Æa survives still,
And the descendants of those men whom he establish'd in Æa."

Apollonius knew as well as we do that Herodotus attributed the foundation of the colony at Colchis to a King of the New Empire, called by him Sesostris, by others Sethōsis, and by some Ramesses. His reasons for so doing were the similarity of the language and customs of the two nations, the Colchians and Egyptians. Now, if Apollonius did not believe that the Ramesside was called Sesostris, but considered the genuine Sesostris to have been a King of the Old Empire, consequently more than a thousand years prior to the son of Sethōs, he believed neither more nor less than Manetho did, as appears above. Neither did Dicæarchus or Aristotle believe so, as we have seen in the First Book. Whether they distinguished between a lawgiver and conqueror of the name of Sesostris, in the Old Empire, we certainly do not know; but that again cannot be settled here. The simple question is, whether they ever called the Ramesside Sesostris; and it becomes a very important question, from the fact of Eratosthenes, according to Strabo, mentioning "Sesostris-Stelæ" at the southernmost point of Arabia, Bab-el-Mandeb. Could the Alexandrian call the Ramesside Sesostris? Let us hear what he says himself. In the fragment or epitome of Strabo, to which allusion was made in the First Book, we read: "Near the Straits of Deire, and the little town of the same name, where the Icthyophagi live, there is said to be a *monumental record* of *Sesōstris, the Egyptian*, who announced his passage across them in hieroglyphics. *He was clearly the first who subjugated the land of Ethiopia, and that of the Troglodytes.* From thence he crossed over to *Arabia*, and then overran the *whole of Asia.* This is the reason why mention is made in many places of Sesostris-fortresses, and that imitations are met with of the temples of the Egyptian gods." He then adds, "From thence, past the land of Frankincense to the land of Cinnamon, is about 5000 stadia (625 miles, 8⅓ degrees). Beyond this country, however, *they say*, no one yet has ever penetrated." This means, therefore, not even Sesostris. Strabo himself says so expressly in a subsequent passage of the same Book. "Sesostris conquered all Ethiopia as far as the land of Cinnamon, and they still point out the monumental pillars and inscriptions erected as memorials of his expedition." But Ethiopia had been conquered by the Tuthmoses already in the New Empire.

Eratosthenes appeals to the *Legend* with regard to the columns and fortresses named after Sesostris, which were intended to mark the course of the expeditions, and the limits of the conquests of that extraordinary personage. The existence of these primitive Egyptian monuments far to the southward, and their connexion with the old Pharaonic conquests, he considers strictly historical. He makes them indeed the basis of a criticism in which the shrewdness and sagacity of the father of scientific research are exhibited. The name "Sesostris-pillars," is only the popular one, the one in common use. He certainly never mentioned the Ramesside by the name of Sesostris, which was at all events not a genuine Egyptian name, but simply the conventional Greek abbreviation of the Sesortosidæ name. Ramesses, however, the son of Sethōs or Sethōsis, was also so designated, by the Greeks, after Herodotus. It is more probable, then, that Eratosthenes attributed the conquering expeditions, which commenced with Ethiopia and the country along the Red Sea, and led the Egyptian armies to Arabia and ultimately to Asia, to the hero of the Old Empire, who was called Sesōstris, i. e. Sesortōsis, rather than to the Ramesside, who never had, and never could have had that name.

His remarks, then, are not the result of any professional criticism of his own into the real Egyptian name and historical age of the conquering Pharaoh to whom the stelæ were attributed.

Manetho's criticism upon the statements of Herodotus, relative to the Legend of Sesostris, has again either no reference to them, or he meant to imply that the story about the extraordinary emblems as connected with that King was an impossibility. He may, however, have found something in the Annals which explained it, but in favour of the real Sesostris hero. As regards the Ramesside stelæ it is clearly false, literally, indeed, it cannot be true — at all events as to the nine years that the expeditions are said to have lasted. On this point he cannot have alluded to Herodotus, for *he* says nothing of the kind. Manetho may nevertheless have met with some mention of nine years connected with Sesostris.

The *third feature* in Manetho's tradition is, that the Egyptians paid such honour to this King of the 12th Dynasty, as to rank him next to Osiris. What does this mean? Before we venture to offer an opinion, it will be advisable to unravel the web of the Sesostris-tradition so far as to prove that it contains unmistakeable traces of being connected with two great Kings of the Old Empire, the latter of whom was the hero mentioned by Manetho in the 12th Dynasty, and the former the lawgiver of the epoch when the Empire, which Menes founded, was moulded into a political community.

His belief in the genuineness of Egyptian tradition, and the consequent necessity of giving a rational explanation of it, led Wilkinson, that nice observer of Egyptian life, to remark, that the Sesostris-legend, when referred to Ramesses, is full of contradictions which baffle explanation, and that there may be some connexion between the name of Osirtesen and Sesostris.[110] He was not aware that the monuments, and indeed contemporary monuments, mention the conqueror Sesostris in the 12th Dynasty, and in the 3rd a primeval lawgiver of the same name, whom Aristotle likewise calls Sesostris. We will now carry out the proof still further, that all the classic writers, in mentioning the Sesostris-legend, sometimes speak of one, sometimes of the other Sesortesen. The confusion arose from the fact of neither of them being clearly distinguished from each other, nor from the Ramesside hero, who was himself again confounded with his celebrated father Seti (Sethos), from which comes Sethôsis, Sesôsis. The brilliancy of this Ramesside dominion made the confusion with the real name of Sesostris easy, indeed inevitable, and puzzled the Greek Annalists.

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[110] Manners and Customs, vol. i. p. 71. Conf. 42. His assumption of a *Misirtesen* in the Greek tradition, which name originated in a misspelling of *Osirtesen*, and is, consequently, classical authority for it, is based upon the *Mestres* of the common editions in the well-known passage of Pliny upon the obelisks (book xxxvi. § 64.) The only authentic reading, however, is *Mesphres*, who can be nobody but Tuthmosis, as is clear from the subsequent mention of Mesphres being the King who erected one of the obelisks now at Rome.

There are two especial features in that tradition which it is almost as preposterous and absurd to refer to the Ramesside, as to suppose that the Nitōkris-Pyramid was built by the sister-in-law of Sappho, the "Rosy cheeks" of the moderns. Yet it would be almost as wise, and certainly as off-hand and summary a proceeding, to discard the whole Sesostris-legend as mythological or fabulous because this is impossible, as to deny the historical character of Queen Nitōkris, or even the existence of the Third Pyramid, on account of the absurdity of the story about the Grecian Rhodōpis.

The first feature is the construction of canals, by which Egypt was intersected, and by which the country, which might previously have easily been overrun by horsemen, was rendered secure against the inroads of bodies of mounted marauders. According to Herodotus this was the work of Sesostris, upon which he employed his prisoners. The wall, which protected the Delta from Pelusium to Heliopolis against the Bedouins, as well as the sand, was, it is true, a work of the Ramesside, as we shall see better hereafter. Great part of the old canal, which connected the Nile from Heliopolis with the interior and the Red Sea, bears, according to Lepsius's careful investigations, the name of the same conqueror. There may have been side canals, communicating with it for irrigating the adjacent desert plains. The fact of the country being overrun by Arabs and Palestinian Bedouins, as occurred a century and a half after the time of the great Sesortoside, is no more argument against the existence of these canals, than is the inundation of Egypt, a few years after the Ramesside conqueror's death, against the fact of that King having constructed them and built the protecting wall. They both merely prove, as does the Chinese history also, that neither walls nor dams, canals nor streams, can protect a country where the people want the inclination and power to defend it. If, then, it really refers to the establishment of a system of canals and the irrigation of Egypt, the institution of the whole science of agriculture and the defence of the country by means of canals, which covered, like a net, the whole valley of the Nile, sometimes parallel with the stream, sometimes intersecting it transversely, can be ascribed to no other than that comparatively recent King of the 19th Dynasty, without a total perversion of the old tradition. The Egyptian ballads even could not say so, still less the Annals, the registers of which we find to be confirmatory of our views for a thousand years. Of the three historic heroes of the Sesostris-legend in Herodotus, indeed, the elder of the two celebrated Sesortesen, the primeval lawgiver, is the only one from whom such an institution, from its very nature, could originate. With his name it was once connected, whether correctly or incorrectly we cannot prove on this occasion—of a later date, however, it can hardly be. The name of Menes, indeed, was connected with the so-called Joseph Canal, and not without reason, perhaps; for there was undoubtedly a connexion between his great work and the construction of vast canals. The splendid buildings of Sesortosis I. in the Fayoom at Krokodilopolis (Arsinoe) imply the existence of canals and irrigation in the province; but this system must be considered as the conclusion of a *general* canal system and as the crowning point of the whole. They cannot have commenced by irrigating the basin of Libya, which is very remote and shut off by its natural position. The connexion between that project originating with Sesostris and its being executed by prisoners of war is therefore either altogether fabulous, or merely a parallel feature borrowed from the history of the Ramesside who constructed the canal from Heliopolis to the Red Sea, and probably formed side canals and water communication connected with it—establishments undoubtedly of great importance, and, like the wall, indisputably his work.

The other feature in the Sesostris-tradition which has still more unmistakeably nothing to do with the Ramesside is the partition of the country into fields, allotted according to accurate measurements, upon the occupants of which a land-tax was imposed. In the legend there is no connexion between this and the warlike expedition; but it does not follow, therefore, that it had no reference to the conquering King of the 12th Dynasty. When once the erroneous notion that the Ramesside was originally the hero of the Egyptian Sesostris-legend is given up, he having only inherited it, and that, indeed, only through Herodotus and his followers; when once we are convinced by the cotemporary monuments and the remains of old and authentic tradition (the internal as well as external evidence in favour of which is thoroughly established), that there were two Sesortesen-Sesostris in the Old Empire, who were well known to the Alexandrians, we shall at once be reminded of *Joseph's Pharaoh whose name is not recorded.* The circumstance of all the freeholds in Egypt, except the lands belonging to the temples, being taxed, is a great historical fact, unequivocally recorded in the two traditions. This cannot have happened twice. If, therefore, the two traditions be historical, they are supplements to each other, *and the Pharaoh of Joseph, without a name, was Sesortōsis*—Sesortōsis the Third, indeed, Ra Sha Karu. It will be necessary, however, to make several other investigations preparatory to a complete analysis of the two traditions, the proper place for which is in the fifth Book. We were only so far concerned with them here as they enabled us to complete the proof that there is a mention of a Sesostris in Manetho's historical work, a fact of which there is abundant evidence.

But what is the meaning of his *third* statement respecting him? Did the primeval Sesostris of Dicæarchus reign immediately or soon after Osiris and Horus, that is, did he flourish at the dawn of the historic age of Egypt? Is there any foundation for such a story in the historical work from which the epitome was made? Certainly not; for the man who arranged the Dynasties could not have said anything so contrary to common sense. It can only be explained in one of two ways: either that Sesostris was more celebrated in the Ballads than all the other Kings, so that they ranked him next to the great Osiris; or that the Sesostris-ballads, which are mentioned even by Diodorus, drew the comparison between him and Osiris, principally because, like that divine monarch, he was a great conqueror who overran the whole world with his victorious arms. Eusebius has borrowed these three stories almost word for word from Africanus; but the notice which he subjoins directly on to the name of Sesostris, "He was said to be 4 cubits, 3 palms, 2 digits in stature," is derived from another source. This is the stature of the great Ramesses according to Herodotus, or at least that of his statue on the rock at Smyrna. Manetho, therefore, certainly did not apply it to Sesortōsis; but it is an incorrect gloss adopted by Eusebius.

This is the substance of Manetho's statements. If we reduce them all into the form of an historical picture, we find that the second Sesortōsis was considered by the Egyptians as the great warrior hero of the Old Empire, and that his campaigns seem to have lasted nine years.

What information do the monuments give us upon the subject? Down to the present time we are acquainted with far fewer monuments of the second than of the first Sesortōsis. Scanty as they are, however, the truth of Manetho's tradition still peeps out. The remarkable representation of those fair-complexioned "great strangers" in the tomb of Nevōtp proves the connexion with Asiatic nations. But we are justified also in connecting the monuments of Amenemha II. with this occurrence; for, with the exception of the first three years, his reign was contemporaneous with that of the second Sesortōsis, and likewise that of Sesortōsis III., which ended *at latest* at the same time as that of Sesortōsis II. All these monuments indicate, in the first place, that the limits of the Empire extended as far then as they are represented to have done on those of the first Sesortōsis. On the Kossayr road, which led from Koptos to Aennum (Philoteras), scutcheons are found of the younger Sesortesen, as well as of the second Amenemha. They erected here a caravanserai, with a temple and military station for protecting the wells of the Desert, which supply the port with fresh water to this day. The quarries on this road likewise seem to have been worked at that time, and the emerald mines of Gebel-Zabára[111] (Smaragdus Mons).

Among the inscriptions at Wadi-Jasoos is a tablet representing the conflicts of the 28th year of Amenemha II. (=Sesortosis II.), with the *Pūnt*. This people, of a somewhat fairer complexion than the Egyptians, without beards, with woolly hair, short tunics and girdles, are offering the ibex, apes, ostrich eggs, and feathers[112], as presents to Thothmes III. All this answers perfectly to the Mauritanians, whose old name they bear. The *Pût* of Scripture is admitted to signify, in the strictest sense, Mauritania, with the river of the same name in Pliny[113], and is analogous with *Pūnt*, just as *Moph* is with *Menf* (Memphis), *Sheshak* with *Sheshonk.* We cannot agree, therefore, with those who, like Wilkinson and Rosellini, believe them to be Asiatics (Phœnicians, Pœni!) The bearded people, with the gazelle and ass, whose embassy and homage we have described above, do however appear to be Asiatics, judging even from their being of a fairer complexion.

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[111] Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, i. 45.

We have no doubt that the monuments will give us more complete information concerning the great warrior Sesortōsis: but we must not forget that the palace of the Sesortosides at Thebes was destroyed, and that only a small sanctuary of Sesortōsis was saved by Tuthmosis, and incorporated into the new palace of Karnak.

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[112] Ibid. and p. 375. Comp. iii. 25. seq.; facsimile, p. 365. and Plate IV. at the end of the volume, first series.

[113] Hist. Nat. v. 1. Conf. Gesenius Dictionary, p. v.

SECTION III.

HISTORICAL RESTORATION OF THE SOLE REIGN OF AMMENEMÊS IV., MARES (RA-Ǹ-MA): THE LABYRINTH AND ITS PYRAMID, HIS TOMB.

INTRODUCTION.

PROOF THAT THE GREEKS KNEW AMMENEMÊS-MARES BY BOTH NAMES, AND THAT MŒRIS IS MERELY THE POPULAR PRONUNCIATION OF MARES.

The name of Amenemha (Ra-ǹ-ma) occurs frequently throughout the whole extent of the territory of his predecessors and the peninsula of Sinai, as well as at Wadi Magara, where the third, fifth, sixth, thirtieth, forty-first, and forty-second years of his reign are mentioned. It is likewise met with on the Kossayr road and at the Mokattam quarries, where the forty-third and last year of his reign is recorded.[114] The latter inscription states that Amenemha (in the absence of the prænomen he is sufficiently identified by the year) caused limestone to be quarried there for the temple of the "Good God of the South," probably Osiris; and consequently for Abydos. The Nilometer — a monument of his, remarkable in an historical point of view — has been brought to light by the Prussian Commission. Lepsius, in his letter to Ehrenberg, of the year 1844, already adverted to, has given a detailed account of it. The entries are 14 in number, and embrace a period of 37 years from the sixth year of his reign (6, 9, 14, 15, 20, 22, 23, 24, 30, 32, 37, 40, 41, 43). No one in the slightest degree acquainted with the hieroglyphics can doubt for a moment the importance and certainty of these notices. The inscription—Ru en hapi em̀ rempe (mouth, i. e. level of the Nile in the year . . . .)—is enclosed between two horizontal lines, the upper of which, passing through the centre of the mouth (*ru*), gives the height of the Nile, which is frequently specially recorded, as Lepsius states.

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[114] Vyse, Pyramids, vol. iii. p. 91. seq., with Birch's explanation.

Hence this King's reign would appear to have been a powerful but peaceable one, brilliant and favourable to the arts down to its close. There are no representations of his warlike expeditions in existence.

The Mares of Eratosthenes, however, becomes a personage of immense importance from the fact of his corresponding to the *Lamares-Lampares-Lachares* of Manetho, against whose name we find this quotation from that historian:

> "He erected the Labyrinth as a tomb for himself."

Lamares seems to be the most warranted reading, as the Armenian Version has also an *m*. The difference between it and that of Eratosthenes may be very simply explained by supposing it a wrong reading, and that the first letter of the genuine name has been repeated.[115] It may, however, have originated in a wrong conception of a remark in Manetho as to the derivation of the word Labyrinth, the Egyptian name of which was, in all probability, *Ra-Marês*, the Gate (habitation, i. e. tomb) of Mares—which became *La-marês*, *La-barês*, of which there are many other similar instances.

Ancient tradition is unanimous in stating that *Marês* was the popular pronunciation of *Ra(ǹ-)ma* = *Ma-ra*, and the name by which the builder of the most gorgeous edifice in the world—the Labyrinth—was distinguished.

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[115] ΜΑΡΗϹ, ΛΑΜΑΡΗϹ.

Herodotus himself was acquainted with earlier Kings, who "originally" erected the Labyrinth, and were buried in it. There can be no other meaning given to the words in which he describes it:—"The coffins of the Kings who originally built the Labyrinth."[116] He saw the twelve courts which Psammetichus and the other rulers of the Dodecarchy restored. The rest had already fallen into decay from the effects of time and demolition, or at least were not shown. Chæremon, indeed, a functionary under Nectanebo, "the fourth King before Alexander the Great," is mentioned by Pliny, in a passage hitherto totally unintelligible[117], as the person who made "some" restoration at the Labyrinth.

Diodorus (I. 61.) says the Labyrinth was built by Mendes, a ruler celebrated for his warlike exploits, whom some call Maros (or Marros). He succeeded to the throne on the death of the tyrant Amasis and Aktisanes. In the other passage (I. 97.) he says:—"Mendes, as some say Maros, built the Labyrinth many years before Minos." In a third passage (I. 89.) we find the story of Mendes, one of their ancient Kings, having built Krokodilopolis, as a memorial of his having been saved by a crocodile when pursued by his dogs, and afterwards the Labyrinth as well as the pyramid in which he was interred. The truth is clear enough. There were two traditions about the name of the first builder of the Labyrinth. As Maros, Marros, lead to *Mares*, so do *Mendes*, *Menevis*, or, according to another reading, *Zmandes*, *Imandes*, *Ismandes*, to

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[116] 'Εξ ἀρχῆς. I cannot conceive on what principle "from the beginning," is rendered by "from the foundation onwards," which, besides, is nonsense.

[117] See the Appendix of Authorities (C. H. 1.), Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 13.

Ammenemes. Both traditions, therefore, point to the same King, and in truth had carefully preserved his identity; for it is said "that the King was a peaceful ruler." This suits both the man and the period. The accession of Menes-Amenemha took place when the Herakleopolitan family of Achthoes became extinct, which was contemporary with the close of the 11th Dynasty. Mendes-Marros, the builder of the Labyrinth, reigned after Amos (Amyntæus) and Aktisanes. His predecessor was the great warrior and conqueror of the Old Empire.

Pliny, who collected a great mass of information on the subject, gives the following account of it:[118]

"The first Labyrinth (the Egyptian one) was built 3600 years ago, by King Petesuchis, who was also called Tithŏes, although Herodotus says it is the work of the twelve Kings, and of Psammetichus, a King of very late date. Historians give different accounts of the object for which it was designed. Demoteles says, it was the *Palace of Menevis*; Lyceas calls it the *Tomb of Mœris*—and several of them say it was a shrine of Helios, which is the view most generally entertained."

All these singular names in these seemingly contradictory opinions become intelligible and harmonious by the light thrown on them by the Hieroglyphical monuments and the genuine Lists. The King *Petesuchis*, signifies "the man of the Crocodile," and *Seveknefru*, i. e. "Crocodile of the Good," was the name of the co-regent of Ammenemes-Mares, the builder of the Labyrinth, mentioned not only by Manetho, but in the Turin Papyrus and the Tablet of Karnak also, immediately after the former King. Monuments of his are extant which give the same testimony, and his name occurs in the Labyrinth itself. Pliny, indeed, has probably preserved most accurately his throne-name in the unintelligible words which follow the above statement: *sive* "*Tithoe*" can be nothing but Sevenefroë, or Seveknefroë. The 3600 years before Pliny are made up by adding together the dynastic reigns, as is the case in so many similar calculations, and are about 1000 years too much. According to the account given by Demoteles, it was the palace of Menevis, instead of the unmeaning Moteridis, i.e. Amenemes; the *m* in the middle originated as Semenut grew out of Sebennitus, and as, from the relations of sound in the two languages, Beneventum might be written Benementum.

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[118] Plin. H. N. as above.

According to Lyceas, the Labyrinth was a tomb, and the tomb of Mœris indeed. Here then, we have express testimony to the fact of the name of the King Ra n'-ma, Mares, having been pronounced by the Greeks and Romans from and after Herodotus, *Moiris*, *Myris*, *Mœris*. But more decisive than all is the statement of Herodotus, that there were measurements of the rising of the Nile, of the time of King Mœris; and the fact of Lepsius having discovered on the rock at the narrow pass of Semneh these measurements of the reign of Mares-Ammenemes and his immediate predecessor and successor, as above mentioned when speaking of Amenemha III. For this reason, we have found it necessary to return to our original views, recorded in writing in 1835, and to abandon the idea of the Mœris of the classics being Apappus-Meri. We are now also in a situation to give a very satisfactory explanation why Herodotus (II. 100.) said that Mœris was the last in the Book of Kings which began with Menes and recorded 330 Kings down to his reign. It was a list of the Kings of the Old Empire, and the Turin Papyrus possibly contains precisely the same number down to the end of the Old Empire, an event which occurred very soon after the death of Mares-Ammenemês. The following special arguments may be adduced to prove that *Moiris* is merely the Greek version of Mares. The root *ma* was pronounced *mei* in modern Egyptian, i.e. in the living language of Egypt, the only one spoken there at least after the time of Psammetichus. In like manner *mei* grew out of the root *mer*, to love, as is conclusively proved by the way Eratosthenes spells it in the preceding Kings' names, as well as by the fact of Ramesses, *Mer-amen*, being also spelled in Manetho's history *Miamun*. This coincidence being so close, I cannot possibly agree with Lepsius that Moiris, Mœris, originally was no individual person, and identified no King, and that the notion of the existence of a King of that name is a mere misunderstanding, arising from that celebrated lake having been mentioned to the Greeks as the lake of the inundation (in Coptic *mere*). This would be a solitary instance in Egyptian history, as well as Greek tradition, of such a mode of speaking. The Egyptians always call their Kings by their names, and their works after them, and here in truth was a King of glorious name and highly honoured memory! The lake, however, is by no means exclusively called the work of Mœris: the Labyrinth, the Pyramid, and, according to Herodotus, a portion of the Propylæa of the great shrine of Ptah at Memphis, which however, had nothing to do either with inundation or lake, are also so designated. Mœris was the last name in the long series of Kings beginning with Menes; now if Menes be a genuine King's name, why should not Mœris?

The other statements in the classics with regard to Mœris prove throughout that they considered him to be a King of the Old Empire, and not one of them says a word which, even in appearance, establishes the view adopted by Champollion in his earlier times, as identifying him with Tuthmosis the Third of the 18th Dynasty. It is needless in the present state of Egyptology to refute such an idea. It was, from the first a mere conjecture, that one of his titles *Mer-ra*, *Meira* (beloved of Helios), might allude to it. It was one that Tuthmosis III. bore in common with many other sovereigns; and it does not occur on any of his scutcheons.

While some have attributed to Sesortosis of the 3rd Dynasty, others again have ascribed to Mœris the origination of scientific geometry. The latter is stated by Diogenes Laertius, in his Life of Pythagoras, who quotes in support of it Antikleides, in his Life of Alexander.[119] According to him, Pythagoras brought geometry to perfection, but the introduction of it was due to Mœris. Like all the other fundamental institutions of Egyptian life it belonged to the bloom of the Old Empire. It is possible, however, that Mœris may have been inadvertently mentioned here instead of Menes. Even Diodorus (I. 16.) and Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. vi.), attributed the introduction of geometry to the (historical but not chronological) Kings of Egypt before Menes. Diodorus's computation of more than 4700 years from Mœris (Myris) to the last of the Ptolemies, that is 4700 B.C., probably arose from a similar confusion. At all events, it cannot invalidate so well-established an identification as that with Mares-Ammenemês.

Herodotus's statement in reference to the height of the inundation which was necessary to produce fertility leads to the same result. In his time, he says[120], it required at least 15 or 16 feet to fertilize the Delta, whereas in Mœris's time 6 feet were sufficient. Long before the discovery of these measurements with the name of Ammenemês attached to them, we remarked that this was a valuable portion of genuine Egyptian tradition, and cited it as a fresh proof that Mœris's reign formed a primitive epoch like that of Menes. We neither wish to erect a chronological theory upon the strata of Nile-mud, nor to charge the Egyptians with maintaining so absurd a theory; yet, if we consider that, according to Wilkinson[121], the base of the Obelisk of Sesortesen, the second King of the 12th Dynasty, who lived about 100 years before the builder of the Labyrinth, is sunk about 5 feet 10 inches or 6 Greek feet below the present level, it is manifestly impossible that Mœris could have belonged to the New Empire, that is, could have lived 1100 years before Herodotus. The difference of 7 or 8 feet between the time of Mœris and Herodotus may therefore perhaps be explained as having been produced in a period of some twenty and odd centuries, but certainly not in one considerably less.

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[119] My attention was directed to this tradition by a statement in Wilkinson's Manners and Customs, vol. iii. p. 342., where he does not cite his authority. It is in Diog. Laert., lib. viii. 11. The passage is as follows: Τοῦτον (Πυθαγόραν) *καὶ γεωμετρίαν ἐπὶ πέραν ἀγαγεῖν*, Μοίριδος *πρῶτον εὑρόντος τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν στοιχείων αὐτῆς, ὥς φησιν* Ἀντικλείδης *ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ* Ἀλεξάνδρου.

[120] II. 13.

We have shown in the preceding volume that Herodotus's statement about the death of Mœris having occurred 900 years before he visited Egypt was not a chronological computation.

The course of our inquiry has led us especially towards the Labyrinth; we commence it, therefore, by examining the works of Amenemha IV. Our criticism and history of the research upon these will begin with this marvellous structure, the uncertainty as to which, after having lasted for more than 2000 years, has been dispelled by the Prussian Commission.

[121] Manners and Customs, iv. 106. Conf. i. 9.

A.

THE NOTICES OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS UPON THE LABYRINTH AND ITS PYRAMID, FROM HERODOTUS TO PLINY THE ELDER.

I. Herodotus.

Herodotus's description is as follows (II. 148.):— "The twelve Princes determined to erect a joint monument. Having come to this resolution, they built the Labyrinth, a little above the lake of Mœris (the northern canal of Mœris, Bahr Bela Ma), somewhere in the direction of Krokodilopolis. This I saw myself, and it surpasses all description; for should any one enumerate the buildings and public works that exist among the Greeks, the labour and expense lavished upon them would not come up to that of the Labyrinth, and yet the temples at Ephesus and Samos are not contemptible. The pyramids, it is true, surpassed all description, and each of them was worthy of being compared with the numerous and splendid buildings of Greece. But the Labyrinth surpasses even the pyramids. It contains 12 roofed courts, the entrances to which (πύλαι, doors) are opposite each other; six to the north, six to the south, one after the other They are surrounded by a single wall, and contain chambers of two kinds, some under, some above ground, 3000 in all, 1500 of each kind. Those above ground we have seen ourselves, and gone all through them, and can speak of them from personal observation. With respect to those below ground, we have only been informed by others. The Egyptian curators would on no account show them to us, inasmuch as they said they contained the coffins of the Kings who originally built this Labyrinth, and those of the sacred crocodiles. We speak, therefore, of those under ground only from hearsay; but those above, a superhuman work, we have seen ourselves. The passages between the roofed porticoes (στέγαι) and the winding passages through the courts are very diversified, and excite infinite astonishment, as you pass from a court into the close apartments (οἰκήματα), from the close apartments again into the outer halls (παστάδες), and again into other roofed porticoes out of the outer halls, and into other courts out of the closed apartments. Above them all is a roof of stone, like the walls, which latter are covered with sculptured hieroglyphics. Each court is surrounded by rows of columns, and the greater part is built of white stones, inlaid. Adjacent to the corner where the Labyrinth ceases is a pyramid of 40 fathoms, with large hieroglyphical figures on it, to which there is a subterranean passage."

II. STRABO.

The principal passage on the building of the Labyrinth is evidently the description given by Strabo. From it and Herodotus, Letronne, in his illustration of the passage in Strabo, published separately[122], not merely refuted the former utterly untenable views upon the subject, but also laid the foundation for a rational restoration of this work. We shall rejoice if we should succeed in adding a story to this excellent foundation.

According to our restoration of the text in the Appendix of Authorities, the passage runs thus:

"Thirty or forty stadia (4 or 5 miles—but it is really 7 or 8) from the first inlet, at Ptolemais, into the canal, rises a flat table-land, which contains a village, and a vast royal palace, consisting of as many palaces as there formerly were nomes" (that is, 27, 10 in Upper Egypt, 10 in Lower, as Strabo expressly mentions at the beginning of the Book[123], and the 7 of the Heptanomis, the latter the original number, as the name itself proves). "It contains that number of courts (αὐλαί) with columns (that is, hypostyle courts, supported by columns, in the Egyptian manner) adjoining each other, all in a row, like a long wall, in front of which are the courts. *Before the entrances* (the separate courts) are certain *dark chambers* (κρυπταί), which are long and very numerous, connected with each other, but not in a straight line, so that no stranger without a guide could find the way in or out, belonging to each particular court. The marvel is that the ceiling of each of the *chambers* (οἶκοι) in the courts is formed of a single block of stone. The broad part of the crypts is also covered with single slabs of immense size, and no wood or other material is used in them. Proceeding on to the roof, which is low, only one story high, you see before you a stone area formed of enormous blocks. Returning from these into the courts, you see them in a row before you, supported by columns of one piece, 27 in number (from the number of the nomes). At the end of this building, which is more than a stadium (square), *the Tomb*, a quadrangular pyramid, is situated: each of its sides measures 4 acres (400 feet), and the height is in proportion. The name of the King entombed in it is Ismandēs (another reading, Imandes). The reason for making so many courts is said to have been this: It was the custom for all the nomes to assemble there, in committee, with their provincial priests and priestesses, to offer sacrifice and decide the most important cases of civil law. Each province was introduced into the court which was appropriated to it."

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[122] French translation of Strabo, book xvii. Conf. Annales de Voyages, Nouv. Serie, vi. p. 133. seq. (1820). See also Jomard Descr. de l'Egypte, iv. p. 478. seqq., p. 505. seqq.; also Appendix of Authorities, C. I.

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[123] He says here, the intervening country had 16 nomes, which may be correct at a later period; but he adds, "according to others, Egypt had originally as many nomes as the Labyrinth had courts, of which there are however *less than thirty*." This is an important passage for what comes after.

III. Comparison of the Two. Fundamental Idea of the Restoration.

In order to understand this description, it is essential to form a clear idea of the different *parts* of the building, of which, according to the two accounts, the Labyrinth must necessarily have consisted. The main division of the apartments is into courts, i. e. royal palaces, and into saloons in front of the entrances to these courts. We will call the former, palaces, inner apartments; those in front of the entrances, outer. Each of these apartments was divided into two. The inner one consists of roofed colonnades (courts, in the more confined sense), and chambers joining on to them: the outer, of halls and close saloons. In order to reach the courts, it was necessary to pass through long passages, which were divided into single, but oblong, chambers. We must picture to ourselves several parallel passages, with cross-walls and doors into them, the long way of the chambers. For instance, there was a passage from one of these long chambers of the first row into another of the second, and continuing on in the same direction, to a similar one of the third; which would lead a person to suppose that he was getting nearer to the entrance into the court which must be in that direction. He would have been mistaken, nevertheless; for the third row had only outlets, which again led out or backwards, or both. The turns in the passages signify, therefore, serpentine passages in straight lines, not windings such as there are in labyrinths which are planted with trees. A restoration of this kind would be utterly at variance with the laws of architecture, and thoroughly un-Egyptian.

These apartments, then, join on to the wall which encloses the building. Strabo calls them crypts, Herodotus roofed chambers. Directly in front of the courts there were, however, outer halls (παστάδες in Herodotus —Strabo omits this division) with various outlets.

As regards the interior, both Strabo and Herodotus speak of chambers which, according to the plan of all the Egyptian palaces extant, open into the court, *saloons* (οἶκοι, in Herodotus οἰκήματα), of which, according to him, there were 1500. He saw, indeed, only the 12 courts, which were restored by the dodecarchs and made habitable. There is no doubt, however, that 27 was the original number. Accordingly we must first of all subdivide the 1500 rooms into outer and inner saloons. There would be at most, therefore, 1000 inner saloons, that is, about 36 for each palace, or about 16 on each side, and 2 at the narrow ends.

If we call the length 800 feet, and with Letronne place the courts all in a row, so that half the entrances to the walls of the narrow ends are to the northward, half to the southward, but all by the side of each other, there will remain a space of about 25 feet in breadth for each court in the clear. This space is obviously too small to admit of chambers on both sides and an open colonnade in the centre. We therefore decide in favour of the assumption which we think by no means irreconcileable with the words, that the courts were like the backbone of a fish, passing through the centre to a wall, to which other transverse walls were articulated on each side like colossal claws, so as to form separate courts. We have thus 13 on one side, 14 on the other, on the average 56 feet wide in the clear. If we divide this space into four, and give a quarter to the saloons on each side, this will make them 14 feet deep and the court 28 feet wide.

The length of each of these courts is half the length of the building—400 feet—deducting the space occupied by the serpentine rooms and porticoes in front of the courts which divided into equal halves would be 200 feet, but possibly even more. The first hypothesis would make each chamber about 12 feet wide. Of course we say all this merely by way of example.

The courts themselves we must imagine to ourselves divided long-ways; for Herodotus speaks expressly of (serpentine) windings *through the courts*. The words will bear no other signification. A length of 200 feet divided into six would make very splendid rooms, that is, smaller courts 18 feet deep by 28 wide, upon the above hypothesis. If we suppose the courts to occupy two thirds of the length, instead of half, that is, about 270 feet, we have courts of 45 feet deep by 28 wide, and this, perhaps, is a more probable proportion.

In the divisions of these courts, or in some of them, there were other serpentine passages, so that a person might easily be in doubt on which side the main entrance to the court was through which he entered.

As regards the communications between these four separate divisions — courts and chambers, outer halls and passages — Herodotus gives us the following very specific information. According to him the passage was from the court into the adjacent saloons; from the saloons into the outer halls in front of the court; from the outer halls into other passages (besides those leading to the court); and from the saloons into other courts. The third statement would imply that all the four sides were surrounded by those crypts, which communicated with each other — the fourth, that there was a communication between the different palaces (courts, in the more extended sense) — and there is no objection to it, but with this restriction, that the communication did not extend throughout. For instance, a person could pass from the saloons of the first palace into the second (more strictly into the saloons of the second palace), but not from the second into the third. In order to reach this he was obliged to go back again to the outer halls and passages with their antechambers.

This is the principle upon which we requested

Arundale to construct Plate XXI., which is merely intended to make the description of the historians intelligible and practicable in an architectural point of view. We have accompanied this Plan with the best representations of the two views of the Labyrinth of Crete found on the Cnossian coins in the splendid collection of the British Museum. This Labyrinth is said to be an imitation of the Egyptian on a smaller scale, and there is perhaps positive proof that this was the case. On communicating to Mr. Birch our views of the strictly architectural serpentine nature of its winding passages from the representation given of them on those coins, he remarked that this idea seemed to be borne out by devices on some of the Egyptian amulets. Among the gems of this kind arranged by him in the Museum, he showed me several which beyond all doubt represent labyrinthine passages, and *consequently* those of the great Labyrinth. We have likewise given two of those which are the best preserved.

IV. EXPLANATION OF THE PASSAGE IN PLINY UPON THE LABYRINTHS.

After having made this attempt at explaining and restoring the principal ground plan of the Labyrinth, we shall have no difficulty in appreciating the statements of Pliny, which are as usual very confused, and, though of great importance, heretofore unintelligible. After citing the above-mentioned remarks of several Greek writers as to the purpose of it, he proceeds thus:

"There can be no doubt that Dædalus modelled t
Labyrinth which he built in Crete after this; but
only imitated the hundredth part of it. It contain
circuitous paths through galleries running backward
and forwards, from which a person cannot find his wa
out; nor is it as we see sometimes drawn on floors a
in the country games of the boys, where a small st
contains passages several miles long, but through
great number of doorways made expressly to confus

person coming towards them, and to oblige him to go back again by the same devious paths. This Labyrinth was the second, the Egyptian being the first; the third was in Lemnos, the fourth in Italy. They were all vaulted with hewn stones. The entrance to that of Egypt, which excited my admiration, was of Parian marble, as well as the columns," (probably a mistake for the fine-grained limestone of the country, which takes a high polish). "The others were composed of inlaid blocks of granite, which centuries have been unable to destroy, even with the assistance of the Herakleopolitans, who entertained a particular dislike towards this odious building" (probably from its containing the mummies of crocodiles, which they abhorred). "It is impossible to describe the plan of it and the individual parts, as it is divided into provinces and prefectures, which they call nomes, in number 25," (read 27) "a vast edifice being assigned to each nome. It contains, moreover, temples (shrines) of all the gods of Egypt, and besides them 15,000 moveable chapels (ædiculæ)[124]: there is also a pyramid belonging to it, of 40 fathoms (ulna, i. e. each front, according to Herodotus), the base of which covers six Egyptian acres of land (arûra, each of 10,000 cubits). Persons walking here are fatigued when they arrive at that inextricable maze. It contains also chambers on a sloping elevation, with a flight of 90 steps down (out of ?) the colonnades. Inside there are columns of porphyry, images of the gods, statues f their kings, and figures of monsters. Some of the hambers[125] are so situated that, when the door opens, there is a din inside like a clap of thunder. The greater part of the way you proceed is in the dark. Outside the wall of the Labyrinth there are other piles of buildings which they call *pteron* (wings, as it were[126]).

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[124] Cod. Bamberg reads millies XL.

[125] Domus, the translation of *οἶκοι*.

[126] The sense in which Strabo uses the word, xvii. p. 556. d. Siebenkees), is, the walls of a vestibule to a temple.

From thence vast passages hewn in the rocks lead to underground chambers. The only person who has done anything towards restoring it is Chæremon (?), the eunuch of Nectanebo, the fourth King before Alexander the Great. He is said also to have supported it with beams of acanthus wood[127] steeped in oil, the ceilings being constructed of stone slabs."

These remarks confirm and explain our restoration in various points. The halls (παστάδες of Herodotus) are mentioned also in the meagre description given of it by Pomponius Mela (I. 9.), most of which, indeed, is borrowed from Herodotus. The Labyrinth, he says, the work of Psammetichus, containing within one wall 3000 saloons (domus) and 12 palaces (regiæ) built and roofed with marble (see Pliny), has One entrance through which you go down into it, and in the interior almost countless passages which run backwards and forwards in numerous circuitous mazes, and perplex you with their perpetual turnings (anfractus) and their colonnades (porticus), which are continually breaking off. These latter form a circle (orbis) round the others, and the turn (flexus) brought you as far back again as it had carried you forward. Thus the Labyrinth causes considerable perplexity, although it is capable of explanation.

V. DIODORUS'S DESCRIPTION AND A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF IT.

Diodorus's description, lastly, is that of a man who has seen nothing, and copies bad writers when he has no good authorities to misunderstand. "The twelve princes" (he says, I. 66.) "selected a spot at the entrance of the Lake of Mœris (i. e. the lake of Herodotus, the northern canal of Mœris), in Libya, where they built themselves a tomb of stones of the rarest quality. The plan of it was a square, each side being a stadium long, and its hieroglyphics and other works of art could not be surpassed in after-times. On entering within the wall of enclosure (περίβολος) the visitor found himself in a hall with columns, 40 on each side, the roof of which was of a single stone, hewn out in compartments, and ornamented with splendid sculptures. The history of the country of each of the Kings was represented with the temples and sacrifices peculiar to each province, in the most skilful manner and in the best drawing. They had, in short, designed their tomb on so splendid and grand a scale that if the undertaking had not been abandoned before it was finished, none could ever have surpassed it."

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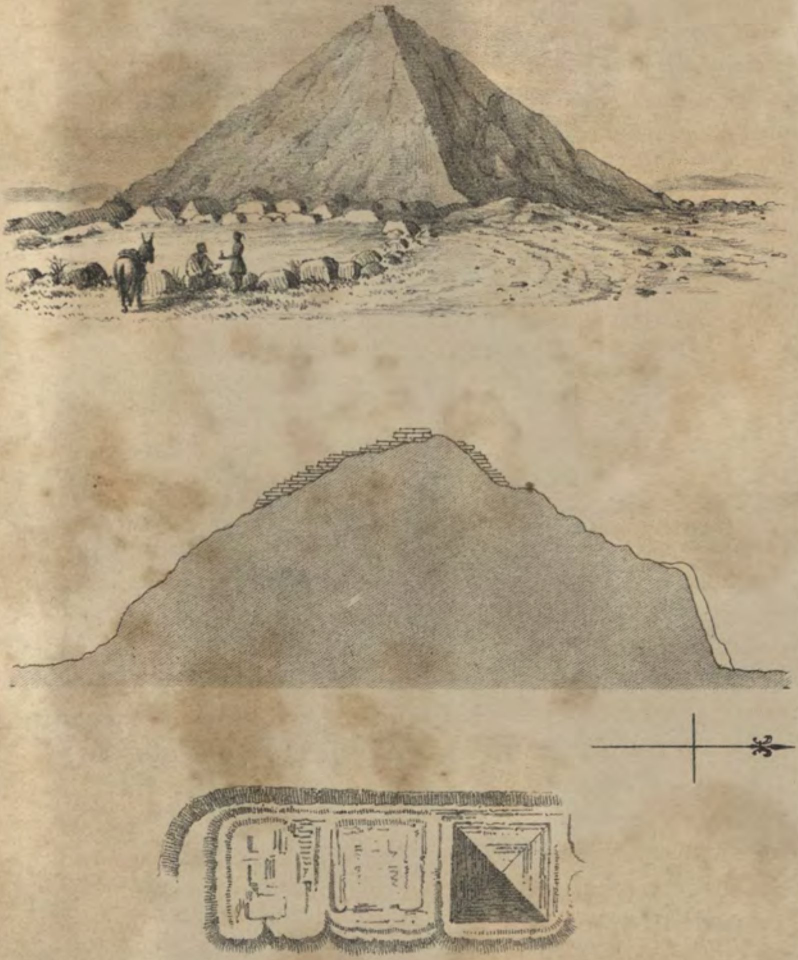
[127] *Spina* must be translated back into Greek by ἄκανθα.

The total absence of all observation, as well as judgment, is apparent here at the first glance. The whole court with the pillars has a roof formed of one stone—for that is what he means to say—instead of each of the saloons which adjoined to it being roofed with one stone. No reliance is to be placed, therefore, either on the description of the "wall of enclosure" or "the 40 columns," although he certainly did not invent either the one or the other. In spite of this blundering mode of describing the architectural features of the building, it is possible that there was some foundation for the account of there being an historical and topographical delineation of the most remarkable points connected with all the different provinces in the compartments of the roof. It was obviously a building dedicated to the use of all Egypt, and to national purposes. Delegates assembled in it from each district, the most distinguished of the warrior and peasant castes, with the priests and priestesses of the temples. There the great Panegyries were celebrated, the most important legal questions decided, and quarrels adjusted. An historical and topographical exhibition is very well suited to such a building. The Labyrinth, then, was essentially a civil, religious, and political shrine, a museum, in which the exploits of their Kings, the history of each province,



Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers.

PYRAMID OF THE LABYRINTH

were exhibited and without doubt illustrated by hieroglyphical inscriptions. There the people of each district found the history of its own princes recorded, and the splendid monuments they had erected, the main features, in short, of their individual and general traditions. We shall carry out these views more fully in the Fifth Book, inasmuch as in a political point of view they render the vast ruins of the Labyrinth the most important in Egypt, and indeed even in the ancient world.

B.

THE RE-DISCOVERY OF THE LABYRINTH, AND OPENING OF ITS PYRAMID BY THE PRUSSIAN COMMISSION: MEASUREMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF IT BY PERRING.

MORE than seventeen centuries have rolled away since the days of Pliny, during which this gigantic building has been exposed to perpetual mutilation, and reckless or thoughtless neglect; yet neither time nor the hand of man has been able to demolish it, neither the researches of the student nor the eye of the traveller had succeeded in discovering its site.

For this, as well as the recovery of a portion of its ruins, and those of the pyramid, we are indebted to the French expedition under Napoleon. It is one of the results of that vast undertaking which merits our warmest gratitude, and one which will immortalize it, and, at the same time, confer the highest personal honour on the geographer Jomard and the engineer Caristie. They had not time to take measurements, still less to make excavations. Malus, the colleague of these dauntless investigators, whose anxious desire it was to penetrate into the rock chambers and other subterranean apartments, died before he had leisure to draw up his report. They found vast blocks of polished white limestone and granite, as well as remains of capitals and walls; and they stated, that against the "enclosure wall" there were towers 18 feet square, of which the one next to the pyramid was still standing to a height of 6 feet from the ground.

It may seem astonishing that so many centuries should have elapsed before the Labyrinth was rediscovered. But any one who knows how modern is the date of historical research in Christian Europe, and how much more modern still is the study of Egyptian antiquities, will find this more easy of explanation than the fact that no use had been made of the discovery at the end of 40 years.

The joint expedition undertaken by the French and Tuscan governments, headed by Champollion and Rosellini, who were both well aware of its essential importance, did not get so far as the Fayoom. Wilkinson had been there previously, and saw the correctness of the French discovery. It struck him also that the whiteness of the limestone may have led Pliny to mistake it for Parian marble, but he did not mention the towers.[128]

General Vyse proposed to examine all the pyramids, and, if possible, to open those yet unexplored, of which the pyramid of the Labyrinth was one. But he too postponed to the last his visit to the distant Fayoom; and although Perring did ultimately go there, he had but a few weeks to spare for examining the pyramid, which he only measured, but did not succeed in entering. He noticed the mounds formed out of its ruins, which lie on this side the Arabian canal; but supposing that they must terminate there, and could not possibly extend beyond it, like his predecessors he overlooked the greater part. Their extent from east to west he ascertained to be 800 feet, and from north to south, down to the new canal, 500 feet. His description of the pyramid, which we subjoin, is, in most particulars, the same as we gave it in our German edition.

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[128] Topography of Thebes, p. 355. Manners and Customs, vol. i. p. 92. et seq.; vol. v. p. 157. et seq.

Since that time Lepsius has discovered the whole Labyrinth, and that not by accident. It was one of the principal points in the King's instructions to him, to look for it at that very spot, as being one of the vastest and most important monuments of the Old Empire. He found it where he looked for it, and examined all its remains, and opened the pyramid. On the blocks and walls he read the name *Ra-ǹ-ma*, the same King whom it was stated in the German edition we believed to be its builder and the Mares of Eratosthenes. He found the same name in the pyramid. Nothing has yet been published about this great and important discovery, except two beautiful drawings in the great monumental work containing views of its position and ruins. We will not anticipate the discoverer's own description, but shall make use of anything which may appear before the completing of this work, and give the substance of it in a supplementary page.

In the mean time we subjoin Perring's account of the Labyrinth-Pyramid from our German edition.

THE PYRAMID OF THE LABYRINTH.

(Plate III.)

Of the ancient writers who have left us an account of the Labyrinth, Herodotus and Strabo alone have mentioned the pyramid. Pliny twice speaks of it, once at the beginning of his hasty notice of the pyramids.[129] "One of them," (he says) "is in the Arsinoite nome, not far from the Labyrinth of which we shall also speak; two are in the Memphite nome, where the

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[129] Hist. Nat. xxxvii. 12. (75). Appendix of Authorities, p. 698.

Lake of Mœris formerly was, that is, a very large trench, of which, however, the Egyptians boast, as if it were a wonderful work, and one of their marvels. Its apices are said to stand up out of the water." In describing the Labyrinth, he again speaks of it, and as though it formed a part of one edifice, and estimates its area at 6 arouras, its height at 140 fathoms. This last statistical remark is borrowed, perhaps, from Herodotus, who says at the close of the passage cited above (I. 48.), that it is at the corner of the Labyrinth, measures 40 fathoms (240 feet), is embellished outside with large hieroglyphics, and has a subterranean entrance.

Strabo (XVII. 37.)[130] says, at the close of his description of the pyramid already cited upon the subject of the Labyrinth, that it is situated at the end of that vast building, that each of its fronts measures about 400 feet, and that its height is the same. This is the tomb, and the name of the person buried in it is *Maindes* (as we read it *Ismandes*).

The Pyramid of the Labyrinth, as the French *savans* happily named it, is a mile and a half from *Howara el Gujab*, abuts on to the northern front of that marvellous building, and is bounded by the deep *Bahr bela Ma:* a position we shall examine more closely when describing the Lake of Mœris. The annexed lithograph and map, however, make it sufficiently intelligible. The pyramid, then, stands on the summit of the high desert strip of rocky land which runs from the ravine of Illahoon to this spot. It is built according to the cardinal points, and of dried bricks mixed with much straw, and laid in fine gravel: they are 17½ inches long, 8¾ wide, and 5½ thick. It was originally cased with stone, some remains of which are still to be seen near the base. This description of Perring's agrees in the main with that of the great French work. Malus is said to have discovered the entrance to an underground apartment and a salt spring; this rests, however, on a verbal communication to Jomard, for he died before he had drawn up his report. Perring, unfortunately, was prevented by the unsettled state of the country from prosecuting the same careful excavations there which had been crowned with such signal success at the other pyramids. The entrance and interior were, consequently, undiscovered, although it is clear from the positive statement of Herodotus that the sepulchral chamber was hewn out of the rock underneath it, if his words are to be explained as they have been in the case of the other pyramids. The length of the fronts at the base and the height were also wholly unknown till the Prussian Commission was sent there. Its actual measurement, according to Perring, is, base 270 feet, height 106 feet.

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[130] Appendix of Authorities, p. 691.

What Herodotus says of the height, which Pliny repeats, that it was 40 fathoms, or 240 feet (160 Egyptian cubits), probably means the slant height. But what is to be made of Strabo's 4 plethra high with such a base? If we read 3 plethra, 300 feet (which requires but slight alteration)[131], we have Pliny's measurement, namely, 6 Greek arouras (6 × 50 feet) for each front.

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[131] *Πυραμὶς τετράγωνος, ἑκάστην τετράπλεθρόν* (read *τρίπλεθρόν*) *πως ἔχουσα τὴν πλευρὰν καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἴσον.*

SECTION IV.

HISTORICAL RESTORATION OF THE FOURTH EPOCH OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

Joint Reign of Amenemha IV. (Ra-ǹ-ma), and Amenemha IV. (Ra-ma-tu). The Lake of Mœris, and Pyramidal Monuments of Amenemha IV. and his Consort at Biahmoo.

THE LAKE OF MŒRIS.

INTRODUCTION.

The Controversy and History of the Researches.

As Jomard discovered the site of the Labyrinth, so did Linant that of the Lake of Mœris; the latter, however, had more time to dedicate to it, and was consequently more successful. If the learned companion of Napoleon recognized in a small portion of the ruins that vastest and most wonderful work of the Old Empire, the Surveyor of the great Viceroy, by a happy stroke of genius which combined the appearances of the soil with the necessary object of that construction which he saw, discovered the position of a lake which had totally disappeared, and which was supposed to be at the other end of the nome. He was led to this conclusion by a general examination of the soil in reference to the purpose which that work must have been intended to carry out. The discovery therefore, if authenticated, merits our warmest admiration; and we have no hesitation in stating our belief that he *has* found and traced the site of the Lake of Mœris.

Several circumstances, however, have tended, up to this time, to prevent the recognition of this discovery, which was published at Alexandria in 1843.[132] It requires a complete view of the nome to make it intelligible to any one who cannot follow out the author's explanations on the spot. The treatise itself exhibits several lacunæ in the geognostic examination of it, which are much to be lamented; but the accompanying map was so miserably lithographed in Egypt that it is impossible for any person to form a clear conception of it; besides which, the antiquarian finds that there are many doubtful points not set at rest.

No satisfactory explanation is given of some passages in the classics; nor can it fail to be a stumbling-block to the inquirer, that such of them as have mentioned the Arsinoite nome and Lake of Mœris only speak of *one* lake. If they did not mean, by the Lake of Mœris, the Birket el Keroon, we must admit that those ancient eye-witnesses, geographers, and learned investigators have never mentioned this important inland lake at all. The excavation of such a lake was and is an impossibility; and to suppose such a thing would be a pure romance. Who could excavate a lake of 150 square miles—a lake in which, according to Pomponius Mela, vessels of the highest tonnage could ride, and the banks of which, according to Strabo, were of a considerable height—a lake, in a word, which was not let off every year or so, but always remained to all intents and purposes alike, so that most of the old writers speak of it as a natural one? Does it not appear a more strange assumption still if we agree with Linant that in order to form it a full third part of the cultivable portion of that fertile nome must have been sacrificed?

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[132] Mémoire sur le Lac Mœris, présenté et lu à la Société Egyptienne le 5 Juillet 1842, par Linant de Bellefonds, inspecteur général des ponts et chaussées, &c. Publié par la Société Egyptienne. Alexandrie, 1843. (28 quarto pages, with a very rough lithographed map.)

On the other hand, however, it must be borne in mind that the ordinary view was so thoroughly established in the minds of all scholars and inquirers by the ingenious explanations of Jomard and his colleagues, and by their learned demonstrations, that the point was conceded without being further tested. According to them the Lake of Mœris is the Birket el Keroon. The following may be taken as a sort of summary of their opinions. The Birket el Keroon is, strictly speaking, the Lake of Mœris; but the latter is an ordinary natural salt lake, which has been dried up. The real work of Mœris, therefore, has no direct connexion with it, as it consisted rather in causing *a canal* to be cut through the rocky ravine a distance of 6 miles, terminating at Illahoon (Ptolemais), into which he let in an arm of the western Nile, carrying, by means of that canal, the water of the Nile by two great main arms — the northern (*Bahr bela Ma*), and the western (*Bahr Nesleh*) —through the basin of the Fayoom into that lake. The irrigation of that fine province, even in its present very ruinous condition, is clearly still dependent upon the same system, in part indeed upon the old canal itself.

We must honestly confess that all these difficulties and considerations weighed with us against the new views when the German edition was published. The remarks therein made, however, show that we acknowledged the author's merits in flattering terms, and gave due prominence to his happy delineation of the province generally. One circumstance, moreover, must not be passed by unnoticed now that we have so far adopted the substance of his views as to consider his dried-up lake the real MŒRIS-LAKE OF THE CLASSICS. Linant's treatise only fell into our hands after we had finished our own researches and were on the point of sending the MS. to Germany to press. Eight years have elapsed since that time; and we have returned to the inquiry with fresh eyes after having learned many details from subsequent observers, especially from the verbal communications of Lepsius as to the actual state of things. The excellent work of Parthey, however, has been of the greatest service to us. This laborious scholar, to whom Egyptology is so much indebted, has enunciated Linant's views in a concise and lucid treatise, and substituted a really European map[133] for that of Linant, which has materially advanced our local knowledge of the province.

The researches of the ancients as to Mœris and his lake commenced 2300 years ago, with Herodotus, and it must be admitted were not free from blunders. They ended with Pliny, abruptly and unsatisfactorily. No one knows (says that busy writer) who the Mœris was from whom the lake takes its name. It is, however (or rather *was*), properly speaking, only a very extensive trench, of which the Egyptians made as much parade as if it were one of the wonders of the world. Champollion, in attempting to restore the Dynasties, found no King with whom to identify his name, except one of the Tuthmoses of the 18th Dynasty, and accordingly placed him in the New Empire. As to ourselves, we had long come to the conclusion that the Lake of Mœris as well as the pyramids and Labyrinth belonged to the Old Empire; but then, as the extracts from Manetho speak of the Labyrinth in the 12th Dynasty without mentioning the lake, we thought it an additional reason for attributing it to the long reign (a hundred years) of the chief of the 6th Dynasty, as there seemed to be some connexion with his name, like that of Mares and the Labyrinth. Lepsius considers the name altogether mythical and a misunderstanding.

The world-renowned work of Mœris has not fared better than himself. In no ancient tradition is truth overlaid with so much error from the very outset, and nowhere is it involved in so many difficulties, as in the tradition respecting the so-called Lake of Mœris. To extricate it from these is a matter of the highest importance for the objects of this work; for, on one side, its authenticity as an historical tradition forms part of the proof of the historical nature of the traditions connected with the Old Empire generally; and, on the other, there is no monument better adapted for conveying a right idea of the flourishing condition and power of the Old Empire, the customs and artistic industry of the Egyptians.

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[133] In the Monthly Report of the Society of the Friends of Geography at Berlin, 1845, p. 175—183.

The first difficulty is created by the peculiarity of the nome itself in which the lake is situated (Nomos Krokodilopolites or Arsinoites, the Fayoom), i.e. Fiyoom, Piom, the sea (from IOM with the article). Its situation is so retired a one that even the rapacious Mahometan conquerors did not discover it till they had been a year in possession of Egypt. Although repeatedly visited by European travellers in the 17th century, its geography remained, down to the time of Napoleon's expedition, almost unknown. It is true that the Birket el Keroon was generally believed to be the Lake of Mœris. D'Anville alone remarked that, if it were so, there must have been another lake in the same nome, in the immediate vicinity of which the Labyrinth was situated. Misled by inaccurate statements of English and French travellers, he believed in the existence of an imaginary Lake Bathen in the upper part of the nome, added to which he supposed a Mœris-lake of Herodotus and Diodorus still more to the southward parallel with the Nile, while he still held the Birket el Keroon to be the Mœris-lake of Strabo and Ptolemy. The French *savans* soon found out that the real lake was to be looked for in the Fayoom. It redounds vastly to the credit of Napoleon and the men of science who accompanied him, especially Jomard, that they opened up for us the knowledge of that wonderful Libyan basin, and gave us in general a clear picture of the nome itself. As they unfortunately had no time to make a thorough survey of the country, or ascertain the heights of some of the high grounds relatively to each other and the level of the Nile, they were unable to give an accurate idea of its geognostic and hydrographical features. Assuming the Birket el Keroon to be the Mœris-lake, they endeavoured to prove that the statements of the classics could be reconciled with its present low level. It is now pretty generally admitted that this assumption is geographically impossible from the construction of those passages on which they rely. The remarks in Mannert's geography on this head are worth noticing under these circumstances; but they in no wise remove the difficulties of the ordinary view which arise out of the nature of the soil. Ritter, in his great work, has certainly attempted to separate the delineation of the physical form of the nome from the explanation of the narrative of Herodotus and Strabo, the difficulties in which did not escape his notice. Still he agrees with the French view of the Mœris-lake almost as we have expounded it above. Wilkinson and Perring do the same, although they show at the same time the utter impossibility of the lake-water ever having been able to flow back into the Nile, which, according to them, is above 130 feet higher. Hence they reject the Greek tradition which the French scholars endeavoured to reconcile with their own views.

In this intricate inquiry, much will depend upon the method pursued. The question at issue turns upon two points—the natural and artificial condition of the country, and the statements of Greek and Roman writers, in whose time the lake was in existence, and most of whom saw it with their own eyes, and examined it on the spot. Now the actual state of the country is the circumstance which clearly proves that the statements above referred to cannot be understood without a knowledge of the facts of the case; and that archæology is blind without a scientific and clear view of the country itself. We shall find also that a mere hydrographical and geographical survey of the nome is equally inadequate to unravel an historical fact without the aid of philological and historical criticism.

The following course of inquiry therefore will be adopted. We shall first give a sketch of the country, with especial reference to Linant's data; we shall next establish the principal points in the old tradition, as to the geographical position of the lake of Mœris, and then examine the descriptions of the lake itself in chronological order. Until these topics have been discussed, we cannot connect the certain and well analyzed traditions of the ancients with landmarks obtained by researches in the chronology and history of the Old Empire.

In doing so we shall make use of Linant's sketch carried out after the great map drawn up under the auspices of Napoleon, which will convey a correct idea of the present state of the country; and one, on a smaller scale, in the same page, showing what its ancient condition was from the time of Mœris to the Antonines. All the ancient sites which can be identified are laid down in these maps.

A.

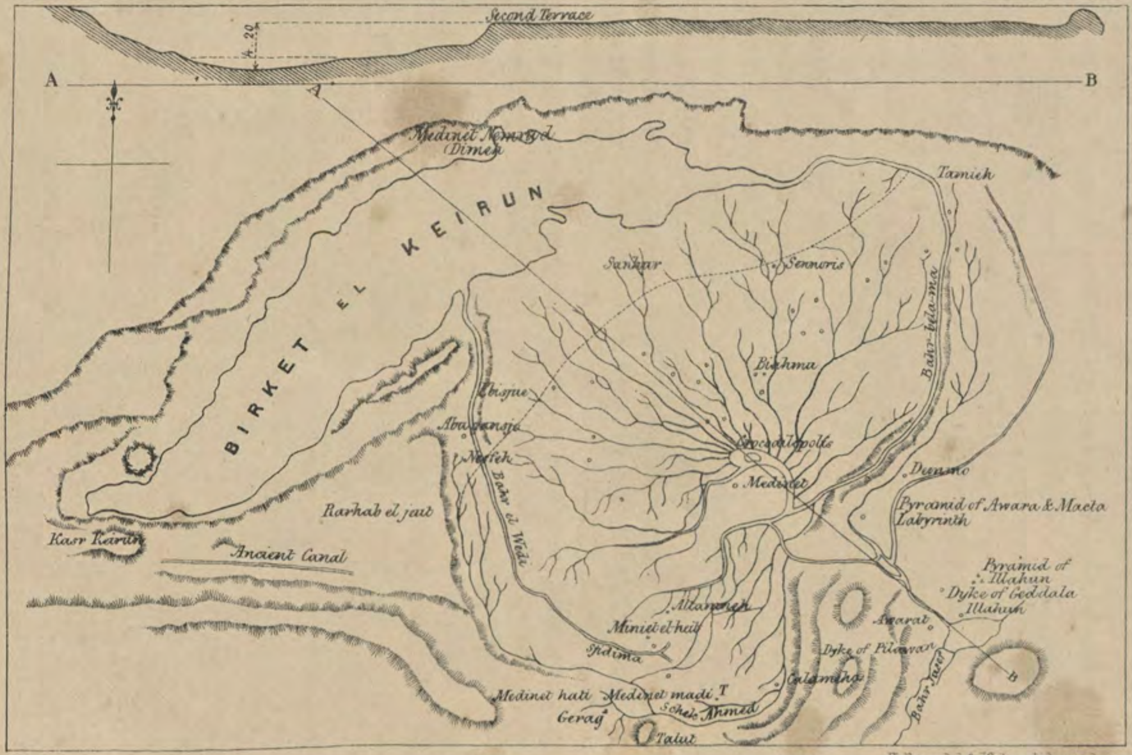
THE FORM OF THE NOME AND ITS CONNEXION WITH THE NILE.

We will endeavour in the first place to sketch the general features of the shape of the nome as clearly as possible, with special reference to what was done in the earliest times to connect the Nile with the province and the Birket el Keroon.

If, as Strabo did, we sail up the Nile from Memphis into the Joseph's river, and continue our course for some time along the western side of the island, which forms the Herakleopolitan nome, we reach a point, opposite a desert and rocky island belonging to the culti-

Plate I.

to face P. 334


Second Terrace
20
A
B
BIRKET EL KEIRUN
Medinet Nemrud
(Dimeh)
Tamieh
Sankar
Sennoris
Bishma
Bahr-bela-ma
Ebisque
Abu Gansje
Nefeh
Bahr el Wadi
Crocodilopolis
Medinet
Dunmo
Pyramid of Awara & Maclo
Labyrinth
Pyramid of
Illahun
Dyke of Geddala
Illahun
Awarat
Dyke of Pilawan
Bahr Juser
Calamsha
Altameh
Miniet el heit
Spdima
Medinet hati
Medinet madi
T
Schek Ahmed
Gerag
Talut
Rarhab el jait
Ancient Canal
Kasr Karun

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers.

THE FAYOOM.
Sketch after LINANT.

vated continent, where a rocky ravine commences on the right. The low Libyan limestone mountains there take the shape of a hollow saddle, and to the northward of that point they form the table land on which the ruins of the Labyrinth are situated, and to the southward a height known as the Gebel Sedment. At the spot where these gradually descending heights commence, there was an ancient port, called in the days of the Ptolemies, *the harbour*, at that time protected by a strong mole (déversoir), in place of which the present wretched weir has been constructed. It had also dams on both shores, the building and repairing of which are mentioned in an old Greek papyrus. Upon the height itself stands the pyramid of Illahoon, a building of the Old Empire. At the mouth of the ravine on the canal Illahoon now stands, and the two dams, the northern and southern, are now called *Ged-alla* and *Pillawan*. A bridge of three arches connects them at this point. Into this rocky chasm a portion of the Bahr Jusef has been introduced; for Jomard has shown it to be an artificial construction, and yet, according to Linant, the rock is not visible at that spot, and the sides which rise perpendicularly, are nothing but layers of Nile mud, perhaps remains of a Nile-dam in ante-historical times. The canal, which is still navigable for rafts, is 150 feet wide, and the ravine itself about three-quarters of a mile or nearly 4000 feet. It runs about eight miles in this narrow channel, with a slight fall. At Howara, where there is a projecting spur at the northern edge of the mountain, and where the Pyramid of the Labyrinth rises above the large mound of ruins, a fertile plain commences on both sides; at first sloping gently down, and forming a basin of about 400 square miles, surrounded by the Libyan mountain chain, or a nome of the size of Cephalonia. As far as Little Awara (Howara), and six miles further (to Medinet and Biahmoo), the present canal which deviates a little to the right and left, keeps, with a slight fall, the level at the height of the cutting into the rocky ravine. Further on, however, the ground not only slopes westward towards the lake, and in fact as it were in steps, but, though less considerably, to the southward and northward also towards the surrounding mountains.

What we want is an investigation into the original configuration, that is, to ascertain to what height the rock-stratum went in this basin. Into this point neither Jomard nor Linant examined. Rüppell, however, remarked a very striking fact in the neighbourhood of Medinet, which renders it impossible to agree with Linant[134], "that the seams of limestone," (from 1½ to 2 feet thick, which form the natural stratum of the basin alternately with layers of clay,) "follow almost the slope of the surface." This observant and scientific traveller remarked at Fidimet, a village between Medinet and Biahmoo, a vertical section, 60 feet deep, of pure Nile mud.[135]

In the present surface of the nome, however, there is but a very slight slope observable (as will be seen hereafter more fully), so that the rocky ground on which the Nile mud is deposited, is very far from keeping pace with the surface of the cultivated soil. This circumstance therefore must be kept steadily in view, as we shall find it of the greatest importance in examining the character of the whole nome and of the works of Mœris.

The nome, then, is something like a muscle-shell. But what was its original geognostic condition? The holes in the ground prove that below the cultivated soil, which consists of Nile mud, there were strata of limestone from 1½ to 2 feet thick, alternately with clay.

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[134] Mémoire, p. 4.

[135] Rüppell in Zach, Astronom. Corresp. vol. vii. p. 245. I am indebted for the knowledge of this remarkable fact to Mr. Leonard Horner, whose thorough examination into the history of the inundations, and latterly into the geological formations of Egypt generally, in his remarks upon the measurements of the ancient rise of the Nile, have been alluded to above.

At Little Howara the rock is visible at the bottom of the canal, 15·39 Fr. feet below the present mud deposit. The present surface, as far as the western boundary of the ruins of Krokodilopolis (*Kom Faress*), maintains the same level northward to *El Edua*, southward to *Talut*. Here is the first step, the superficial area being 156 square miles. Beyond that line there is a very marked fall, and indeed, where the old dykes are preserved, a very sudden one. This continues as far as the second step, the boundaries of which to the north of Tamieh, past Sennoris, and southward to *Nesleh*, are also marked on the map. The cultivated surface of this second plain is some 6 feet below the rock of Little Howara, consequently 21½ feet below the cultivated surface of the first. This is an important and significant fact. At the extreme boundary of the second plain, the whole of which is covered with Nile mud, there is a regular but considerable fall in the ground. It consists of stones and sand, and is covered with the Nile mud in but very few places; every where else with gravel, and occasionally with muscles. This continues as far as Birket el Keroon (or Gorn), which is nearly on the level of the sea, and 61½ feet below the rock of Little Howara, consequently about 83 feet below the present surface. The greatest depth of the Lake is 12⅓ feet; it is about 33 miles long in a north-westerly direction, and has an average width of about 4 miles. Its circuit is estimated at from 75 to 80 miles. The water is not actually salt, but is rendered brackish by the pieces of rock salt which are washed down into it by the rain from the surrounding mountains on the west and north-west. It produces, nevertheless, several kinds of fish. Towards the northern point, and along its eastern coast down to Bisjeh (Ebisjiwo in Linant, Absjueh in Jomard), as stated by the latter, and confirmed to me personally by Wilkinson, the coasts are low and flat, and in many places lake muscles are found on the ground. Towards Kasr el Keroon and all along the west coast, the steepness of the rocks precludes us from supposing it extended further. The mummy holes and some trifling ruins prove that it could not have been very much higher in ancient times. It is true that the ground on which the temple of Kasr Keroon is situated is higher than would be absolutely necessary, supposing the lake to have extended considerably farther; yet the Arab baths are always placed close down upon the shore. There are two facts, however, which are decisive upon this controverted point — the one, that the lake is more than 80 feet below the soil of the upper step, which again is lower than the level of the Nile; the other, that no traces whatever of the inundation are found along the coast up to the second terrace. In order to bring the water so far, it would have been necessary to submerge the lower one entirely, and in order to get to the first to overflow the whole of the second; and, lastly, the latter, in order to attain the level of the Nile. If then it be proved that the Mœris lake could pour its waters back through the canal to the Nile (that is, at least to the main arm of the Bahr Jusef, which ran to Alexandria), the whole of our previous assumption must fall to the ground. Before proceeding, however, to analyze those statements, we must examine the remains of the old canal-and-dyke-system which can still be traced; as the irrigation of Egypt depends upon it at the present day, as it did in the olden times.

B.

THE CANAL-AND-DYKE SYSTEM IN THE FAYOOM.

In reviewing the results obtained from the previous inquiry, we ask how the extraordinary fact is to be accounted for that the cultivable soil at the first step is so disproportionately higher than the natural ground, as compared with the second; and how it happens that it falls off so suddenly? The most obvious explanation would be, that at some former period in the historical age a vast deposit of mud took place at that spot. This however would imply the existence there of a vast artificial lake, in which, for many centuries, the Nile water, which during the inundation ran into the canal, was collected and filtered, as occurs in tanks of ordinary aqueducts. Should the physical condition of the nome tend in any way further to confirm this natural supposition, the topographical statements in the classics which lead precisely to the same conclusion would be simply such as we are justified in expecting to find in them.

From the picture we have drawn of the country, it is established beyond all doubt, that prior to the creation of man the Fayoom was a sterile, hollow basin of limestone rock. Now if the Nile, in the ante-historical times of Egypt, burst through the rocky ravine at Illahoon (Ptolemais), as the existence of the ravine itself and the accumulation of mud in it attest, the whole of this basin must have been gradually converted into a lake. The effect of the subsequent natural processes would be, either that the lake would force a passage for itself, or find an outlet under-ground, or that the flood into it ceased when the present valley of the Nile was formed, and the western ravine was filled up by the accumulation of Nile mud. At this later stage of the course of Nature, the basin must gradually have been converted, by the constantly increasing evaporation, into a district of fens and morasses, the higher grounds alone of which stood out above the water. This, according to Linant, is almost literally "the popular tradition." It states that before the time of Joseph, the son of Jacob, the Fayoom was a sea; and that before it was put under cultivation, it served merely as an outlet for the Nile water, and was a morass. We have already remarked that the Coptic name of the country, which occurs as early as the fifth century, Piom (from whence came Fijum, Fajum), simply signifies "the sea." But the Egyptian inquiry needs no popular legend to reconcile the history of Nature and of Man. The Joseph's canal which had dammed off the Nile, at all events since the days of Menes, twelve miles above Memphis, and must have run nearly in its present bed, carries off at the present time something like the twenty-eighth part of the water which the Nile itself contains, and, as appears from Linant's repeated observations, its average depth at high water is about 30 feet, and breadth 160 feet, in its long course from Farschiut (below Diospolis Parva) to Illahoon, a distance of three degrees of latitude. Mœris, by making the lake, conveyed about half this body of water into the Libyan basin, in which, as we shall see more fully hereafter, there were cities and temples long before his time, and consequently an agricultural population, with springs (which have now entirely disappeared) or wells, which it is always easy to make where there are strata of clay under limestone.

It is clear that the main object of carrying this canal into the Fayoom was to improve the irrigation. If we consult the locality itself as to how this could be effected, and how it is managed at the present time, the first thing to be remarked is the extraordinary position of Illahoon, where the water falls through the three arches of the bridge into a canal about three feet below it. At Howara, where the basin commences, we have seen that the bottom of the canal is formed of the rock; but what proof is there that beyond Howara there are any ancient constructions at all? The deep hollows that have been worn in it would prove the very reverse. The *Bahr bela Ma* breaks through an old dam, by which irruption of water the *Bahr el Wadi* was formed. Jomard's account that in this district the canal runs on the high ground, the crest of the nome as it were, which slopes down abruptly from the water-course, certainly agrees with Jomard's statement, that the canal continues in its old bed as far as Medinet. It is so at the present day, but the only thing which could prove that to have been its ancient state, would be the finding the rocky bottom running concurrently along with it. The great fact of there being a layer of Nile mud, 60 feet thick, close below Medinet, on the same step, proves the reverse. We must therefore put the existing system of irrigation beyond Howara altogether out of the question. At present there are several small canals running north and south from that source, even on this side Medinet, and several more on the other side, which run to the westward, but yet not so far as the Birket el Keroon. There are no evidences of ancient constructions any where to be found in the whole upper step; indeed, on this side Medinet and Arsinoe there is not a single remain of an old town, only of four wretched villages.

In order to corroborate these views, we will examine a little more closely the two principal ravines. At Howara, where the two arms of the canal are connected by a bridge of ten arches, the water falls at the rising of the Nile into a ravine 21 feet deep, and nearly 300 feet wide, at other times now almost quite dry. Breaking through the old dam, it runs to the northward to Tamieh. There, as stated by Jomard, and confirmed to us by Wilkinson personally, remains of old dams and sluices are visible, which would prove nothing however as to its course on this side the old dam. Beyond Tamieh there is only one small canal, 18 feet wide, where it empties itself into the lake.[136] This ravine bears the name of *Bahr bela Ma*, "stream without water," one which is given to several beds of rivers and ravines in Egypt now dry. At the bottom palm trees grow, and on the sides there is nothing to be seen but deposits of mud. Jomard says that the original surface of the ravine, now covered with mud, was cut in the rock[137], but no details or measurements of the level are given. If then we agree with him that the *Bahr bela Ma* was an artificial canal, intended to carry the Nile water to the Birket el Keroon, we do so without proof. Linant denies it principally because there exist no traces of the ground having been dug out to make the walls. He supposes the ravine to have been formed by the water forcing its way into the loose friable earth. The circumstance, however, most in favour of this view, is the one above alluded to, that the *Bahr bela Ma* runs through an old dam, of which we shall shortly speak.

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[136] Jomard, Descr. t. vi., Mémoire sur le Lac Mœris, sect. ii. p. 162., seems to mean this.

On the other hand, he considers the *Bahr Wardani*, now dry, which turns to the northward a little sooner than the *Bahr bela Ma*, which likewise runs along the edge of the mountain chain to Tamieh, and which is mentioned by no writer but himself, to be an ancient work. Its walls are visible, first on the right, then on the left, as far as Tamieh. As this canal was of no particular importance for his object, Linant unfortunately has given no details respecting it. Here again is an hiatus in the inquiry and description yet to be filled up. The excavation of its ancient bed, especially at the commencement, and of that of the *Bahr bela Ma* also, as yet not thoroughly surveyed, will form one of the most important points for the observation of future travellers who study the question.

The *Bahr Wardani* therefore would be the only one that could be considered an old canal of Mœris', supposing the Birket el Gorn to be his lake. Lepsius's discoveries, however, have entirely set at rest such a supposition. It is this same *Bahr Wardani* which runs through the centre of the ruins of the Labyrinth, so that that edifice must have been previously destroyed.

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[137] Jomard, Descr. vol. iv., Description du Nome Arsinoite, p. 453.

Further on again it evidently forces itself through the walls of the vast and very ancient northern dam, of which we shall speak forthwith. The only part, therefore, which can be ancient is that beyond the old northern dam, from whence it runs to Tamieh, as remains of the earth walls still exist on the left bank. Such of the mounds of earth therefore as are not Nile mud, occasionally met with in the upper course from Howara to the old northern wall on the right bank, must be considered modern works, that is, thrown up in the times of the Arabs. At Miniet el Heit, about ten miles to the south-west of the turning point, Howara, another ravine commences similar to, but much broader than, the *Bahr bela Ma*, according to Jomard 600 feet wide, and at Nesleh 1200. It runs in a south-western direction towards the lake, and where it enters within its steep banks has dwindled into an insignificant brook.[138] It is called the *Bahr el Wadi*, "the stream of the plain," or *Bahr el Nesleh*. Linant supposes it to have been likewise formed by the water forcing itself into the ground. It seems, however, from Wilkinson's Diary, which he was good enough to show us, that the under strata of both banks are limestone. He made a careful measurement of the distance, from point to point of the rock, which is 673 feet; but, as in the other case, the level is not stated. Southward, towards Kasr Keroon, lakewards, Linant found an *old canal*, the walls of which run through the Desert, but its bed can only be traced for a short distance. Like the Bahr el Wadi, it can have had no direct communication with the principal canal, the Bahr Jusef.

The irrigation of the nome at the present day certainly requires therefore two appliances, canals and dams, as it did in the ancient times; but there is no lake. Such vestiges as are now traceable of these works can no more be shown to have any connexion with the

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[138] Jomard, Mémoire, vol. vi., ut supra, p. 162.

Bahr Jusef, than can the enormous mounds of mud on the upper step of the nome be accounted for as having been dug out of it, or as being an ante-historical deposit.

Now, if we examine more carefully the system of irrigation of which the *Bahr Jusef* formed a part, and ask ourselves the question what must have been the consequence supposing an artificial lake to have been dug on the upper plateau as a reservoir; the answer will be that one of two things must have occurred; either the canal must have been carried directly into the lake, in which case the country was irrigated directly from the lake; or else one arm of the canal emptied itself into the canal, while the remainder, as an independent canal, connected with the Nile, performed a part of the irrigation. If space enough should be found for such a lake, the canal can only have watered one side of the basin.

The first supposition, however, is the natural one, and as yet we have heard no solid argument in favour of the second. By this means the whole canal system in the basin was altered. The lake supplied its place; but it also might require dams. The advantage of dams in the present system is, to retain at its present height the water which would otherwise escape, sufficiently long to allow the Nile mud to be deposited and to fertilize the land. The irrigation of the low-lands of Egypt is still effected by perforating the dams. In the old system, however, large dams could only be required for the lake itself. Here Linant's first discovery was made.

C.

THE OLD DAMS NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE UPPER STEP.

Jomard and his colleagues had already noticed several large dyke-works. In addition to those at the entrance of the rocky ravine—in Linant the line of Ged-alla and Pillawan—and those at Tamieh, already mentioned, they observed more especially some at Abukesh (Abugansjo) on the Bahr el Wadi. A dam also, which runs from north to south, to the southward of Medinet, was remarked by Linant. His first discovery, however, was the existence of vast old lines of dykes on the northern and southern frontier of the upper step, which had heretofore been considered natural objects, and, consequently, were not noticed. As this led directly to the discovery of the old lake, we subjoin the interesting description of that happy inspiration in the author's own words.

"On my road from *Zawiet-el-Maslub*, along the Nile, to *Medinet el Fajum*, I loitered in the ravine of the *Bahr bela Ma* at the village of *Selle*, and enjoyed a gratification very rare in those countries, that of sitting down on fresh turf by the edge of a running stream. I observed about me the steep slopes of the *Bahr bela Ma*, and noticed on the upper part of it, under layers of stone and earth, the transverse sections of a hill on both sides of the ravine. These two cuttings were perpendicular to the direction of the road, which I recollected went on in a straight line to a height which sloped off much more rapidly on the north than on the south side. In order to follow up the idea which then crossed me, I instantly ascended the slopes of the ravine, and soon found myself on the high ground on the road to *Zawiet*. I then saw that this high ground was a vast dam thrown up artificially, which was carried straight on from *El-edua* to a point to the east of the ruins on the bank of the *Bahr Wardani*. Its size and general condition, formed of a little earth and a good deal of gravel and gravelly sand, suggested the idea of its being a very ancient work, and of its probable connexion with the Lake of Mœris. In order to verify this supposition I traced it along from one of the eastern points, where it commenced. It runs straight from the supposed ruins to *El-edua*[139], and from thence with a slight turn to *El-ellam.*[140] The ground to the southward is about 6 French feet lower than it; that to the northward, from 24 to 27. It is difficult to make an accurate measurement of its width, because the slope, to the northward, is very gentle, but it may be estimated at 180 French feet.

"At the village of *El-ellam* this remarkable work ceases altogether. It was doubtless carried away by the force of the water in early times. I discovered it again, however, to the north-west of *Biahmu*, to the west of the pyramidal-looking remains, which have been taken for pedestals of statues. Although it has been broken down in several places in modern times, I traced it at *Zawiet* towards the ruins of Krokodilopolis, and further on to the south-east of *Medinet*, and concluded it must pass from thence by *Ebgig* to *Attamneh*. It reappeared, and indeed, very well built, at *Miniet el Heit*, where it encloses the head of the *Bahr Nesleh;* from thence it passes by *Sjidima* nearly to the lake *Gerag.*[141], where it finishes in the desert.[142] I measured it near *Bahr el Nesleh*, where I found it about 30 feet wide, sloping down very rapidly, and with a great many piers along the stream. Its height is 37 French feet. Here I observed considerable remains of dykes and bridges, which had been destroyed in very early times and rebuilt on the same spot. Tradition ascribes the dam to the Pharaohs.

"Let us suppose a line to be drawn from the commencement of the dam south-east of *Selle*, through the places above mentioned, as far as lake *Gerag*, and from thence northward by *Schek Ahmed* (where there are traces of water on the skirt of the desert at a height to which it no longer reaches), to *Kalamsha* and *Deir*, and eastward up to the dams of *Pilawan* and *Geddala*, and back again westward to *Awarat-el-Makta*, returning by *Demmo* to the starting point at *Selle*. THE WHOLE DISTRICT COMPRISED WITHIN THIS LINE FORMS, IN MY OPINION, THE SITE OF LAKE MŒRIS."

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[139] 22,800 French feet.

[140] 13,200 French feet.

[141] 32,400 French feet.

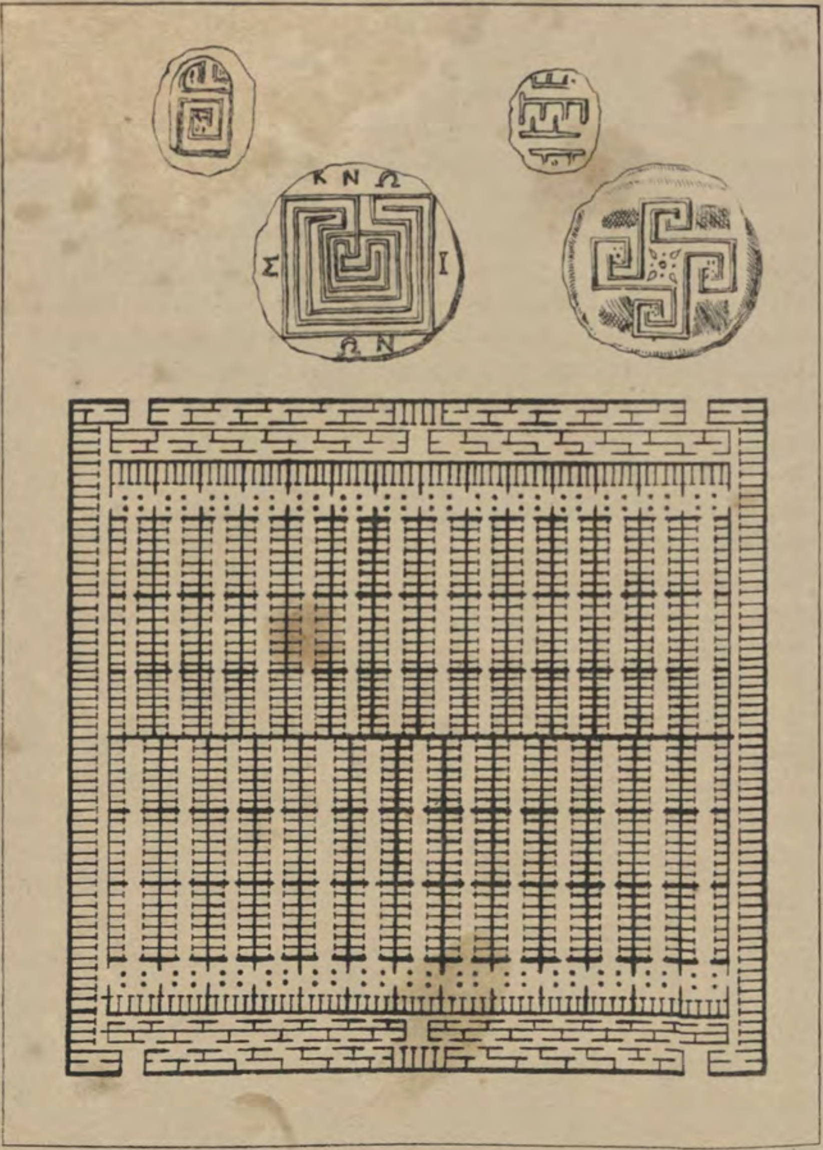
[142] This latter part of the dam is also marked on the French map.

A correct conception of the locality, and confidence in its correctness, thus led to the whole discovery. There is the lake, and the question as to how much of it was artificial, what was its depth, and even its boundaries, is still an open one. Insuperable difficulties meet us on all these points if we adopt Linant's views. We will take them separately. As regards its boundaries, he has only traced a part of them. On the eastern and southern sides it was bounded by the chain of the Libyan mountains. The two dams join on to it. The northern runs above eight miles in a straight line from east to west, but unquestionably stops at El Ellam. It is true that there are some heights, having the appearance of dams at Biahmoo, in the same direction, from east to west, but no communication whatever could be traced between them and a continuous line of dams either on one side or the other: all vestiges of them cease at Medinet. Lepsius noticed some remains of dams, but they seemed not to include Biahmoo. A wall running on the southern side also, in a direct line seven miles and a half to the northward unquestionably stops at *Miniet el Heit*. The line of communication between them is consequently uncertain. From Linant's comparison of the circuit of the lake and the present direction of the upper step, Krokodilopolis, the capital, would have become an island in the lake. It is true that, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, it was situated *on* the lake (see the word Krokodilopolis); and Strabo's story of the tame crocodile kept in the temple there shows that this is to be understood in the most literal sense. Still no writer has mentioned a circumstance so extraordinary as this, that so vast and extensive a city stood *in* the lake. We shall see, on the contrary, that Herodotus unquestionably states that there were two colossi at Biahmoo surrounded by water. May not the lake have extended to the city — that is, to its suburbs — on the eastern side only, and merely a little corner of it have run as far as Biahmoo? The deposit of 60 feet of Nile mud in the neighbourhood would warn us against forming a decided opinion.

The line of the southern dam also presents several features deserving of notice. At Talut it leaves the ruins of an ancient place to the left, and consequently (an important fact in considering the site of the lake) outside it. Between Shidimo and Miniet el Heit, however, it is now intersected in two places by a ravine which forms immediately behind it the wide *Bahr el Wadi* or *el Nesleh.*

No one, who has followed us thus far in our inquiries, can fail to perceive the necessity of the communication which we have supposed to exist between this ravine and one of the two or both the northern dams. The commencement of the *Bahr el Wadi*, which seemed in some places to betray an artificial character, points to a connexion with the sluices by which the south-westerly slope was irrigated. The *Bahr Wardani* originally commenced at the northern sluices, and irrigated the northern slope. The earth-walls along the left bank prove the antiquity of this portion of it. The mounds on the right bank, on the earlier track, may, it is true, have been erected by the Arabs, who found it convenient to have a conduit for the water when the inundation was high, and for that purpose cut a trench through the ruins of the Labyrinth in front of the bridge of Howara. The *Bahr bela Ma*, however, is certainly more favourably situated for the irrigation of the nome; and, as already remarked,

Plate XXI *to face P. 319*



Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

THE LABYRINTH

Idea of its restoration according to the ancient authors, some coins and amulets.

Wilkinson and others have imagined that they could trace old sluices at Tamieh, where the ravine ceases.

There is nothing, therefore, either in the natural features or in the remains of works of a very early date, which militates against the supposition of a vast lake having been formed at the first step of the nome. On the contrary, it would seem that everything can be explained upon that assumption, and upon no other. The whole plan is in accordance with nature, and skilfully designed. On the eastern side, to the north and south of the ravine of Illahoon, the lake turned towards the Libyan mountains, which surround the whole basin of the nome. On this side, therefore, there clearly could be nothing artificial but a facing against the ravine, and that only at its very mouth. Here, on the site of the old city, the port of Ptolemais, there are walls still visible on both sides, connected by a bridge. The level plateau of the Labyrinth, therefore, with its projecting pyramid, came close down to the lake. Those who wished to visit that wonderful building disembarked there; those who did not, sailed past it to Krokodilopolis on the opposite side of the lake. The canal, therefore, was merely the neck of the lake sloping gradually down.

If, then, the statements of trustworthy ancient eyewitnesses and inquirers do not necessarily imply the contrary, we must assume:

That the Joseph's Canal which empties itself into the Libyan basin was the entrance to the Lake of Mœris.

That the lake, on entering the broad basin of the nome, to the eastward, right and left of the entrance, turned towards the limestone walls of the Libyan chain.

That its northern boundary was the old dam of El-edua, its southern the mountain chain, and its western an artificial dam, also connected with that chain of mountains, of which dam, however, no portion exists beyond Miniet el Heit. This line, at all events, was connected with the upper one, which now disappears at El-Ellam, in such a manner as that Krokodilopolis (Arsinoe) lay outside it. A corner of the lake, however, probably ran up to the westward as far as or beyond Biahmoo.

D.

THE STATEMENTS OF THE CLASSICS AS TO THE POSITION OF THE LAKE OF MŒRIS.

I. Astronomical Definitions. Ptolemy.

The definitions given by Ptolemy, in his Geography of Egypt, as to the geographical position of the Lake of Mœris, are obviously in themselves the most appropriate for settling the controversy whether it is the Lake of Linant or the Birket el Keroon. Claudius Ptolemy of Pelusium inherited all the geographical science of the school of Alexandria, in which city he lived. Unfortunately, however, the text of that invaluable record has hitherto been doubtful, in spite of Letronne's brilliant services, especially as regards the latitude and longitude; it is, indeed, in many cases, corrupt. The excellent German edition, not yet completed, is the first which furnishes us with a critical resting place. We will therefore endeavour to compare those notices in his geography which are most important for our purpose, with the survey of this portion of Egypt made by the French scholars, which may be thoroughly depended on. According to them,

	Lat.	Long.
The centre of the Birket el Keroon is in - -	29° 40′	28° 21′
,, Linant's Lake of Mœris	29° 22′	28° 33′
,, Ptolemais (Illahoon)	29° 15′	28° 50′
,, Memphis (Mitraheni)	29° 51′	28° 59′

The authentic text of Ptolemy[143], on the contrary, gives:

	Lat.	Long.
Lake of Mœris - - -	29° 20′	60° 20′
Ptolemais - - -	29° 20′	61° 40′
Memphis - - -	29° 50′	61° 50′

Besides these, he enters the following places as situated on the Mœris lake:

Bacchis - - -	29° 40′	60° 30′
Dionysias - - -	29° 0′	60° 30′

In the *Notitia Imperii*, Dionysias is entered quite by itself, which would seem to imply that it was a detached military post to protect the frontier against the Libyan nomades.

II. GEOGRAPHICAL NOTICES IN PLINY.

In Pliny's Natural History we find two statements. He says in the Fifth Book[144] that, "between the Arsinoite and Memphite nomes there was an artificial lake, called, after the King who made it, the Lake of Mœris . . . . . From thence to Memphis is 73 miles." It were equally correct to say, that the Memphite nome is its boundary, as the Herakleopolitan. Pliny prefers the former, because they both lie on the Libyan side, and Memphis was convenient for marking the site of the lake. Now, regarding the question of boundary, he most certainly could not say of the Birket el Keroon, that it lies between the Memphite and Arsinoite nomes. There neither was nor is any road from Memphis to the Arsinoite nome, except the one by the Joseph's Canal, which leads to Ptolemais, the mouth of Linant's lake. The description, however, harmonizes perfectly with the only conclusion which, in a geographical point of view, seems to be tenable. Before entering the nome the traveller came upon the lake. The distance again tallied exactly, if measured along that road. By it the distance from Linant's lake to Memphis is precisely that given by Pliny, as indeed it is that of the *Itinerarium Antonini.* Pliny's second statement is in the 36th Book[145], in the passage where he treats at length of the Egyptian monuments. He there says, after mentioning the Pyramid of the Labyrinth, and two others in the Memphite nome, "A like number (namely two) where the Lake of Mœris was, that is, a very large trench." We shall have to deal with this passage hereafter, and will only here remark that these two pyramids are the same mentioned by Herodotus, who says, that they stood in the Lake of Mœris, and projected up out of the water. No others but the ruins of Biahmoo, close to those of Arsinoe, answer this description; and it appears from our geographical analysis that the waters of the Birket el Keroon cannot by possibility have reached to the second step, to say nothing of their reaching so far as this, that is to say, the first. Again, supposing that even the dried-up lake did not extend so far as those ruins (which Linant supposes), at the inundation, at all events, its waters would have been carried to that point, and then have been dammed up to fertilize this extreme boundary of the first plateau.

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[143] Ptolemæi Geographiæ libri viii. ed. Wilberg and Grashof, Essendiæ, 4to, 1838—1845, lib. iv. c. 5.

[144] cix. sect. 49. See Appendix of Authorities, p. 701.

E.

THE NOTICES OF THE CLASSICS ABOUT THE LAKE OF MŒRIS GENERALLY, GIVEN IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

I. Herodotus's Description of the Lake of Mœris.

(About 450 B. C.)

After Herodotus had described the Labyrinth as a work surpassing that of the Pyramids, he thus proceeds (II. 149.): "Such, then, is the Labyrinth, but a still greater wonder is the so-called Lake of Mœris, near which the Labyrinth stands. It is 3600 stadia or 60 schœni in circumference, precisely the same consequently as the length of Egypt along the sea. It runs *north and south*, and its deepest point is 50 fathoms deep. The fact of its being artificial, and its having been excavated, is self-evident; for almost at its very centre stand two pyramids, each 30 fathoms out of the water, and the same depth under it. On each of them is a stone colossus seated on a throne. The pyramids are thus 100 fathoms in height, making exactly a stadium of (600 feet) 6 plethra, for the fathom is 6 feet or 4 cubits, a foot being 4 palms and the cubit 6. The water of the lake is not produced there, for at that spot there is a remarkable want of water; but it is conveyed from the Nile by a *canal*, and runs six months into the lake and six months out of it back to the Nile. During the six months when it runs out, the lake pays a revenue of a talent of silver daily to the Royal treasury from the sale of the fish; but when the water runs into it, twenty minæ. The natives stated also that the lake runs under ground into the Libyan Syrtis, *after turning to the westward, inland, along the mountains to the south of Memphis.* Being unable to find any traces of the earth which was dug out in making this trench — and I looked very carefully after it — I asked the persons who lived nearest to the lake what had become of it, and they told me where it had been carried to (namely, to the Nile), which I had no difficulty in believing." (He then states that he heard a similar story at Nineveh.) "In this way, they said, the lake was excavated."

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[145] xii. 76. See Appendix of Authorities, p. 696.

We explain this statement, which has been so much canvassed, by what we know of the local circumstances. A lake 450 miles in circumference, which is indisputably his calculation[146], is an impossibility — this is, at the utmost, the whole circuit of the basin. What then becomes of the nome? It is true he may have seen it at the time of the inundation, and the measurement given to him may have comprised the Birket el Keroon and the Joseph's Canal from Ptolemais, which were united when the canals were full. If Herodotus was informed that the lake turned to the west and ran along the foot of the Libyan chain which took a southerly direction from Memphis, and then emptied itself into the Syrtis; by examining the map we shall find that this meant that it ran south-west through a vast canal (the Bahr el Wadi) into the *Birket el Keroon*, and by means of this subterranean lake (according to a very general notion among the ancients) was connected with the Syrtis, and by it with the Mediterranean.

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[146] It may perhaps not be superfluous to state again, what has

The expression "*the canal*" (ἡ διῶρυξ), here, as in Strabo, is the name of the arm of the Joseph Canal which ran by Ptolemais into the Libyan basin. "The *Nile*" here means, as it does in Strabo, the entire *Bahr Jusef*, which just at this point has a double communication with the main arm of the river (to the north and south of Benisuef).

In regard to the depth of the lake, the 30 fathoms in the deepest part, as Mannert correctly observed, is merely a conclusion from what Herodotus was told as to the height of the two pyramids below the water being the same as that above. This is perfectly clear from the manner in which he directly connects the two statements. The pediments of the two colossi exist at this moment at Biahmoo, and stood in the water when the lake still existed.

The statement as to the revenue derived from the

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been already intimated, that the classics only use one stadium, of $\frac{1}{8}$th of a mile, or 625 Roman feet=600 Greek, i.e. 6 plethra. Ukert's refutation of the modern discovery of a large and small stadium (in the first volume of his excellent geographical work) ought to have set that point at rest once for all.

fishery is very credible, and shows how accurately he reported what he heard. It might easily furnish three times as large a revenue when the water was discharged out of the lake back into the canal, as it did when on the inundation of the Nile it was poured into the lake.

The fact, lastly, of Herodotus having seen no earth is much more important than the explanation which he so readily accepted of it. He saw the lake from the plateau of the pyramid of the Labyrinth and from the pyramid itself, with Krokodilopolis, the capital, in front of it. The banks which he saw were the Libyan mountains; on his right was the northern dam, and in front of him, at a distance of ten miles, the walls of Krokodilopolis. His account needs explanation in order to show that it can be reconciled with the locality, but is perfectly absurd unless we adopt Linant's views. The remarks again with which his description is introduced, are in themselves evidence against the *Birket el Keroon* and in favour of Linant's lake. They are these: *first*, that the lake is artificial, and is so evidently from its appearance; *secondly*, that it is connected with the Nile by "*the canal*," and discharges the water back into the Nile; *thirdly*, that it contains nothing but Nile water; and *fourthly*, that its direction is from north to south.

II. DIODORUS'S DESCRIPTION OF THE LAKE OF MŒRIS.
(About 6 B.C.)

In examining Diodorus's statement, it is most important never to lose sight of the fact, that he had before his eyes and in his mind Herodotus's description of the lake, and worked up with it what he had read in Alexandrian writers, or even perhaps what he may himself have seen.

In the passage in the First Book when, speaking of Mœris, he says: "He cut a canal from the river to the lake, 80 stadia (10 miles) long and 3 plethra (300 feet) wide. Through it he sometimes let in the river, sometimes let it off, thus supplying the cultivators of the soil with water at the right time, the mouth of it being opened and shut artificially and at a great cost; for the outlay required to open and shut these sluices could not have been less than 50 talents. *The benefit the lake confers on the Egyptians is manifest down to our own times;* and it is still called after the person who made it, the lake of Mœris (Myris)."

He concludes by mentioning that Mœris gave the revenue arising from the fisheries—a talent per day—to his wife for pin-money, that the lake contained twenty-two sorts of fish, and that the quantities were so great that the persons employed to cure them were scarcely able to find room for them in the drying establishments prepared for that purpose.

The 80 stadia are probably only an exaggeration of the length of the canal from Illahoon to Howara, which is 50 stadia. Diodorus clearly thought that the only part of it made by Mœris, that is, the artificial part, was the canal and two sluices. This naturally does not exclude, any more than Strabo's account does, all the works and constructions by means of which, according to our views, the swamp which had been formed in the basin was drained, and the basin itself on the north and west sides was completed or at least better secured by dams. Had the lake been wholly a natural one, it would necessarily be in existence at the present time; if wholly artificial (as is supposed by most of the classic writers), it would have required superhuman powers, unceasing labour for a long period of years, and inexhaustible wealth; whereas, on the contrary, the Empire came to an end in less than a century afterwards. We shall shortly find, however, that the lake had ceased to exist in the time of the Flavii, that is, had become dry, doubtless owing to the dykes having given way. Diodorus has, however, in another passage given definite proof as to the site of the lake (I. 66.), in speaking of the additional building made by the Dodecarchs to the Labyrinth. "They chose a place," he says, "near the inlet (εἴνπλους) into the Lake of Mœris." This description can mean only one thing, if we consider the entrance of the great canal into the lake.

III. Strabo's Description of the Lake of Mœris.

(About A. D. 17.)

Strabo's notices of the Lake of Mœris and his description of it are much more detailed and important. He mentions it in the First Book [147], together with the Oasis of Ammon and the Paraætonium, in proof of his assertion that the sea had receded in many places.

He there describes the bank of the lake as exactly like the sea. He says the same in another passage which we shall shortly notice more closely. It is true that this is a proof he considered the Mœris lake a natural one, but for that reason he did not consider it to be the *Birket el Keroon*. If we compare his description of the lake with the context, we shall find that it is the only passage in which he mentions the Egyptian nomes where he enters into detail, and that it is evidently a labour of love.

After having treated of Memphis and its Pyramids, he ascends the Nile, and mentions Acanthus on the Libyan and the nome of Aphroditopolis on the Arabian side. He then proceeds thus: "Then comes the Herakleotic Nome in a large island to which *the canal* runs up, on the right towards Libya and the Arsinoite Nome, so that it has two mouths, and a portion of the island comes in between them,"[148] (viz., between the canal which runs down to the lake and the main arm of the Bahr Jusef, as is shown on the map).

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[147] I. 3. § 50.: ὡς δ' αὔτως καὶ τῆς Ἁλμυρίδος (read Μοίριδος) λίμνης τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς θαλάττης μᾶλλον ἢ ποταμοῦ προσεοικέναι. Casaubon saw that this passage related to the Lake of Mœris, and compared it with the corresponding one in the 17th book (chap. i.) Θαυμαστὴν δὲ καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔχει (ὁ Ἀρσινοΐτης νομὸς) τὴν Μοίριδος καλουμένην, πελαγίαν τῷ μεγέθει, &c. (see note 83), where there is the like comparison with the Oasis of Ammon and the Paraætonium. It required such utter want of judgment as Falkner and Tzschucke possessed to restore the old nonsense. Ἁλμυρίδος got into the text, like so many other blunders, by an alteration for the worse from the word which had been used shortly before.

With this passage we must connect another in the general introduction to the Seventeenth Book, where he describes the system of irrigation adopted in the country above the Delta. "The river" (as he calls it there) "runs in a straight line, except where there are *islands*, the most celebrated of which is the one which forms the nome of Herakleotis; or where there is *a bend* outwards, for the most part through *a canal* which leads to a *large lake*, and to a province requiring irrigation. The canal which waters the Arsinoite Nome, and supplies the Lake of Mœris, belongs to it, and the canals which run into the Mareotic Lake."[149]

Here again the Lake of Mœris is compared with another natural inland lake, and the object of our canal is stated precisely as we have given it in our translation of this difficult passage.

Strabo proceeds with his description of the Fayoom in the following manner: —

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[148] *Μετὰ δὲ Μέμφιν Ἄκανθος πόλις ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἱεροῦ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀκάνθης ἄλσος τῆς Θηϐαϊκῆς ἐξ ἧς τὸ κόμμι. Εἶθ' ὁ Ἀφροδιτοπολίτης νομὸς καὶ ἡ ὁμώνυμος πόλις ἐν τῇ Ἀραϐίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ λευκὴ βοῦς ἱερὰ τρέφεται. Εἶθ' ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ μεγάλῃ, καθ' ἣν ἡ διώρυξ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, εἰς τὴν Λιϐύην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρσινοίτην νόμον, ὥστε καὶ δίστομον εἶναι τὴν διώρυγα μεταξὺ μέρους τινὸς τῆς νήσου παρεμπίπτοντος.* A passage in an earlier part of the same book, which we give in the succeeding note, is an argument in its favour. It may be said, it is true, that upon the whole the Bahr Jusef is in Libya only, that is to the west of the Nile, as Strabo states in the passage in question. The expression is not very well chosen; and it is possible that he wrote thus: *Εἶθ' ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ μεγάλῃ, καθ' ἣν ἡ διώρυξ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰς τὴν* ΛΙΜΝΗΝ *ἐπί* ΤΕ *τὴν Ἀρσινοΐτην νομόν, ὥστε καὶ δίστομον εἶναι τὴν διώρυγα, μεταξὺ μέρους τινὸς* ΤΗΣ *νήσου παρεμπίπτοντος.*

[149] *ἢ εἴπου τις ἐκτροπὴ διώρυγι ἐπὶ πλέον εἰς λίμνην μεγάλην καὶ χώραν ἣν ποτίζειν δύναται· καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς τὸν Ἀρσινοΐτην νομὸν ποιούσης* (read *ποτιζούσης*) *καὶ τὴν Μοίριδος λίμνην, καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν Μαρεῶτιν ἀνακεομένων.*

"This nome is the most remarkable of all, both from its natural beauty and fertility, and the magnificence of its artificial works. It is the only one fit for the cultivation of the olive, and its oil-bearing trees are large and very productive. If proper care were taken, good oil indeed might be made from them; but this has been neglected, and, although large quantities are made, the quality is inferior. They are not planted in any other parts of Egypt; in the gardens at Alexandria there certainly are some, but the olives yield no oil. Neither does the nome produce wine, but wheat, pulse, and other kinds of grain in large quantities. It contains, likewise, the so-called Lake of Mœris, large as a sea, and of the same colour, and its banks look like sea-shores. We may therefore make the same conjecture about this district as has been done about that in the neighbourhood of the Ammonium. The two places, indeed, are not so distant from each other and the Paraetonium, to preclude us from supposing that as there seem so many indications of the temple in the former having once stood on the edge of the lake, so the latter district was once adjacent to the sea. Perhaps Lower Egypt and the country as far as the Lake of Serbonitis was once a sea, which communicated with the Red Sea at Heroopolis and the Gulf of Elanitis. More has been said on this subject in the First Book of the Geography, and we will now discuss the point by placing in juxtaposition what is the work of nature, and what of forethought." (This is followed by a philosophical inquiry into the proportion and uses of land and water, and the obvious changes that have taken place between them.) He then continues: "The Lake of Mœris, from its size and depth, is adapted in the first place for keeping back the inundation at the rising of the Nile, and for preventing it from overflowing the inhabited and cultivated parts of the country. Secondly, it answers the purpose of restoring the superfluous water to the same canal, on the subsidence of the inundation, *through one of the two mouths*[150], while it still retains enough for the purpose of irrigation, both it and the canal (the arm of the Bahr Jusef and through it this entire river).

"*Now this is the work of Nature. But at both mouths of the canal there are sluices*, by means of which the engineers regulate the admission and discharge of the water. Besides this there is *here* the splendid edifice of the Labyrinth, a work which may be compared with the Pyramids, and the tomb of the King who built it adjoining it. If you proceed on from the *first place of embarkation, namely the entrance of the canal*, some 30 or 40 stadia (4 or 5 miles), you see the flat table-land on which there is a village and a palace consisting of many palaces." (Then comes the description of the Labyrinth.) "*But if you sail past the latter point*, and go a hundred stadia further on, you come to the city of Arsinoe, formerly called Krokodilopolis." (He then gives a description of a tank where the sacred crocodile was kept which the priests had tamed.) "Towards the Arsinoite nome, on the frontier of the Herakleotic, lies Herakleopolis, where the ichneumon is worshipped in opposition to the inhabitants of Arsinoe, who worship the crocodile. This is the reason why their *canal is full of crocodiles, and the Lake of Mœris likewise.* . . ."

We can here follow Strabo step by step, as soon as we have come to an understanding as to the meaning of the expression "the canal" (ἡ διώρυξ), which is so often repeated. We may at once either understand by it the whole undivided Bahr Jusef, that is, the western arm of the Nile, or the arm which runs into the Libyan basin, which at Illahoon empties itself into the ravine, and at Howara into the lake. It is true that in the passage upon the course of the Nile in Egypt "canals" are mentioned in the general sense, and indeed as falling into the Mareotic Lake. But "*the canal*" is spoken of as feeding the Lake of Mœris; one arm, consequently, is meant. In Herodotus "the canal" is also mentioned, evidently meaning the canal which ran into the rocky ravine, *not* the whole Bahr Jusef itself. The latter, indeed, is called throughout "the river," "the Nile," as in reality it is the Nile, as much as any of the seven old mouths.

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[150] Since the time of Xylander, this has always, most unaccountably, been rendered "through the two mouths." What goes before has also been understood as if Strabo said that the lake discharges the water back through the same canal (i. e. the Nile). This in fact is the origin of numerous mistakes. We have given the passage in the Appendix of Authorities, together with the corrected text of the passage about the Labyrinth.

Wherever, therefore, mention is made, either at the commencement or the close of the above-cited passage, of "a double mouth," or "one of the two mouths," or "the two mouths," they are invariably called mouths of *the* canal, and consequently of the arm which falls into the rocky ravine. These mouths, therefore, are those out of the canal into the lake, at Howara, and these out of the lake into the canal, at Illahoon. Through the former the Nile water was discharged, through the latter the lake water. The mouth at Ptolemais (Illahoon), however, was also the place of embarkation for travellers coming from the Nile or the Bahr Jusef, who intended to go to the lake and Krokodilopolis. According to Strabo, there were sluices at both mouths of the canal. It is self evident that there must have been such at Howara, at the outlet of the canal into the basin of the lake. We have already noticed the old sluice works for letting off the lake water towards the valley of the Nile at Illahoon, in connexion with the dykes of Gedalla and Pillawan.

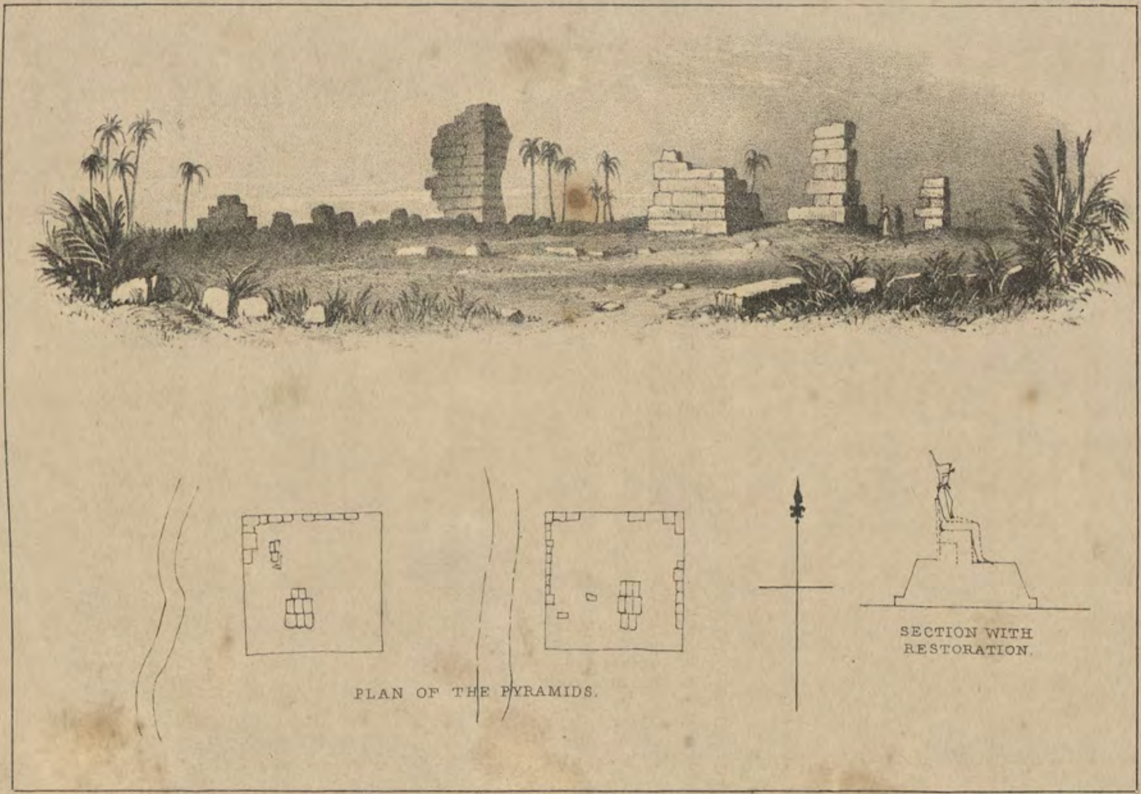
As this is, philologically speaking, the most simple way of explaining the passage, so also is it the only one which is reconcileable with Strabo's account of his travels, as shown on our map. He embarks on the canal at Illahoon. From thence to Howara, according to Linant, is 6⅓ miles (50 stadia), somewhat more, consequently, than Strabo makes it, who clearly is not very accurate about distances. From thence to the ruins of Arsinoe, in a straight line, is about 10 miles (80 stadia), but the reason why Strabo makes this second distance a little longer, is evidently because he had made the first somewhat too short. 35 + 100 stadia make about 17 miles. 6⅓ + 10 miles is the geographical distance on our map, making together 16⅓ miles.

It is unnecessary, therefore, to say more to prove the impossibility of understanding, by Strabo's description of the lake, the Birket el Keroon. It cannot be denied that he differs from Herodotus in one important point, namely, the origin of the lake. Herodotus considered it an artificial one; Strabo, with the exception of the sluices, believed it an entirely natural one. Herodotus had obviously viewed it in a critical light. Where are the mounds of earth, he asked, which must have been formed from the excavation of so vast a lake? A remark made to him at Nineveh induced him to credit the popular story, that it was carried away by the Nile. It may be, however, possible that the Nile did wash away the old lake mud, which formed morasses and pools in the smaller basin, when it flowed in through the two canals which led to the Birket el Keroon.

Strabo does not mention its depth, but his remark as to the colour of the water being like that of the sea and that its banks were like sea-shores, clearly indicates that it was deep, and that its waves ran high. This is a circumstance which must have great weight with us against adopting the views of Herodotus. The gigantic work would thus become a pure romance.

Plate XIX.

to face P. 352.


PLAN OF THE PYRAMIDS.
SECTION WITH RESTORATION.

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers.

PYRAMIDS OF BIAHMOO.
PLAN, SECTION, AND VIEW.

IV. POMPONIUS MELA.

(In the reign of Claudius, about 50 B. C.)

This Roman geographer gives but a very brief account of the Lake of Mœris. He says (I. 9.) that it was 20 miles in circumference, and its site formerly a field. He clearly means the lake and not the canal, though the 20 miles do not suit the one any better than the other, and the passage is evidently corrupt. The slight notice he takes of its situation precludes, in the first place, his alluding to the Birket el Keroon, but it leaves us in doubt as to whether he supposed it to have once been a common cultivated field, or a marsh. At all events he speaks of it as in existence in his time.

V. PLINY THE ELDER'S ACCOUNT OF THE LAKE.

(His Natural History was finished A. D. 77.)

Pliny twice mentions the Lake of Mœris, as above noticed, in his geographical survey of the earth, in the Fifth Book (9. 6.), where he gives a meagre extract of the tradition of Herodotus, adding that the distance from Memphis was 73 miles. Its circumference, he says, was 450 miles, according to Mucianus, and its depth 50 paces (250 feet), each of which are only a Roman version of 3600 stadia and 50 fathoms (360 Greek feet). He gives also another measurement of 250 miles, without quoting his authorities.

In the second passage (in the 36th Book), he says it was nothing but a vast *trench*. This is the same view as we have found entertained by Diodorus: nothing about the lake is artificial but the canal and sluices, which were made by a King called Mœris.

In both passages, Pliny says of the Lake, *it was.*

VI. THE NOTICES OF CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY.

(About A. D. 150, in the reign of Antoninus.)

We have already cited the remarks of the Father of Modern Geography upon the position of the Lake. The only result arising from it as regards our present inquiry is, that it was in existence in his time. This fact is confirmed by a later writer of the age of the Antonines.

VII. ARISTIDES RHETOR.

(From 153 to 170, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.)

Aristides, at the beginning of his letter on the causes of the swelling of the Nile[151], boasts that he had travelled through Egypt four times, and paid especial attention to the canals, and read everything that had been written on the memorabilia of Egypt. In the course of the inquiry, he says[152] that all the lakes of Egypt are connected with the river by canals, and are affected by the rising of the Nile, and then cites, especially, the Lake of Mœris.

It follows from this, in the first place, that the lake existed then; and secondly, that he, like Strabo, did not distinguish it from other natural lakes.

Such are the accounts transmitted to us by the classics in their chronological order. We have no notices upon it in the later times of the Roman Empire, nor do we find anything in the Arabic historians and geographers.

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[151] *Αἴγυπτος*, in Aristidis, opp. Ed. Dindorf., vol. ii. p. 437.

[152] P. 467. *οὐκοῦν αἱ μὲν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν Αἴγυπτον λίμναι οὐκ ἀφ' αὑτῶν ἄρχονται δήπουθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πᾶσαι καὶ διώρυχες εἰς αὐτὰς φέρουσιν, ἐάν τ' Ἔφορος φῇ ἐάν τε μή. ὥστε ταύτας μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς μετέχειν τῆς αἰτίας, ἥ τις ἂν ᾖ τῷ ποταμῷ τῆς ἀναβάσεως. ἥ τε γὰρ Μοίριδος λίμνη καὶ αἱ πρὸς τοῖς ἕλεσι κάτω καὶ ἡ πρότερον μὲν ὑπὲρ Φάρου, ποῦ δ' ἐξόπισθεν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλεως Μάρεια, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε εἰσι τοῦ Νείλου κόλποι καὶ τῆς ἀναβάσεως μετέχουσιν, ὅταν κατὰ τὰς διώρυχας εἰσπέσῃ τὸ μέρος τοῦ ῥεύματος.*

In the sacred Coptic histories, published by Zoega, there certainly is a passage quoted by Champollion[153], in which it is said that certain persons from the nome of Piom (Fajum) "went to the Lake of Piom," i.e. *the Lake of the Fayoom.* It is not stated what this means; but it may be fairly supposed, that in a local description which this is, and one of the 5th century, if two lakes had existed, it was hardly possible to mention one, without distinguishing it as "the Lake of the Fayoom."

We must assume, therefore, that the Lake of Mœris was restored in the time of the Antonines, but shortly after fell again into decay, and disappeared altogether. It will excite no surprise that the artificial walls in the West should have disappeared with it.

Thus much, however, is established, that, according to the most trustworthy authorities, a marshy district was converted by Mœris into a vast lake, by which beneficial work the locality became healthy; or else that this work consisted merely in cutting a canal from the Nile, which is irreconcileable with the natural appearances, and as little with the accounts of the classic writers.

F.

RESULT OF THE WHOLE INQUIRY, AND HISTORICAL RESTORATION OF THE WORK OF MŒRIS IN THE FAYOOM.

THE remarkable Libyan basin was originally a stony desert, without springs or rivers. The limestone rock, which overlays the stratum of clay, prevented the water, which could not percolate down to the clay, from rising to the high ground. This was the earliest ante-historical epoch of the province. Its records are the alternate layers of limestone and clay, still existing in many places, which are exposed to view by the hollows underneath the mud of the Nile.

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[153] L'Egypte sous les Pharaons, i. p. 332. Zoega, Catalog. MSS. Musei Borgiani, p. 96.

The Nile water subsequently forced its way through the present rocky ravine of Illahoon. As the basin had no outlet, it became a lake. When, after the lapse of some thousands of years, the passage of the Nile through the ravine was obstructed by the deposit of mud, and possibly other concomitant circumstances, the water necessarily evaporated. The proof of its having been so dammed up by natural causes in the ravine is established by the fact that in making the historical canal they had to cut through the dry Nile mud, mixed with debris of rock and gravel, which rolled down from the mountains.

The diversion of the western arm of the Nile, in the upper country, must have taken place in the earliest periods of Egypt, that is to say, prior to Menes. The earth walls, which are still visible in the earlier portion of its course from Diospolis Parva, exhibit, according to Linant's testimony, proofs of having been constructed by man in the primeval times.

The tradition, which is undoubtedly historical, respecting what Menes did to this arm of the Nile not far from Memphis, implies that the above-mentioned diversion had taken place. It is worthy of remark that the family of Menes were princes of This and Abydos, the very district in which the turn in the river was made.

As popular tradition still tells of the primeval times before the Pharaoh of Joseph, when the Fayoom was a morass, so is the Bahr Jusef called in the neighbourhood of the Libyan basin the *Menhe Canal*, though it is matter of doubt whether that means the canal of Menes or Mendes-Amenemha.

According to the historical authorities upon Egypt consulted by Diodorus, Menes was the builder of Krokodilopolis. The circumstance which led to the building of the city and the worship of the crocodile, common to that nome and a portion of the Thebaid, is said to have been as follows. On some occasion, the horse which Mendes was riding with his hounds, took fright, jumped into the lake, and was swamped in it. A crocodile picked up the king and carried him on shore.

The so-called obelisk of Sesortosis I., which is unique of its kind, and according to the Chronology of Eratosthenes about a century older than Mœris, still standing at Begig among the ruins of Krokodilopolis, is authentic proof that in this first historical period prior to Mœris the Fayoom was a cultivated and inhabited province.

This work of Mœris, therefore, was executed after the civilisation of the province had been developed nearly a thousand years. But how could the nome be cultivated and inhabited before this was effected? The accumulation of Nile mud in ante-historic times in the vast lake, or rather in the different lakes and ponds, one of which bordered on the higher ground, the site of the historical capital, rendered the soil productive. Even if the lower grounds were swampy, this would not prevent the higher spots from being inhabited, supposing there to have been drinking water. This, however, might easily have been obtained from wells, as the limestone strata upon the clay are only a few feet thick. The eighty towns of the Fayoom could not exist at the present day without these wells. The object, therefore, of introducing an arm of the Western Nile into the rocky ravine of Ptolemais was to flush the swampy lake or morass adjacent to this ravine. The tradition about Menes and indeed the Lake of Mœris itself, with its boundaries discovered by Linant, testify to the existence of a smaller basin there, which extended westward as far as Krokodilopolis.

This basin may have been very deep, and still have been thoroughly flushed by the passage of the stream through it into the district, which slopes very abruptly down, without further artificial appliances than the cutting of canals on the south-western and northern sides. We see that these sluices—each of them still about eight miles long—were fixed in the gigantic dams which were formed there. In fact, this is the real meaning of the answer given to Herodotus by the natives, upon his asking in astonishment what had become of the earth which was taken out of the lake. It was carried away by the Nile, they said. Possibly the true sense of the tradition was lost, or Herodotus misunderstood the answer.

The construction of the Lake of Mœris, therefore, was the conversion of a natural swampy lake into an original basin; which conversion was effected by bringing into it the arm of the Nile, and the erection of dams and sluices adapted to that purpose. A work as vast as it was beneficial! No wonder that Diodorus and Clemens of Alexandria found it recorded that Mœris had made considerable improvement in the science of geometry.

The lake then was as deep as the original limestone basin. Its bed must have been raised, however, considerably in two thousand years. The deposit of Nile mud in such a basin as that must have been far greater than in the bed of the Nile, which only rises four feet in a thousand years. In proportion as it became shallower, the greater attention the dams and sluices required. These must have been constructed without the same amount of mechanical skill as is applied in modern waterworks, for, according to Diodorus, it cost fifty talents (50 talents = 10,000*l.*) every time they were opened or shut. Thus, accordingly, did these works, like every thing constructed by the hand of man upon a scale exceeding the limits of nature, contain an inherent germ of self-destruction, as being in antagonism to the constant forces of nature which are incessantly counteracting it.

SECTION V.

THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE: THE LAST THREE KINGS IN THE LIST OF ERATOSTHENES, THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.

I. The last three Kings of Eratosthenes.

We gather from our previous inquiry, and especially from the restoration of the 12th Dynasty, which has been shown to comprise the four Kings of Eratosthenes, XXXII.—XXXV., that there are still three Kings of his List remaining. Nobody perhaps will deem it unwarrantable if we consider them to correspond with the first three reigns in the succeeding dynasty of Manetho, the 13th, and consequently that the XXXVIIIth and last King in the List of Eratosthenes, was the last Pharaoh of the Old Empire. The 13th Dynasty consists of sixty Theban Kings, whose names have not been transmitted by the Epitomists. We cannot, therefore, establish the uniformity of the Manethonian and Alexandrian tradition without instituting an examination into the Middle Empire, to which that dynasty, with the exception of the first three reigns, belongs.

The following tabular synopsis will suffice for our present purpose:

		Years.		
XXXVI.	Siphoas (read Siphthas) - -	5	=	Man. XIIIth Dyn. 1, 2, 3 reigns, x years.
XXXVII.	Phruorô (read Phuorô) - -	19		
XXXVIII.	Amuthartaios (r. Amuntimaios)	63		
		87		

Very little doubt can exist as to the reading of the names—none whatever as to the dates. The first is rendered, "Son of Vulcan," i.e. *Si-ptah;* the mistake has arisen from the stroke of the Θ being omitted (CIΦOAC instead of CIΦΘAC). The name Siphthah occurs also in the 19th Dynasty.

The next King is translated "Neilos," the Nile, signifying the Egyptian word for "stream," *iôr*, *iarô*, with the aspirated article, *Ph*, which we know also from the Hebrew. It must therefore be *Phuorô*, according to the mode in which Eratosthenes usually renders the names, the *r* having been put in twice by the copyists. We shall have further opportunity of remarking upon this name also, when we come to treat of the New Empire. The translation of the name *Amuthartaios*, the last king, has been unfortunately either omitted or lost; but the name of Ammon is easy to recognise in the first part of it. The twenty-third King, *Myrtaios*, "the Ammon-given" (7th Dynasty), we have identified with *Amuntaios*, *Amyntaios*. The name of the last Pharaoh of the Old Empire must therefore have sounded like it, but not quite the same, as it is evidently a contraction, which we find in Josephus's extract from Manetho's historical work, to be more particularly examined in the following book. The passage to which we allude relates to the overthrow of the Old Empire by the Shepherds. As the text now stands, *Timaios* would have been pronounced *Timaos*, which, however, is evidently only the end of an Egyptian name, the beginning of it being contained in the preceding word in the quotation from Manetho (HMIN).[154] The name con-

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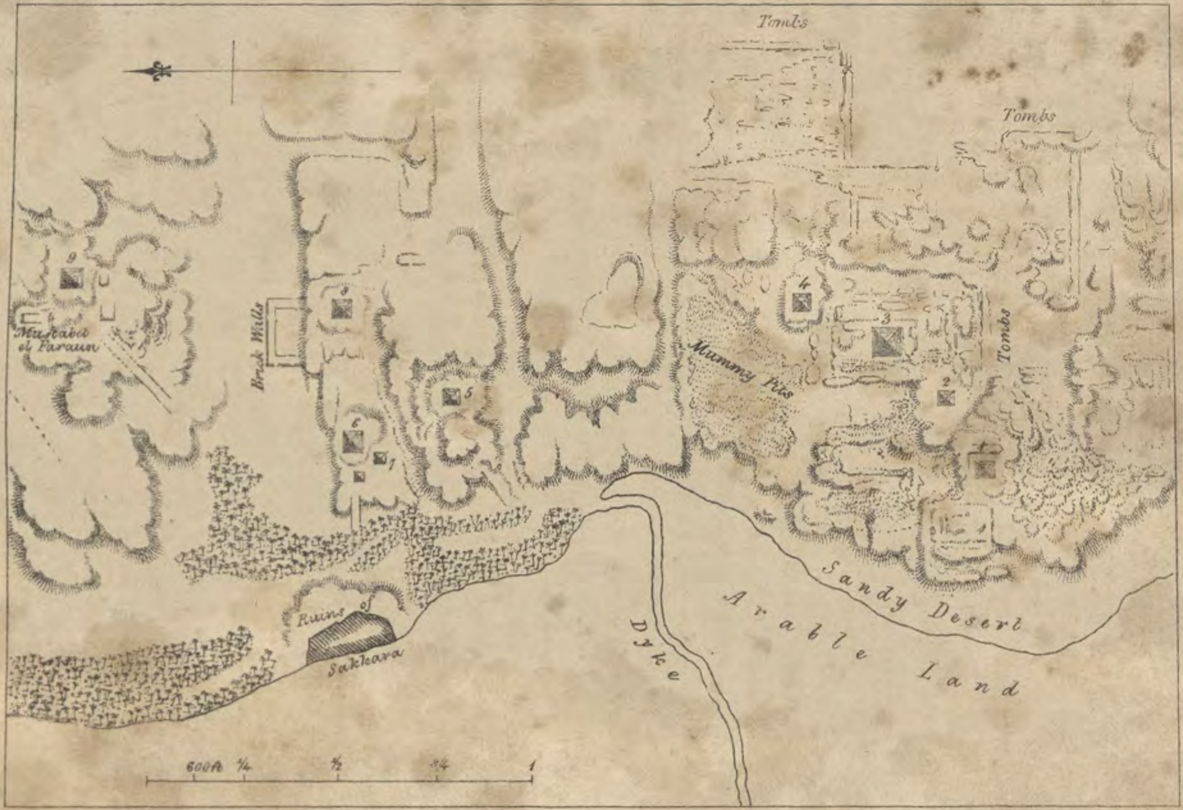
[154] The text runs thus (Jos. c. Ap. i. 14.): Ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν, Τίμαος (Eus. Τίμαιος) ὄνομα, read, Ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς Ἀμυντίμαος (Ἀμεντίμαιος) ὄνομα. The word ἡμῖν is not only superfluous, but irrelevant. Manetho never speaks in the tone of "we Egyptians," indeed it was not an Egyptian expression — there was not even any Egyptian word for people, for which reason the Bible translation borrows the Greek (λαός)!

Plate XXII

to face P. 379


Tombs
Tombs
Tombs
Mummy Pits
Mastaba el Faraun
Brick Walls
Ruins of Sakkara
Dyke
Sandy Desert
Arable Land
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
600ft
1/4
1/2
3/4
1

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

PLAN OF THE PYRAMIDS OF SAKKARA.

sequently is *Amyntimaios*, *Amentima*, "he who was given by Amenti, the consort of Ammon."

The further details regarding this King, and all the latter portion of the Old Empire, are so intimately connected in Manetho's account with the Middle Empire, that we must content ourselves here with establishing the chronology. We shall also reserve, till we come to that part of our inquiry, the historical survey of the period of 1670 years. Like weary travellers after a long and toilsome day's journey we make a resting place here, and confine ourselves to an historical review of the last epoch. There is, however, one other point which cannot be passed over, because it belongs exclusively to the Old Empire, and requires to be settled at once: *the connexion between the pyramids and the series of kings, and between the groups of pyramids and the Dynasties.*

It is only in consequence of the researches of Eratosthenes, that we have it in our power here again to take an historical survey of this period. He has not only given us the chronological frame in which the history of this remarkable Dynasty is set, but from his having brought prominently into notice its principal rulers, our attention has been directed towards the most distinguished of them, and the understanding of Manetho's statements has been considerably facilitated. Amenemha and Sesortesen I. had evidently independent claims to the Imperial Throne, the integrity of which they restored. The former fell in a revolt in the palace; the latter organized the empire, embellished the country with magnificent works, and either made conquests or suppressed a rebellion in Nubia.

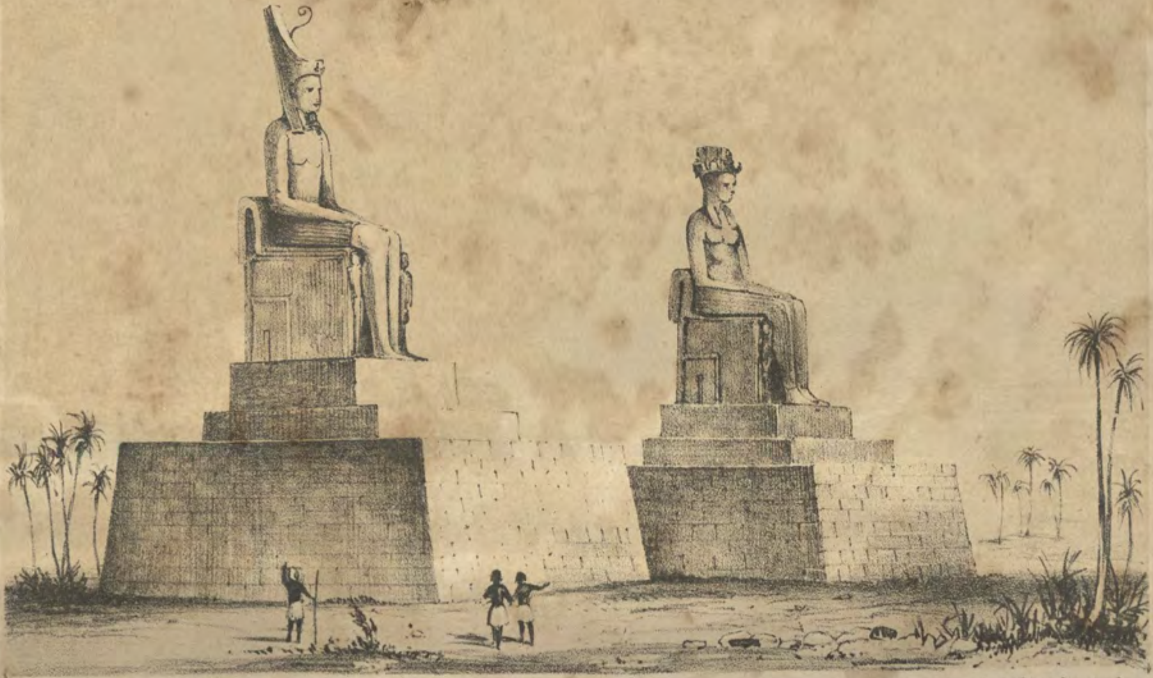
The warrior hero of the family, however, was the third Sesortesen—the real Sesostris according to Manetho's Egyptian authorities—which is simply a contraction of the historical name, Sesortosis, in the Greek idiom. According to the entries in Manetho's

List, he made great conquests to the *northward*—in Northern Africa, possibly as far as opposite the coast of Spain. Mauritania (*Punt*) he subjugated, and according to Manetho his expeditions lasted nine years; he perhaps conquered even Asia and Europe as far as Thrace. He was immortalized by the people as a hero, second only to Osiris in his career of victory. Even now the monuments throw some light upon his reign.

The reign of the third Amenemha, likewise a very long one—a sovereign immortalized under the name of Mares, and as the builder of the labyrinth which was called after him—forms the third epoch. We believe we are the first who have proved not only that, this marvellous building was erected by that King, but that its architectural construction is perfectly obvious, and indeed that the portion of it above ground was the place where the nation assembled to celebrate Panegyries of the most extensive kind. Here, too, there was a pyramid, the tomb of that King; and not the labyrinth itself, as would appear from the letter of Manetho's entry. Yet, even regarded as a tomb, we notice a very striking change in the idea of the whole construction. The Kings of the first Dynasties reposed in rocky tombs in the desert, the approach to which they endeavoured to barricade and conceal by masses of masonry of excessive dimensions. These gigantic edifices were erected in the first Imperial Dynasty; in the second (the third of Manetho), a style of building with hewn free-stone was introduced; in the third (the fourth of Manetho) the pyramidal form of building reached the zenith of its grandeur and gorgeousness. It evidently, however, caused the ruin of the reigning family, and almost that of the empire. After an interval of a few centuries, of which no monuments exist, the royal tomb of the great Ammenemês-Mares exhibits a change of character. By the side of the

Plate XX.

to face P. 373



Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

SEPULCHRE OF MOERIS AND HIS WIFE.

pyramid, properly a tomb, a public edifice was erected; a vast pile of building, the magnificence of which exceeded those of the Greeks and Romans, where the ecclesiastical and judicial representatives of the independent nomes, originally of a political character, and still to a certain extent not exclusively religious and sacerdotal, assembled to debate upon the most momentous topics which affected the well-being of the empire.

In the same particular points, and to a still greater extent, did the tomb of Ammenemês-Mœris or Suchis (Petesuchis), who was associated with him in the later years of his reign, deviate from the earlier. It was no longer a regular pyramid. The truncated pyramidal-shaped pediment (judging from other remains of the period) served as a base for the colossal statues of the King and his consort. It was not erected, however—as was the case with the earlier buildings, and indeed with those of his predecessor—in the desert, but in the centre of a nome, which was converted by magic as it were from a swamp into a garden, owing to the vast works carried out by that sovereign, which were stronger and more lasting than any other known undertaking of man. Here from an eminence, sufficiently elevated only as to be seen by his grateful subjects, the statue of the great King, seated upon his throne, surveyed the cultivated plains whose fertility he had called into being, and the salubrity of which he had insured. This alteration evinces not only a high perception of art (Trajan was buried in a similar manner), but it proves also that the customary mode of royal interments had undergone some modification in later times. Many of the remaining pyramids must belong to the period between the 4th and 12th Dynasties, although we have not yet succeeded in appropriating them to specific Kings who reigned during this epoch of four hundred years. The only thing which seems established is, that Nitokris, the widow of the son of Appapus-Phiops, the beautiful and courageous foreign princess who, after the short reign and violent death of her husband, ascended the throne and maintained it for some years, sought in vain a resting-place in the pyramid of the holy Mykerinus, which she had enlarged and embellished. Of the tombs of the nine Kings who occupied the imperial throne in the period of 150 years between her death and the accession of the first Ammenemēs, we know nothing. The first (that is, those of the seventh and eighth of Manetho, the fifth and sixth Imperial Dynasties) were Memphites—the others Thebans, and they were therefore probably buried in the Thebaid, like the Theban ancestor of this Nentef-Dynasty.

The alteration in the construction of the tombs of the last of the Sesortosidæ Kings shows that the pyramidal style of building had outlived itself even before the royal race of Egyptian Kings at Memphis became extinct in consequence of the conquest of that city. We can therefore to a certain extent throw more historical light upon the connexion between the Old Dynasties and the groups of pyramids, than any of our predecessors have hitherto been able to do.

Both of these points are now for the first time fully cleared up, and we have ascertained that whereever names are found they exhibit a family relationship between adjoining pyramids. The 4th Dynasty is identified with the group of pyramids at Gizeh.

According to the foregoing synopsis of the groups of pyramids, there are altogether twenty-eight large or royal pyramids. The largest three of the Gizeh group we know to be tombs of the 4th Dynasty, and two of the three great pyramids of Abouseer those of the last two sovereigns of the third. We will now merely throw out the conjecture, in order to facilitate the general view of them, that the remaining third pyramid of Abouseer, the large one, belongs to the predecessor of Rasōsis and Bicheris. The direction of the stone-dyke proves it to be older than the former. Of the six earlier sovereigns of the 3rd Dynasty, we have discovered the tomb of the fourth, Sesorcheres II. (Sasychis), in the northern brick pyramid of Dashoor. There was an ancient inscription on it which contrasted it with the earlier pyramids of stone. Which are these stone pyramids? The surrounding group, or it and some others, or others only?

But what becomes of the other pyramids? In order clearly to point out what the materials are with which we have to work, we subjoin a synopsis of the individual groups of all the royal pyramids, which have been elucidated above:

I. Northern group:	1	pyr. at	Aboo Röäsh: unknown.
	4	„	Gizeh=IVth dynasty.
	1	„	Biahmoo=XIIth.
II. Southern group:	1	„	The Labyrinth=VIIth.
	1	„	Illahoon: unknown.
	1	„	Meydoon (the false): unknown.
	2	„	Lisht: unknown.
III. Middle group:	9	„	Sakkara (among them the large one with several sepulchral chambers.)
	4	„	Dashoor (I=III. 4. Sasychis).
	3	„	Abouseer (2=III. 8, 9. Rasōsis and Bicheris).
	1	„	Reegah: unknown.
	1	„	Zowyet el Arrian: unknown.
	29		Royal Pyramids, one of which contains several sepulchral chambers.

The result of the previous investigation shows that the following Kings belong respectively to these groups:

Dyn.			
I.	Thinites.	*Either* Ismandes (5th king) alone, *or*, he and Mnevis (the 4th), the builder of the pyramids at Kō-kō-me, according to Manetho	1 (2)
III.	Memphites.		9
IV.	„	(5 kings, 1st and 5th in one pyr.)	4
VI.	„	(3 reigns: Nitōkris in the pyramid of Mencheres)	2
VII.	„	probably only 1 reign	1
VIII.	„	7 reigns	7
XI.	Diospolitans.	1 reign	1
XII.	„	Before Mares: 2 Amenemhas 3 Sesortoses	5
			30 (31)

It cannot be supposed a mere accident that we find precisely twenty-nine pyramids for thirty Kings whom we should naturally expect to have been buried in pyramids, one of which seems to have been erected for more than one King. We think indeed that we may venture to say, that the great pyramids are identified with the rulers of the Old Empire in Eratosthenes, from the last reign of the 1st Dynasty downwards; and that most of them belong to Memphite Kings, and are all tombs of imperial sovereigns from Sesortosis III., the predecessor of Mares, who built the labyrinth. May we not venture to hope, that in time the groups of pyramids will elucidate the imperial Dynasties? Do they not do so to a certain extent at the present moment?

Two points have to be considered as the groundwork of a rational distribution of the still unappropriated pyramids. The first is the style of the architecture. The practice of building with rectangularly cut stones, and consequently in regular layers, originated under the third King of the third Dynasty, Sesortosis, the first of the name. In one of the two brick pyramids at Dashoor we have found the scutcheon of Sasychis-

Sesorcheres, the successor of that great King. May we venture to attribute the other (the southern brick pyramid) to the King who invented this regular style of architecture? Certain it is, that the interiors of all the pyramids, except those of Gizeh, are filled up with blocks of very irregular sizes. Here we meet with a difficulty; *all* the pyramids exhibit traces, more or less, of having been faced with flat slabs: if therefore we attend implicitly to the account of the invention of this ashlar style of building, we cannot assign to any of the extant pyramids an earlier date than the third reign of the 3rd Dynasty.

We may assume, indeed, that in the oldest pyramids this method was very imperfectly carried out as compared with modern Roman polygonal building in the Latin and Volscian towns, and that it was only employed on the outer course; whereas, under that King of the 3rd Dynasty, the regular ashlar system, that is, the style of building in layers of equal thickness, was introduced throughout. Neither must we forget that in many of the most dilapidated pyramids there are very few remnants of the casing left, and that up to the present moment we can only infer from the silence of Perring, the only man who has been able to make a thorough examination of these buildings, that no irregular square slabs are in existence among their remains.

One thing, however, is quite certain, namely, that the architecture is not a guide to which we can trust implicitly, and that research and conjecture on this subject are restricted within very narrow limits.

The second element of the inquiry is the Locality. It is in itself a very natural supposition that Kings of the same family should have built their resting places adjacent to each other. This is, as already intimated, really the case in every instance where their builders are known. May not this enable us to find a clue to the truth? As to a *direct* discovery of the names of the builders, we have very little more to hope from the excavations of the pyramids. Perring has opened all of them but one — the southern of the two brick pyramids of Abouseer. Nothing but an examination of the tombs around the pyramids can lead directly to the discovery of the date of their erection, for those at Gizeh prove how intimate was the connexion, as to date, between the great and small Necropoleis.

We start from the certain fact that one Dynasty was buried at Gizeh — all its five Kings, neither more nor less. Now, as the Middle and Northern Pyramid at Abouseer belong to the sixth and eighth Kings of the 3rd Dynasty, it is very natural, perhaps, to assume that the third in that group, the plan and style of which are precisely the same, and which, nevertheless, to judge from the stone causeway, is older than them, must belong to Aches, the immediate predecessor of Raseser, the seventh King of the Dynasty, or an earlier one. At all events, it must be assigned to a sovereign of this family.

We have still to find Pyramids for the first six reigns, or at least five reigns. One of them, however, the Northern Brick Pyramid of Dashoor, has already been appropriated to Sasychis. Our attention, therefore, is first drawn to this group. The three still unappropriated we shall claim for three of those five kings. None, perhaps, seems better suited to the great Sesortosis, who invented or perfected the style of building with hewn blocks, than the other Brick Pyramid, the southern one—if it should turn out upon examination, that its style is as good and regular as the northern one of Sasychis. Its connexion with the invention attributed to that King would consist, therefore, in this, that it was the first in which the square stone facing, in regular layers, was adopted throughout. It is even possible, though not probable, that the Northern Brick Pyramid, that of Sasychis, which has been opened belongs not to the *second*, but the first Sesorcheres; in which case the southern one would fall to the lot of one of his immediate successors. At all events, the Dashoor group is inadequate to supply tombs to the whole of the 3rd Dynasty. According to Manetho's Lists, there were at first co-regents, and they may have had one common tomb. There are therefore three, perhaps four or five tombs of the 3rd Dynasty undiscovered.

Our next proceeding will be to consult the great and mysterious Sakkara group. We have given a sketch of it in Plate XXII., and subjoin the following in elucidation.

The great pyramid (Haram el Modarrggeh, the Pyramid of Degrees), and the one marked as the second — the only two which had been previously opened — must be older than the one here called the first, from the direction of the stone causeway, which must have been constructed for it in the first instance. This is the only conjecture we can form from the locality as to their relative ages.

As regards the internal arrangement, the Great Pyramid (3), is distinguished from all the rest of this and other groups. Not only is it the only one the sides of which do not exactly face the cardinal points (the northern front being 4° 35′ east of the true north), but it is the only one of all the pyramids which is constructed as a family sepulchre. For this reason we have given a plan of it in Pl. XXIII and XXIV. Instead of one northern entrance it has four, three to the northward, and one to the southward; and instead of the single sepulchral chamber in the rock, with an ante-room, which we find in all the other pyramids of this and other groups (except the largest at Gizeh), it contains four detached chambers. It is surrounded, besides, by a wall, nine feet thick, composed of rudely-squared stones. The circumstance of its being built in degrees (it had six degrees or stories, each of which was successively smaller than the one below it, and had the shape of a truncated pyramid) is a peculiarity common to it and several others of this group. Whether the facing were composed of single blocks of granite, cannot be determined. General Minutoli was the first who opened it in 1821. According to Perring[155], there are tombs in its vicinity, No. 6. upon the plan, containing scutcheons of early Kings; and we are enabled, by personal communication with himself, to complete his own published accounts. The names of the Kings he discovered are *Tetkarra* and *Ra-n'-seser* (Rasosis), the second and eighth Kings of the 3rd Dynasty. This is conclusive proof that it is here where we must look for the three royal tombs still undiscovered.

Unfortunately, neither General Minutoli nor Perring found a royal scutcheon in the ruins. The standard name that was found exhibits the very same character as the titles of the later Kings of this and the following Dynasty. Must it not have been built by the chief of the 3rd Dynasty, and intended as a sepulchre for himself, the Giant King, and his co-regents? This seems also to account for the peculiarity of its fronts not facing exactly the cardinal points. It may be considered as the first Memphite building, not a later one, as *all* the others have the astronomical direction accurately observed.

A section of it is given in Pl. XXIII. Most of the stone (square slabs?) comes from the eastern face of the mountain on which it is erected, 91 feet above the level of the plain, the rest from Mokattam. The bulk of the masonry inside consists of loose rubble, inclosed within walls 9 feet thick (C C), composed of rudely

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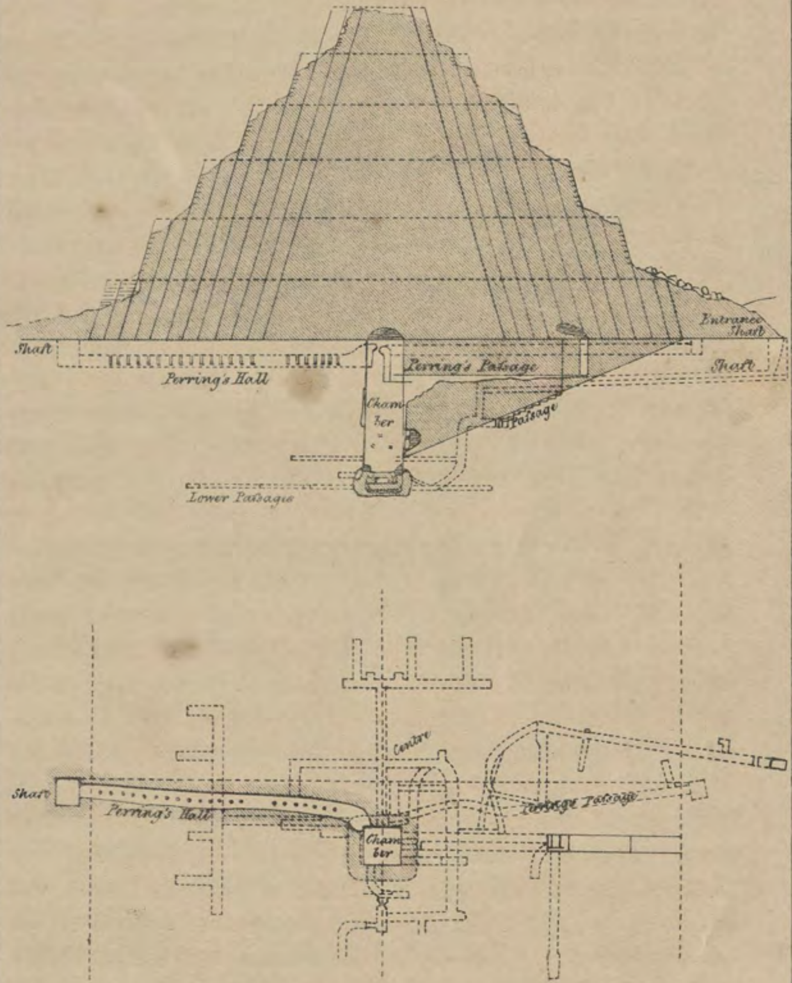
[155] Perring, Pyramids, iii. p. 38. At *k* the name of Psammetichus II. was found in tombs irregularly arched, and at *F* criminals on their knees, in very coarse wrappings, with their hands or feet chopped off, &c.


Shaft
Perring's Hall
Perring's Passage
Cham ber
Passage
Lower Passages
Entrance Shaft
Shaft
Centre
Shaft
Perring's Hall
Cham ber
Entrance Passage

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers.

GREAT PYRAMID OF SAKKÀRA.

squared stones, and set to the angle of the external face. Additional walls, 10 feet thick, have been built on north and south. A great deal of mortar was used, but some of the masonry of the southern front is of a better quality. The length of the original base, from north to south, was 351 ft. 2 in.; from east to west, 393 ft. 11 in.; the original height was 200 ft. 5 in.; the present, 196 ft. 5 in. We have already mentioned that it had four entrances.

One of them is in a pit 52 feet from the building, 11 feet to the westward of the centre of the northern front. The pit opens into a passage, horizontal for about 120 feet, which afterwards descends by a very circuitous and evidently secret way, as represented in the drawing, to the large apartment. The centre of the main entrance is 36 feet to the eastward of the centre of the northern front. It was irregularly cut out, and originally above 10 feet wide; the masonry being afterwards carried up so that it was only 3 ft. 5 in. in the centre, 176 ft. 5 in. long, and leads into the sepulchral chamber, 7 ft. 6 in. above the floor. The third entrance, 179 ft. 6 in. long, is only 5 ft. to the east of the centre of the northern front, and the same distance from the building. It communicates with a recess in the upper part of the western side of the great apartment, where a groove had been cut apparently for a plane. Perring was the first who discovered this entrance.

The fourth is also in a pit, 7 feet east of the centre of the southern front. A spacious gallery, 166 ft. 3 in. long, leads from the pit to a recess at the south-west corner of the great chamber, 70 feet above the floor. The ceiling is supported by a row of twenty-two short columns, formed of black compact limestone. These columns are wedged in, above and below, with wood, and most of them have naturally been cracked by the weight. On the blocks there are hieroglyphical inscriptions, which have been cut through, *and consequently they must have been taken from some other building.*[156] Thirty mummies, apparently undisturbed, without coffins—corpses, perhaps, of officials employed in the building, and their wives, or even of persons who have been buried subsequently—were found in this gallery. Perring unwrapped them, but found nothing of any value. Upon the body of a female lay some of the common stone idols.

The most remarkable part of the building is the great sepulchral chamber (Pl. XXIV.), 24 feet by 23 from east to west. It is precisely in the centre of the pyramid, and was 77 feet high. It was supported above by cross-bearers. One of the two principal beams, though broken in the middle, was still in its place; the other was thrown down with the ceiling. In consequence of this falling in, the room was covered by the rubble-work so as to give it the appearance of a dome. The floor was choked up with rubbish to the height of 25 feet. The sides seem to have been originally cased. The sarcophagus had disappeared; and the statement of the Arabs, that General Minutoli found one there, is not confirmed by his own account of it through Segato. In the floor, which is made of blocks of granite, *a singular little chamber was discovered* 10 feet long, 5 feet 4½ inches high, the entrance to which had been closed by a colossal stopper of granite weighing four tons. A few hieroglyphics were found slightly scratched in the corner of the chamber. General Minutoli thought it to be a small sanctuary where the priests delivered oracles. We agree with Perring that the colossal stopper would very much have impeded the manipulations necessary in this sort of jugglery. With-

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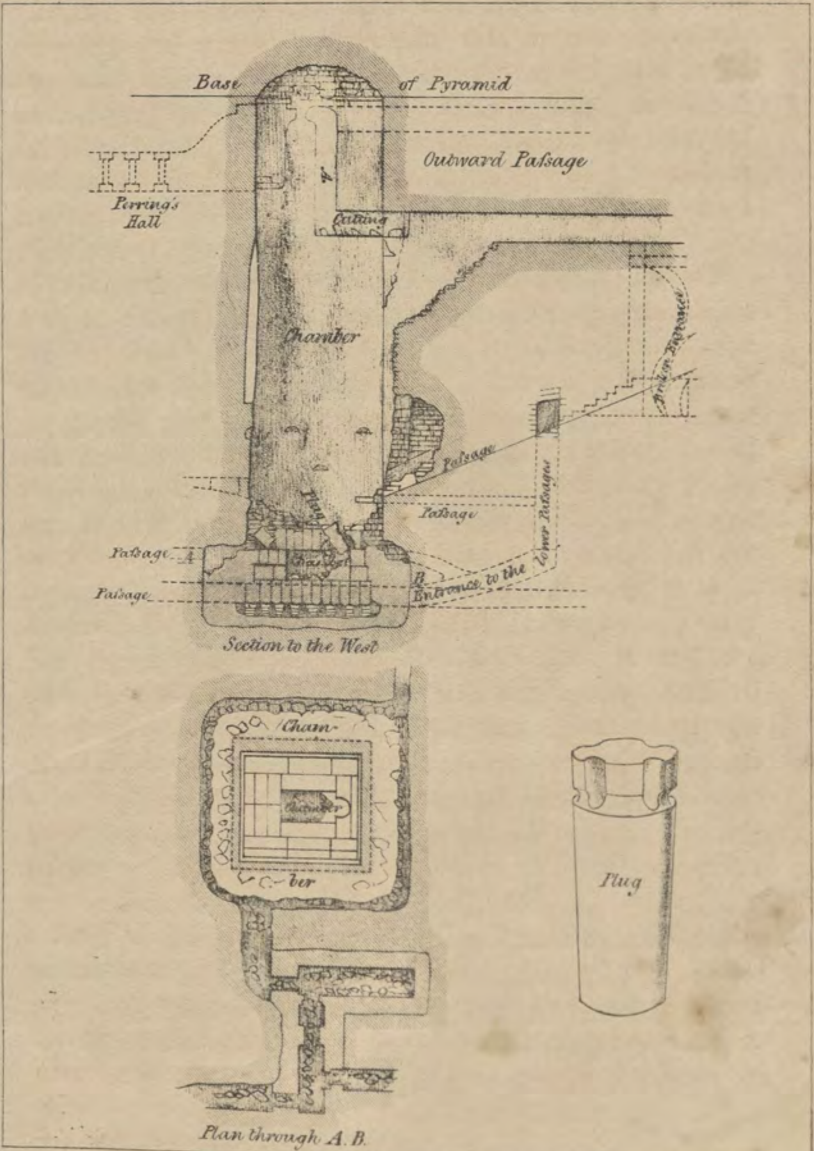
[156] Birch, in his explanation of the hieroglyphics in Perring's work (p. 53. seq.), thinks that these inscriptions cannot be older than the 13th Dynasty. Yet he admits that the formulas, which appear to him of a later date than the Memphite kings, occur in the Dynasty of the Sesortesens, which we know belongs to the Old Empire.

Plate XXIV. to face P. 382.


Base of Pyramid
Outward Paſsage
Perring's Hall
Cutting
Chamber
Plug
Paſsage
Lower Paſsages
Broken Entrance
Paſsage
A
Paſsage
B
Entrance to the
Section to the West
Cham-
Chamber
ber
Plug
Plan through A. B.

Hullmandel & Walton Lithographers

GREAT PYRAMID OF SAKKARA.
Plan and Section of the Great Chamber.

out the block, it would not have been more secret than the rest of the apartment; and with it, to speak intelligibly could not have been easy, but breathing impossible. Perring thinks it was a treasury. Had it contained a sarcophagus, some remains of it would certainly have been found; it could not have been removed through the present forced entrance, unless it had been broken into small pieces. It is impossible to say whether the little nook was ever used for the purpose for which it was designed. A treasury of Rhampsinitus in the Field of Pyramids, indeed, does not appear to us very probable.

From the south-eastern angle of the large apartment a passage below the level of the floor communicates with two smaller rooms, one 20 feet 6 inches, the other 18 feet 8 inches long, each of them, 5 feet 1½ inch wide, and 6 feet 5 inches high. The floor and ceiling are formed of the rock; the sides were once lined with calcareous stone, and ornamented with rows of convex pieces of bluish-green porcelain, inscribed on the back with a hieroglyphic, the impression of which remained on the cement. The same is the case with the doorways of one of these apartments; that of the other has also hieroglyphics scratched on with black paint. Burton copied them both.[157] At the top there are all the royal titles, from the standard-name downwards, except the name. By the side are the Horus and Pschent.

There are niches cut in the passage, as if to receive mummies.

The recesses made in the sides of the great passage were clearly intended for royal tombs, as remains of valuable sarcophagi were found in them. The lower passages, leading to them, were nearly filled with broken vases of marble and alabaster.

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[157] Exc. Hierog. Pl. XXVII. Minutoli, Reise, 1824, p. 405—407, Pl. XXVIII. Segato, Saggi pittorici, Firenze, 1827, fasc. secondo.

Perring made numerous excavations in search of other apartments, especially to the westward of the large one, but without success. The pyramid had been surrounded by an enclosure, within and near the north-eastern angle of which stood two smaller pyramids. There are remains of them, consisting of two mounds of ruined masonry 120 feet in diameter and 28 feet high.

On the southern side, the French are said to have endeavoured to force an entrance with artillery.

Of the other pyramids composing this group, we shall content ourselves with describing merely the points which are peculiar to them. The measurements are given in the Appendix.

The *first* seems to have been built in steps. The inside presents alternate masses of brickwork and rubblework. The original height is not given; the present height is 59 feet, and the platform at top is 50 feet square.

The *second*, "*Haram el Mekurbasj*," the broken or serrated pyramid, was opened by Marucchi in 1831. The inside exhibits large, unsquared stones, rudely put together. The passages, as well as apartments, are cut in the rock. The sepulchral chamber has an inner and outer apartment, with a pointed roof, like the Queen's Chamber in the great Pyramid. Beyond that a passage communicates with two side-rooms. The principal apartments are lined with Mokattam stone; the blocks which form the sides are not laid horizontally, but slope away, like those in the Queen's Chamber. In the inner one were found the remains of a plain basalt sarcophagus, which was wrenched out of its original position. Nearly the whole of the floor has been torn up, both here and in the other apartments, doubtless in search of treasure, which, instead of being buried there, was expended on this gigantic work. The entrance is beyond the base, in the rock. No trace of any casing was found. A piece of granite slab, which served as a lining for hewn stones, seems to have belonged to some particular fitting, perhaps in the great apartments. It was originally 146 feet 6 inches high, at present 108.

The *fourth* pyramid, to the southward of the large one, was cased with compact limestone from Turah, the ruins of which, as well as of the inner wall, lie in heaps about it. Perring did not open it. The height was apparently 62 feet.

The *fifth* is the only one of them all built entirely with stone from the Arabian quarries. On that account it is the most mutilated, as it was itself used as a quarry by the neighbouring villagers. The height is about 40 feet.

The *sixth, Haram es Shauaff* (the Pyramid of the Watchman), because it was one of the stations where a look-out was kept for the Bedouins, built of unsquared stones, had a casing of blocks from Mokattam, which is, however, almost entirely removed. Opposite each of the four fronts, about 220 feet from them, are the traces of two small buildings, perhaps temples, similar to those opposite the eastern fronts of the three larger pyramids of Gizeh.

The *seventh* is a small pyramid about 100 feet to the north-east of the last, now 27 feet high, but almost totally destroyed.

The *eighth, Haram es Siadîn* (the Pyramid of the Hunters), was cased with Mokattam stone, and is almost wholly destroyed. Its present height is 87 feet.

The *ninth*, similar to it in style and appearance, built in steps, and formed of small stones, is now 75 feet high. It is called *Haram el Mustamet*, from Mustabet el Farûn, "the Throne of Pharaoh," which is near it: apparently a tomb built in the form of a pyramid, and in two stories, the lower of which has five courses of masonry, each about 6 feet high, the upper also, five, each 5 feet 3 inches in height. On the northern and southern faces, similar blocks form a kind of parapet 4 feet high and 23 wide. With these the original height was 60 feet 3 inches. Attempts to find an opening were apparently unsuccessful.

Among all these pyramids, then, there are, strictly speaking, only two which, compared with those of Abouseer, can be called large. That of *Zowyet el Arriah* is only 61 feet, that of Reegah only 49, the middle one of the three small pyramids near that of Menkeres only 68, that of Sasychis at Dashoor only 90, the northern one of Lisht the same, the southern 68. As these do not form part of a group with larger pyramids, it is probable that they, as well as most if not all the pyramids of Sakkarah, may be considered Tombs of Kings. The latter may have been built by earlier Kings of the 3rd Dynasty.

The sixth, eighth, and ninth, as well as the "Throne of Pharaoh," lie in a transverse valley, leading to the Fayoom, where was the tomb of Ismandes. Can these be the pyramids of his predecessor Mnevis and his family, which Manetho seems to call those of Kokōmē?

We cannot, at present, push the investigation further, but subjoin an Appendix, which will certainly be as welcome to our readers, as it was to ourselves. Perring hit upon the happy idea of applying the standard of the Egyptian measure, the cubit computed by him at 1·713 ft., to these buildings which he measured very accurately, and of calculating by it the principal measurements which are still determinable.

A Table, originally intended for Vyse's work, but which was printed here for the first time, contains a comparative synopsis. Perring has besides this reduced all the measures of the three great pyramids of Gizeh to the Egyptian unit. The idea which led him to this originated with Newton and was followed up by him with wonderful ingenuity. It has been alluded to at the close of our Preliminary observations to this

Book. The principal dimensions of the pyramid probably bear a relative proportion to the standard of the Egyptian measure, the cubit. Newton accordingly looked for and discovered its real length by means of the measures of the principal apartment in the largest pyramid. Since that time we have made an advance. The *savans* belonging to the expedition of Napoleon endeavoured to reduce the principal measures in several Egyptian buildings to the same relative proportion. The plan they adopted for that purpose was a complicated one. Perring's method was the following. He, first of all, after taking a very exact measurement of all the parts of the three great pyramids, the first and third of which may be called pre-eminently the models of all Egyptian buildings, tested Newton's assumption as to the length of the cubit, and reduced all the measures to it. With the results in his hand, he then asked himself the question, whether the height is in a given ratio to the base? The answer was very surprising. In the largest pyramid, the height : the base :: 5 : 8, in regular Egyptian cubits. Both these measurements, even in the other two pyramids, come out in cubits without fractions, although there is not the same exact proportion between the height and the base. The largest pyramid therefore is most peculiarly the mathematical one among the pyramids, as the pyramids are among buildings. A direct section of it gives the following proportion:

Half the base : perpendicular height
:: height of the side : whole base.

The proportion between the first and second pyramid is as 7 to 8.

In the other pyramids, owing to their mutilation, we cannot expect to be able to trace the same accurate proportions; but the standard of measure which is discovered seems to be guaranteed even here in the most striking manner by there being no fractional parts. We must leave our readers to examine the details in Perring's own most valuable work. We may, however, state with confidence that the measurements of the pyramids are now for the first time ascertained in a more certain and intelligible manner than they ever were, perhaps, since their erection. The plan of a pyramid might be preserved in the archives of the royal family or in a temple, but the pyramid itself was a sealed book even to the successor of its occupant, unless—which was an exceptional case—it were destined to be also his own resting-place.

The sacred guardian of the field of the pyramids, the great Sphinx, has alone baffled explanation. Does the hallowed form of the god contain in it a royal mummy, as stated by Pliny? And who was the traditionary *Harmai*, the Beloved of Horus? Was he a King of the Old Empire? We have discovered no name that sounds like it. Or was it erected by the fourth Tuthmōsis, a King of the 18th Dynasty, whose votive inscription is recorded on the little temple between the fore-paws? If so, what did he intend to represent when he erected the gigantic figure? There being no grounds whatever for supposing it to belong to the Old Empire, standing there, as it does, completely isolated, as appears on the title page to the former volume, where it is affixed as the motto to the object of this work, we must desist from any further inquiry here. The Sphinx maintains her rights—she is still the enigma of history.

The name, assuredly, is no more Egyptian than the sex assigned to it by the Greeks. It is otherwise with the name of the pyramids, which is certainly not Greek. We believe it to be Egyptian, and that it can decidedly be explained from the Egyptian, in spite of the various opinions which have prevailed upon the subject. According to the analogy of other Egyptian names, we have no hesitation in declaring our belief that the conjecture thrown out by the ingenious and learned Ignazio de Rossi is the correct one. He considers the word pyramid to be *pe-ram*, the lofty. There is no doubt whatever as to the root *rem* for *high*, the same as the Semitic, and there seems to be some authority for *rama* signifying *height*.[158] The pronunciation of the article is the same as in the *pi-rômis* of Herodotus, for *pe-rômi*, man.

Respecting the particular purpose for which the Pyramids were designed, we have satisfactorily shown, in the foregoing inquiry, that they are exclusively gigantic covers of rocky tombs, built with great skill to bid defiance to the ravages of ages, and that, as a general rule, they neither contain a sepulchral chamber nor large apartment. The largest pyramid is the only exception, owing, indeed, to particular circumstances which we think we have to a certain degree explained. It is the only one which contains two chambers, one of which served for a tomb. Its construction, as well as the pains bestowed on concealing and barricadoing all the approaches to it, have been accounted for in reference to one single object — that of protecting the hallowed corses of the Kings, as far as human power and human ingenuity could do so, from destruction. But how are we to explain their having such an object? Were the hieroglyphics complete, and could we thoroughly understand them, they could not answer the question. The idea which gave birth to those wondrous edifices, one after the other, during a period of almost a thousand years, in the deserts of Libya, is itself a hieroglyphic, and a very mysterious one. Its investigation belongs to the Fifth Book. The longing desire to solve this and similar problems should give us fresh courage in making a further research for the path to pure history through the wilderness of chronology; but it should also inculcate the duty of neither turning to the right hand nor to the left from the straight course, when the inquiry itself does not imperatively demand it. We must first, however, test the reality of a period, the so-called Hyksos-period, which comprises another thousand years of the chronology of Egypt and of the world. It is one which has been repeatedly abridged, and even altogether discarded, from a feeling that by so doing the interests of chronology would be best consulted. We will, however, take our leave of the Old Empire by expressing a firm conviction that no one will ever succeed either in extending its length to several thousands of years, or in curtailing the history of mankind of almost eleven centuries, the thread of which, after being drawn through eight and thirty reigns, we have wound at last round the weather-beaten apex of Thirty Pyramids.

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[158] Ignazio de Rossi, Etymologiæ Egyptiæ, p. 159. Silvestre de Sacy, Observations sur le Nom des Pyramides, Mag. Encycl. vi. p. 44. seqq. See the various conjectures of different scholars compiled in Jomard's Remarques et Recherches sur les Pyramides d'Égypte (Description d'Égypte, Antiquités, Mémoires, t. ix.), p. 528. seqq. Silvestre de Sacy's objection to it is, that it does not explain the Arabic name *heram, haram,* which he supposes to contain the root of the word in question. He assumes, therefore, that *harm, Arabicè,* "hallowed," "forbidden," contained the real signification, and that *pi* was made into πυρ from an erroneous notion that its etymology came from *fire*. We think this inadmissible in the present state of Egyptian research. An Arabic word with the Egyptian article prefixed is quite out of the question. The Arabic designation may indeed, in the Arabic view, be explained as De Sacy proposes. Perhaps even Adler's idea, that it comes from the root for "high," which is similar to the Egyptian, may be admissible in Arabic. Ewald considers the *charaboth* or *chyraboth* (חרבות), Job, iii. 14., as a Semitic version of the Egyptian word; and he translates the well-known passage thus:

"There should I have sunk into repose,
I should have found rest there, in sleep:
With the kings and counsellors of the earth,
Who built themselves pyramids." *Book of Job*, p. 80.

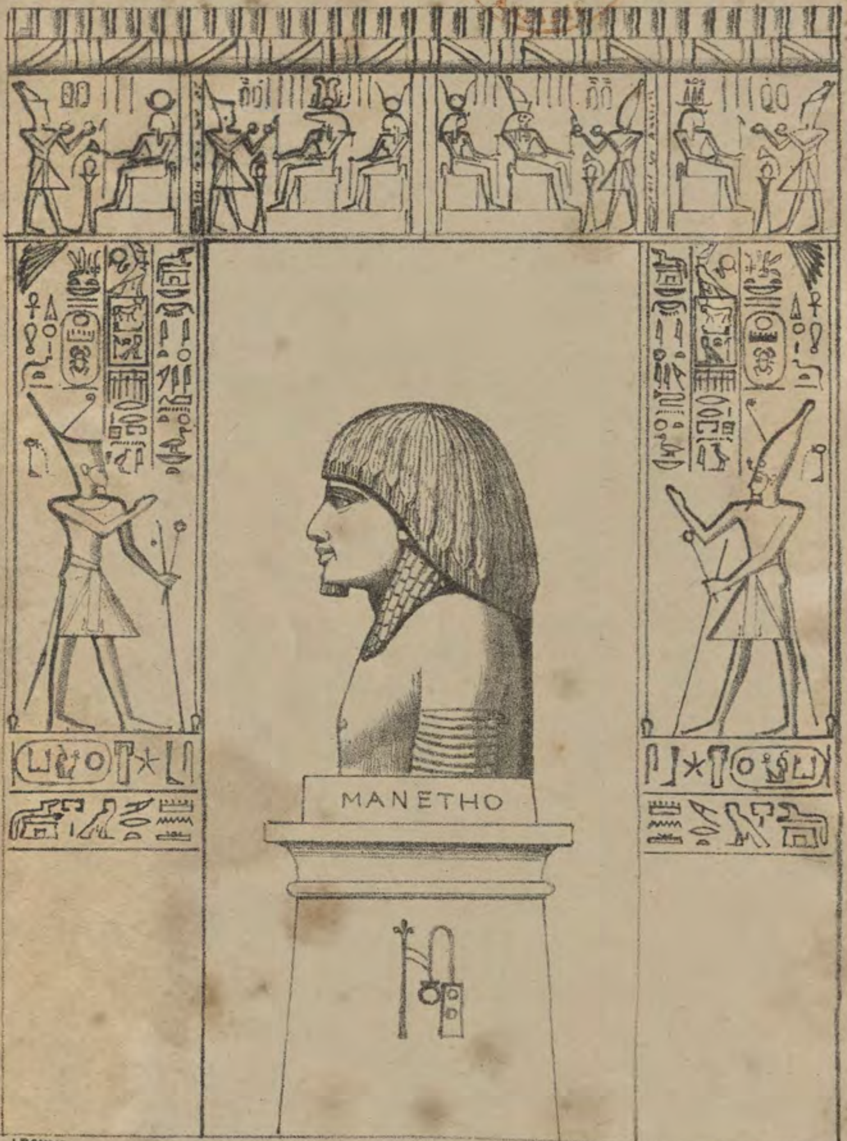
There is no difficulty in the interchange of *m* and *b*; but as we consider *pi-ram* or *ram* to be Egyptian, we have no means of explaining the *ch* at the beginning of the Hebrew word.

BOOK III.

THE

MIDDLE AND NEW EMPIRES.

to face P. 393



J BONOMI

Hullmandel & Walton, Lithographers.

MANETHO.

Scribe and Scholar of Thoth, on the bank of the Sebennyte waters
  Thou quaff'dst historical lore from th' hallow'd page of the Past.
Counsels of sages of old, deep import of mystical customs,
  Thou hast interpreted all fully to strangers and friends.
Deeds of the Primitive Time by thy honest research were unravell'd;
  Boldly illumin'd thy torch darkness of thousands of years.
Lo, at thy bidding array'd, stand the series of long generations,
  Monarchs in Egypt who reign'd, Menes the first of their race;
Here a Sesostris appears, here the Ramesside, here Amenophis;
  Each in his order arrang'd by thy interpreting wand.
Rescued by thee from decay live long-lost heroic achievements,
  Works of immortal renown, exploits of glorious arms.
Fables grew into Truth, and the praises of earlier heroes
  There on the hallowed spot burst on the ear of the Greek.
Loudly by thee were proclaim'd all the wrongs by the people endured,
  Victims of each in their turn — Conquerors, Tyrants, and Priests.
Faithful Scribe of the gods, all these by thy pen were recorded!
  Clio's and Nemesis' Priest, Clio's and Nemesis' Son.
Yet the perversions of Fraud and the hand of the Spoilers have marr'd thee,
  In thy scanty remains barely an echo survives.
Folly it seem'd to the wise; thou thyself e'en wast call'd a deceiver,
  Doom'd to be crush'd by a friend in his Procrustean bed.
Then the Genius arose whom Hermes himself had instructed,
  And each mystical sign grew in his hand into sound.
Scutcheons were trac'd upon stones, whose records thyself had'st consulted;
  Each echoed back the response — Manetho gave us our name!
Grateful I offer to thee whatever through thee I have learned;
  Truth have I sought at thy hand; Truth have I found by thy aid.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

In the third Book of this work, the last which will be exclusively devoted to Egyptian research, the chronology of the Middle and New Empires will be discussed, and, as far as practicable at this stage, be established upon a critical basis. It consists of two main divisions, the first of which treats of the Hyksos, or period of the Shepherd Kings; the second, of the restoration of the Empire. The first division comprises consequently the largest portion of the 13th Theban Dynasty of Manetho, and all the rest between it and the commencement of the 18th. The second contains the other 13 Dynasties down to the 30th. We shall endeavour to show, from exclusively Egyptian authorities, that about nine centuries belong to the Middle Empire, thirteen to the New. We shall, however, reserve to the following Book the extraneous synchronisms which will assist us in computing the chronology of this obscure period.

The present Book, indeed, both from the nature of the case and the plan of the work, will be exclusively devoted to the examination of the period before us, as portrayed on Egyptian monuments and in the Egyptian annals. It must consequently exclude all such inquiries as presuppose the investigation of the historical or astronomical synchronisms.

The epoch of the Middle Empire falls within so early a stage of national history that these extraneous synchronisms will be of far less assistance to us than they are in the succeeding New Empire. In Egypt itself even, unfortunately, no great historical monuments exist of the greater portion of it. Royal pyramids ceased to be erected at Memphis altogether on the fall of the Old Empire and its occupation by tribes of Palestinian and Arab invaders. In the Thebaid even, indeed, but few remains of public buildings are still in existence. It is, however, an erroneous idea, utterly unfounded in fact, that we possess *no* monuments of this middle period. The Palestino-Arab races who occupied Memphis have certainly not left behind them in Egypt monumental remains any more than they have in their own homes. They were, however, masters only of so much of the Delta as was necessary for keeping open the communication between Memphis and the large frontier fortress of Pelusium, their proper capital. The rest of the country is expressly stated to have been governed by native, though tributary, Princes. We not only may, but actually do, possess monuments of the latter, especially of the Theban Dynasties. Monumental inscriptions, the greater part of which, it is true, relate to private matters, mention *more than thirty Kings of that epoch.* One portion of these we identify as the same represented seated, thirty in number, on the right side of the Ancestral Hall of Tuthmosis III., who are either a selection or the entire genealogical series of the Theban Princes. Another portion, though equally well authenticated, are wanting in that Tablet. The number of Theban Kings registered in the Papyrus of the Ramesside epoch was evidently *at least* as great as in Manetho, namely, sixty; and several of the names still legible are either those of the Tablet of Karnak, or known to us on contemporary monuments.

These indisputable facts in Egyptian research will, at all events, have the effect of removing a prejudice which, however generally entertained, is nevertheless wholly unwarranted. They will also establish the following points—first, that there was a tradition of the Middle Empire as historical, if not so generally circulated because unfruitful in memorable exploits, yet based on the entries of annals which can be shown to have existed in the early part of the New Empire—and secondly, that *contemporary* monuments still extant and already analysed confirm this tradition. It is true that we have here no guide of the Alexandrian School whom we can collate with the List of Eratosthenes. We have, however, that of Apollodorus, his learned successor, who published that List and performed the very same task for the Middle Empire. Unfortunately, Syncellus has only transmitted the number of the names of the Theban Kings of that epoch, without even adding the length of the whole period in Apollodorus, still less that of the individual reigns. It is however easy to perceive that the number 53 tallies satisfactorily with the corresponding 60 Theban Kings in Manetho with 453 years, the first ten of whom belong to the Old Empire. The main question still is, what was the length of the whole period? It cannot be answered till a thorough analysis of the Epitomists, as well as the Monuments and Tablet of Tuthmosis, has been made. Unfortunately, the Epitomists only give us throughout this whole period the number of the reigns of the individual Dynasties with the exception of the first Shepherd Dynasty, and besides that, only the sum total of the reigns which were doubtless entered singly by Manetho. Here, therefore, the mistakes of transcript in the two Lists cannot be tested by the entries of the individual Kings and the epilogi of their aggregate reigns.

Such are the foundations and materials of research in the Middle Period. The term Middle Empire is not strictly applicable to it, nor has it been so applied except for the sake of brevity, as its real peculiarity consists in its marking the close of an Egyptian Empire. The Empire of Menes fell to pieces. Warlike hordes of Bedouins made themselves masters of Memphis, and governed Lower Egypt with military severity. They exhibited at the same time the distaste always evinced by Asiatics for the provincialism of the Egyptian religion and priesthood. Upper Egypt, it is true, was in the hands of native Princes, some of whom still existed also in the Delta; but they were tributary, and could make no claim to imperial sovereignty, although, as the Theban monuments testify, they bore Pharaonic titles.

The greater part of our inquiry, therefore, will be devoted to the chronological question, the determination of the length of the period. In an historical point of view, indeed, it is perhaps the most important and attractive in this epoch. Egypt had, strictly speaking, outlived itself as a portion of general history. Even the subsequent restoration produced no imposing novelty, and its brilliancy was but short-lived when confronted with new-blooming Asia. Were then the history of this epoch still extant, its details would claim rather the sympathy of the archæologist than the historical philosopher. So much the more important and attractive, accordingly, is the chronological inquiry. Upon the result of it depends the possibility of our being in a position to answer the question:

"How long the Middle Period lasted from the downfall of the Old to the commencement of the New Empire?"

Upon this again turns not merely the possibility of dovetailing the epoch of the Old Empire into its place in history, but generally of obtaining a firm foundation for the chronological computation of the historical *origines* of national history. We think we have established in the former volume, that (excepting the Chinese, which stands by itself), we possess no chronology at all prior to Solomon. It is hardly probable that the Babylonian and Assyrian monuments will ever furnish a complete one. If, therefore, the thread of Egyptian chronology be broken off between the Old and New Empires, we must fall back upon astronomical synchronisms, whether by calculation or observation, and these can only be successfully applied where the limits of historical possibility are not too undefined and distant.

In the New Empire, it is true, this is so far from being the case, that we have in its historical monuments more ample materials, not merely for chronological but also for historical research, and are brought at an early period into important and interesting contact with the great stream of universal history. This indeed held out a temptation to deviate a little from the sober path we chalked out at starting for this stage of our inquiry. Upon mature reflection, however, it seemed more advisable to exclude here, as elsewhere, every historical investigation not directly connected with chronological points, and still more so, the complete enumeration and illustration of the monuments. We cannot possibly apply any extraneous portion of general history to our present purpose with any degree of certainty, until we reach the summit of universal history through the domain of Synchronisms. All the rest, however, is foreign to the character of this work.

In the present edition, therefore, we shall not exceed the limits of the German one of 1845.

Neither has it been found necessary to make any alteration in the method of the inquiry. It will, however, it is hoped, be more intelligible now to many of our readers, when they see the whole together, than it appears to have been in some particulars. In the meantime the position of Egyptian research has been materially improved in the last few years, especially from the careful study applied to the monuments by French scholars. When I first commenced this portion of the subject, I found the Hyksos period barely recognised even by Egyptologers as forming a great epoch in Egyptian history. Now, I have only to defend my nine centuries against five on one side and eighteen on the other. All those whose studies give them any right to offer an opinion on the subject now admit the tripartite nature of Egyptian history. The negligence of some scholars in Germany, who choose to ignore Egyptology, is now universally considered in Europe, as it really is —anachronistic ignorance. In like manner the dreamy notion of the Scythians being the Hyksos, and of their having built the pyramids, has disappeared out of the domain of science, and only been retained in books which evince a total want of research and historical judgment.

In the New Empire I found nothing which could be relied upon prior to Sheshonk, the chief of the 20th Dynasty, who drove the son of Solomon out of Jerusalem and plundered the Temple. Champollion, misled by his brother's chronological studies, had failed altogether in his restoration of the 18th and 19th Dynasties, which prevented him from being right in the 20th and 21st. Accordingly, by making the starting point too early by 250 years, the harmony between the monuments and old Royal Tablets on one side, and Manetho's Lists on the other, was destroyed. The English critics did no more than dwell upon this disagreement. When I gave an outline of my restoration of these Dynasties in 1832, before the Archæological Institute, I had settled all the main points just as they were published in 1845. At that time nobody agreed with me, and afterwards Lepsius only, whose concurrence was certainly of great weight. I believe I may now venture to say that on all essential points the first critics in France and England, as far as their opinions have been promulgated, agree with me. In saying this, I am very far from intending to extol myself, but simply the method I have pursued, which is none other than the one I learned from the immortal founder of Egyptology, Champollion himself, and his writings; and as regards philology and historical criticism, from the great teachers of my early years, Heyne, Silvestre de Sacy, and Niebuhr. For this very reason also I am fully convinced that, as there can be no other correct method of pursuing Egyptian science but the one laid down by Champollion and his school, so there can be no sound course of study in philology and historical criticism but that founded by the above-mentioned scholars — a school to which, among our contemporaries, Böckh and Letronne, Lassen and Burnouf belong. Every other mode will inevitably prove a failure, whether it be the result of speculation or theological prejudice.

FIRST DIVISION.

THE MIDDLE OR HYKSOS PERIOD.

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HYKSOS PERIOD AND THE TREATMENT OF IT.

A.

THE OLD EMPIRE, AND ITS DECLINE.

It will be in conformity with the system already carried out in this inquiry, if we take a general retrospect of the Old Empire, and exhibit as concisely as possible its more prominent historical features, before we plod our weary way through the nine monotonous centuries which intervene between it and the New Empire. The connexion between the Empire of the Pyramids and the Middle is much closer than is generally assumed or implied. Its decline took place during the earlier periods of a new Theban dynasty, in which line the original Pharaonic race, though fallen from their high estate and tributary to strangers who were in possession of Memphis, was still continued. This survey, which is carried down to the starting point of our new inquiry, we preface by a collation of the Lists of Eratosthenes and Manetho, according to the three divisions which the history of the Old Empire exhibits.

I.

SYNOPTICAL TABLE OF THE

Historical Sections.	ERATOSTHENES.		
	Successive Number of the Kings.	Kings.	Length of the Period.
First Division. Foundation.			
MENES to APAPPUS: year of Menes 1. to 569.			
I. First Dynasty, Thinites undivided Empire, 190 years.	I.—V.	5	190
II. Third Dynasty, Memphites, Thinite and Thebo-Memphite imperial reigns: divided Empire, 224 years.	VI.—XIV.	9	224
III. Fourth Dynasty, Memphites: united Empire, 155 years.	XV.—XIX.	5	155
Second Division.			
APAPPUS to AMMENEMÊS, the Decline, 273 years: year of Menes, 570—842.			
I. Sixth Dynasty, Memphites, Elephantinean and Thebo-Memphite Empire, 107 years.	XX.—XXII.	3	107
II. Seventh, eighth (Memphite) and eleventh Theban Dynasty. The Theban House of Nantef. The separation of Upper and Lower Egypt.	XXIII.	1	22
The Herakleopolitan government conjointly with the Memphite, 166 yrs.	XXIV.—XXXI.	8	144
Third Division.			
Restoration and Fall of the Empire: year of Menes, 843—1076; 234 years.			
I.—IV. Twelfth Dynasty 147 years. (Decline.)	XXXII.—XXXV.	4	147
V. Beginning of the 13th Dynasty, 87 years.	XXXVI.—XXXVIII.	3	87
Length of the Empire - - - - - -		38 Kings.	1076 years.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD EMPIRE.

MANETHO'S IMPERIAL DYNASTIES.							Manetho's collateral Dynasties.
Dynasty.	Kings.	Years.		Manetho's probable Calculation of the Historical Chronology.			
		Lowest.	Highest.	Kings.	Years.		
First (Thinites.)	8	253 differ. 10.	263	5	188	253	
Third (Memphites.)	9	214	214	9	214	214	Second Dynasty, Thinites (224) 302
(Memphites.) Fourth	8	274	274	5	154	154	
Sixth (Memphites.)	6	203	203	4	113	203	Fifth Dynasty, Elephantineans 218
Seventh (Memphites.)	5	(20) + 70 days differ. 55.	75	1(5)	(20)	75	Herakleopolitans Ninth Dyn. 409
Eighth (Memphites.)	7	142 differ. 4.	146	7	142	142 (146)	Tenth 185
Eleventh (Diospolitans.)	16	43	43	4	43	43	594
Twelfth (Diospolitans.)	8	176	176	8	176	176	Ninth Dynasty alone 409
Beginning of the thirteenth. (Diospolitans.)	(3 + x)	(87 (+ x qu?)	87)	3	87	87	Beginning (?) of the fourteenth Dyn. (Xoites).
Sum total -	70 Kgs. + x.	1412 (dif. 69) + (x yrs.) 70 dys.	1481	46 K. (50)	1137	1347 (1351) + 70 days.	Sum total of all collateral Dyn. (II. V. IX. X.) 1036 or 1114. Sum tot. II. V. IX. 851 or 929.

II.

SURVEY OF THE EPOCHS OF THE OLD EMPIRE. EXPLANATION OF ITS APPARENTLY SUDDEN DOWNFALL.

The first period, then, comprises 569 years, commencing with the foundation of one Empire, which comprehended all Egypt as the united duality "of the two countries." We enter upon this stage of it from the dark background of centuries of the modern history of Upper and Lower Egypt, which, though unsatisfactorily computed by unknown periods of the history of provincial dynasties, is nevertheless strictly historical. The Egyptian language proves that under this system of provincial dynasties there existed a primeval unity of the Egyptian people in the valley of the Nile from Syene down to the sea. A comparison between it (the written character of which was firmly established a few centuries after Menes) and those of the Upper Valley, and its neighbours (the Ethiopians and Libyans), as well as those of the Semitics in Africa and Asia (Abyssinia, Arabia, Palestine), furnishes equally substantial proof that in the earliest times one race of people must have successively pressed upon another in Egypt. Traces of these invasions are visible in the deposit of their language. The tide of immigration poured into Egypt from Palestine, from Arabia, in the East, and from the cognate tribes of Ethiopia in the South; while, during this process, the originally Asiatic people of the Egyptian Valley of the Nile, especially in the Thebaid, had gradually formed a language, written character and mythology, and by means of all these together had elaborated a peculiar view of the world, and an independent expression for the intercourse between mind and matter as well as the Divinity, before they took their place in national history.

By this means the basis of nationality and political union was laid. One province naturally united itself to another from a feeling of internal unity and the want of mutual protection and cultivation, each having a town as a central point, and a priesthood with some princely family at its head. Thus a Lower and Upper country were gradually formed by progressive union and incorporation; and the distinction was never lost sight of after they became one Empire of Egypt. No sovereign was ever called Lord of Egypt, but "Lord of the Upper and Lower Country," of the "Two Countries." On the other hand this title was naturally claimed by those who possessed one of the two divisions, and who thought they had a right to the other. On this basis of centuries, or rather of thousands of years of Egyptian foretime, Menes founded the *Empire of Egypt*, by raising the people who inhabited the Valley of the Nile from a little provincial station to that of an historical nation. They gained this latter position by abandoning Ethiopia and turning their steps towards Asia and the Mediterranean. Menes regulated the course of the Nile and improved its western arm, the Joseph's Canal. On the soil of the Memphite nome thus drained and become solid he built the almost impregnable city of Memphis, which remained ever afterwards the metropolis of Egypt on the Asiatic side. The task of embellishing it was left to his successors. He extended the Empire by conquests, and his posterity appear to have maintained what they inherited from him.

Thus nearly two centuries (190 years) elapsed. After the death of the fifth King, the race of Menes became extinct, and the Empire, either peaceably, or after a struggle, was partitioned. One line (the 2nd Dynasty), which there is evidence to prove was the one that was carried on through a female, withdrew to the birthplace of their race, to This, where Abydos in aftertimes flourished as the Sacred city. The Imperial line was continued, however, under the so-called 3rd Dynasty, a Memphite family, one evidently distinguished for warlike courage, its conquests and civil enactments, as the former was for its influence on faith and morals.

In this second period of 224 years, with which the 5th century of the Empire concludes and the 6th commences, we meet with three great facts—*the introduction of animal worship, an improvement in writing, and the distinct division into castes.* These changes evidently completed the primeval civilisation of Egypt, for there is no notice or trace of any subsequent alteration. The Egyptian type was fully stamped; any further development which it underwent oscillated within the strictly defined limits of this period. We possess a document in the Hieratic character fastened on to the coffin of King Nantef, the chief of the 11th Dynasty, who reigned about 450 years after the monarch whose exertions in improving the written characters is especially recorded. This invaluable and most ancient specimen of *book-writing* exhibits the same completely finished, running hand, which we find on the monuments of the 18th Dynasty, with this difference only, that it is less stiff and less carefully executed. By this notice in the first period of the Old Empire, we understand the institution of an epistolographic character, which, being intended to be executed by the reed-pen, differed from that of the painted sculptured character. This explanation becomes more natural from the fact of the painted quarry marks in the Pyramids as early as in the beginning of the 4th Dynasty, exhibiting the linear hieroglyphics in their full extent, from which the Hieratic book-character was formed. The sign of the scribe, the inkstand of the Egyptians, is found on contemporary monuments. Towards the end of the 3rd Dynasty, about the year 300 of Menes, commence the still existing pyramidal tombs of the Kings; but Manetho's

Annals mentioned their extant pyramids as being erected by the fourth King of the 1st Dynasty.

The 4th Dynasty united the Empire for a term of 155 years. The third section of our period comprises the reigns of the builders of the largest pyramids, which entailed so much misery on the people, and that of the much venerated Mencheres. At the commencement of the second period (year of Menes 570—676) the great Empire of the Pharaohs was divided, dynastically at least, a family of Elephantine becoming dominant in the Southern Thebaid. The Imperial succession itself was carried on in the Memphite line. The reign of Phiops-Apappus is recorded from the sixth year of his age as lasting 100 years within a few hours. Monuments of his age are still extant at Memphis and in the Thebaid, as well as of a King of the contemporary Elephantinæan Dynasty (the 5th). This period comprised 107 years.

With the death of Nitōkris, the widow of the son and successor of Phiops-Apappus, which would seem to have been a violent one, a period of desolation which lasted 166 years ensued: the fifth section, during which kings of two Memphite families reigned (the 7th and 8th Dynasty), and those of a Theban family which is called the 11th. The Princes of this Theban Dynasty of the house of Nantef, as appears from Eratosthenes' list, possessed regal power at Thebes during the 8th, perhaps even the 7th Dynasty.

Between them and these Memphite reigns two Herakleopolitan Dynasties intervene, as the 9th and 10th. We have already intimated, that the Herakleopolis in the Delta must probably be meant here, the capital of the Sethroite Nome, i. e. the province which took its name from the "Seth of the Outlet." Sethron (or more properly Sethroë) is close to Pelusium.

The third and last period of the Old Empire is as remarkable from its sudden rise, as its speedy downfall and the independence of Egypt. It admits of no doubt that Sesortosis I. ruled over the whole country. During the reign of the second and third king of that name, however, the country was in a state of the highest well-being, and many victorious campaigns were made against foreign nations. The third Sesortosis enriched the country by constructing canals, and erected a splendid memorial of his power at Semneh, 250 miles beyond the southern frontier of the Empire (Syene), the grandeur of which excites admiration and astonishment to this day. The largest and most splendid edifice and the most useful work in Egypt, the Labyrinth and Lake of Mœris, were executed by his successor Ammenemes III., and his coadjutor or representative, the fourth King of that name. Then followed, according to Eratosthenes, eighty-seven years during which no great works can be shown to have been executed. Either the invasion of the Palestino-Arab shepherds recorded by Manetho, or the result of that invasion, their establishment in Memphis under regal government, must coincide with the close of this period.

Under these circumstances it can hardly be purely accidental that we find these shepherds, according to Manetho's history, possessing themselves of this province almost without a struggle, fortifying or enlarging a city of which they retained possession till after the restoration of the Empire, and which is either Sethroe itself, or the predecessor of Pelusium.

So rapid and total a decline of the Empire, and the tributary condition of the country for so long a period, are certainly somewhat striking circumstances at the first glance; and this is in fact precisely what Manetho himself remarks.

Yet if we look back over the state of the Empire, which gradually unfolded itself before us as we unravelled the thread of the Old Imperial history, we shall find it even during the second period in so pitiable a state of disunion, that we can only regard the restoration of the Sesortosidæ as the attempt of a brave, powerful, and wise dynasty to effect its renovation by extraordinary efforts. Such a restoration, however, could not be lasting, because national vitality was wanting, which, after the downfall of the sacerdotal power, would alone have been able to maintain the unity of the Empire intact against the jealousies of the old provinces, and the intrigues of the provincial dynasties. This view would merit attention as furnishing a political explanation of an undoubted fact which comes under our notice, inasmuch as it is based on the demonstrable rise and gradual formation of the Old Empire. It is, however, supported by facts, which are established beyond doubt or refutation.

We have seen in the period immediately preceding, not merely Thebes and Memphis governed by separate princes with the titles of the two countries; but also that at that time a new government was formed at Herakleopolis, consequently either close to Memphis, or (what appeared more probable) not far from Pelusium, the founder of which (according to Manetho) inflicted the greatest hardships on all the Egyptians, and consequently usurped by force, for a long period, the Imperial power, and governed the country in a tyrannical manner.

We gather from Manetho's narrative, that nothing but internal disunion, that is, treachery on the part of the separate Northern Princes, could have caused the downfall of the throne of the Pharaohs in Memphis almost without opposition. He found an extraordinarily rapid decline after so brilliant a meridian: external force he saw was insufficient of itself to account for it: it was not a powerful Empire, like Assyria in after times, which fell upon Egypt: they were "inglorious" shepherd hordes, warlike nomades, who were enticed towards the wealthy Egypt by hope of plunder, perhaps by want or over-population at home.

The enormous constructions of the latter Sesortosidæ, far surpassing any thing of a similar kind known in history, may also have strained beyond its powers of endurance or have exhausted the strength of the country, and either have created almost universal discontent, or so enervated the nation as to occasion them to neglect their military exercises and discipline. It is very possible, therefore, that this exhaustion, debility, and discontent favoured the success of that invasion, if it were not the treachery of the Princes, which, as usual, seconded the attacks of the Imperial foes. "The Herakleopolitans" (on the authority of the persons quoted by Pliny in the passage about the Labyrinth) "vied with the ravages of time in destroying the Labyrinth, which was immediately contiguous to them." This statement is too definite not to be grounded upon a fact. It is certainly very possible that this hostile relation is mainly to be explained as originating in religious hatred, and it may even be considered probable that the whole has reference to later times. We may be permitted, however, in that case to ask, what times? If it did not occur in the Hyksos period, it could hardly have happened at any other than in this epoch of the Old Empire, because in the New there was at least unity in the government, and no mention is made of Herakleopolitan Princes.

It is true, that we are limited to conjectures when we do more than make a general assumption of the existence of such internal causes. At all events, however, why are not 89 years of weak government, combined with a change of dynasty, and all the power of several jealous princes constantly exerted against the government, sufficient without treachery to complete the overthrow of an artificially formed government, and one restored by extraordinary events and efforts? We have seen the continual recurrence of similar results in the oldest as well as modern history, in that of China and in that of Germany, from Arminius down to our own times. The unity of the two Egypts (and we lay great stress upon this fact) was an artificial arrangement, to which nothing but a national element could give durability in face of the separative tendencies. Exactions on the part of the dynasties, and the quarrels of the priests on every occasion, led to a partition or a split. One province worshipped the Deity in the crocodile; another in the ichneumon, its destroyer. Political and national institutions, however, did not exist, and the system of castes was rigidly maintained. The only resource, therefore, was in Pharaonic despotism through the warrior caste; that is to say, force hallowed by the priests: its symbol, the scourge, was the specific sign of the Pharaohs and the gods. Nations with strong vitality do not fall into decay from causes like these, but neither are those which have no life in them reinvigorated by them. Upon the irruption of a foreign enemy the Empire was dissolved after one campaign, perhaps without a battle (for such seems, according to Manetho, to have been the case) and without resistance; and the foreign dominion lasted as long as the vitality of the conquerors endured.

B.

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE TREATMENT OF THE HYKSOS PERIOD.

I. PREJUDICES OF THOSE WHO HAVE NOT MADE EGYPTOLOGY THEIR STUDY AGAINST THE HYKSOS PERIOD — ESPECIALLY THE JEWISH-CHRISTIAN THEOLOGIANS — AND THE FUTILITY OF THEIR LUCUBRATIONS.

THE introductory observations in the former volume must have made us sensible of the invaluable guide posterity has lost in the work of Eratosthenes. He alone taught us how Manetho is to be understood — he enabled us even to point out, when we were obliged to correct him, the superiority of his method in treating Egyptian research. Had Manetho's lists even come down to us wholly free from blunders, we should never have been able to have divined, from the epilogi of his Dynasties, the historical sum total of the years of reign, the only years which Eratosthenes, with his superior method, computed in his list. There, on the contrary, we found the genuine Manethonian computation so clogged with extraneous matter, and his entries so mixed up with blunders, that we were driven to conjectures alone in attempting any chronology whatever—conjectures which deviated widely from each other. Difficulties, however, of a far more serious nature, and considerations of a far more important order, sprung up in opposition to the arguments in favour of the assumption of there being a period of at all events FIVE FULL CENTURIES, perhaps NINE, intervening between the Old and New Empire. There we had an almost unbroken series of names and dates of reign, the coincidence of which in Eratosthenes and Manetho could not be denied, from the moment we found the key to the connexion between them. Wherever there was an hiatus or confusion in these lists, the monuments, so providentially preserved, especially the two invaluable Royal Tablets, supplied and restored what was omitted. It merely required an impartial eye, and a system of historical criticism, consistently carried out after the model left us by the restorers of Greek and Roman history, to see at once that this agreement could not possibly be the result of accident. Here, on the contrary, we seem to assume as historical fifty and odd Kings, upon the mere entry of Lists which do not give us one single name, one single date of reign. We demand a place in general history for Kings whose very existence has hitherto not been even believed by those who admit the Hyksos period in general to be historical. These latter persons still thought themselves obliged to limit it to a century, or some such like short period, either because they were blinded by Jewish prejudices, or because they stood aghast before an array of centuries about which they had nothing to relate, although obliged to compute them in the chronology. If they could not venture here to rely upon those whom they declared to be trustworthy, on the whole, in the Old Empire — namely, the Egyptians and their monuments, they took courage from their prejudices, and exercised the right of talking about things which they did not understand. Most modern writers of this turn, however, presuming on the prescription of long-repeated absurdities, and calculating on the credulity of mankind, mutilate ancient history to a much greater extent than the ecclesiastical writers, who so anxiously and honestly limited their computations of the earliest epochs. They think to facilitate the restoration of the old chronology by denying the Hyksos period altogether. This not only lightens their labours in that department, but even gives them, in the eyes of many, the appearance, which costs nothing, of being thoroughly sound critics; for it seems a higher mark of genuine criticism, especially in these times, to deny a thing rather than to maintain its truth. People are ashamed of being ignorant in matters of research, with which the sound common sense of mankind might long ago have grappled ; but professed scholars even, especially in Germany, do not blush to parade before all Europe a scandalous ignorance of Egyptian research, and to talk with caste-arrogance of "so called contemporary monuments" and "pretended explanations of the hieroglyphics." When, however, this will not answer their purpose any longer, they come forward, especially in England, with theological suspicions and charges of infidelity—men who never gave a single proof of being able to read and critically explain the records of their own faith in the original. All such persons rush eagerly to attack our assumption as to the length of the Middle Empire with the arms, so often victorious, of positive denial, and by referring to great names of those who lived before the discovery of the hieroglyphics. The 1076 years of the Old Empire they must concede to us — at least we think so — unless they have a fancy to increase the number. But in the Hyksos period the case of the old chronology seems, according to our own explanations, less strong. Besides this, there are scholars who are not ashamed, in these days, of advancing the utterly untenable proposition, that the Hyksos Kings ever possessed the whole of Egypt. Improbable, indeed, and unexampled we must admit it to be, that a foreign people should maintain themselves in Egypt for nine, or even five, centuries, and have lived so like barbarians that not a single monument of theirs, that is of the whole period, can be pointed out. Unless, forsooth, the pyramids are such ! for it appears, from the latest publications in Germany, that Egyptian research has not removed the unhappy idea that they were erected by these Shepherds. Such persons who, instead of patiently studying and endeavouring to make themselves masters of facts, adhere, like the mediæval inquirers, to probabilities, may find themselves in a greater dilemma than others, on finding that, at the end of this period, which is longer perhaps than the duration of the historical life of most modern people, the Old Egyptian Empire comes forth again in renovated youth, and, in fact, as the monuments prove, with its national peculiarities, its religion, its language, its writing, its art, in precisely the same condition as if no interruption had occurred, or at most, nothing beyond the temporary inroad of some Bedouin robbers.

Yet these are the fairest opponents amongst those who doubt the correctness of Egyptian archæology. They enter upon the inquiry with seeming impartiality. Their Bedouins, at least, are taken from fact. But the dogmatic sceptics condescend to entertain apprehensions of a very different character. What will become (they ask first of all) of the Bible dates? And what becomes of the Flood? exclaim the zealots. Two thousand years' history and chronology before Moses! and that from one for whom the Bible chronology prior to Solomon is not good enough! And here a wide door is opened for sarcasm and scoffing; for there are many zealous souls who desire nothing better than to prove that the "scoffer," "the God-despiser," "the infidel critic," himself deals uncritically. In such persons' eyes, however, every man is naturally a scoffer who declares he does not believe anything they assert, however devoid it may be of any sound foundation, and however insignificant in itself. It would be, therefore, far more advisable, in a worldly view of the case, to abandon the point at once. For such a concession, perhaps, the chronology of the Old Empire might be allowed to pass muster—nay, we might even gain the cheap reputation of having exercised strict and impartial criticism in researches undertaken from an innocent affection for Egyptian antiquities. Opponents of this class will naturally consider us prejudiced throughout in favour of the Egyptian authorities, of which we were the first to prove the historical authenticity.

The affair, however, is no affair of *ours*. Be we right or be we wrong, it is *truth* of which we are in search. What we contend against is indifference to the discovery of truth in the old traditions. It is the deceitful pretence of real knowledge which we have zealously laboured, and that not for a short time, to expel, even in the domain of the oldest chronology, from its prescriptive strongholds, to offer it up to the manes of Eratosthenes, of Scaliger, and of Niebuhr.

Upon the solution of the question, whether the length of the Hyksos period can be established, depends the possibility—for ever probably—of bridging over the chasm which separates the origines of mankind from the more modern era commencing with Moses. Of what avail is it to know the length of the Old Empire at one end, and to restore the chronology of the New, from Alexander up to the 18th Dynasty, at the other, if the thread break off altogether in the Middle Period? If it cannot be drawn from the earliest times uninterruptedly down to the historical age of Europe, throughout the whole history of Egypt, all hope must assuredly be abandoned of doing it anywhere and in any way. The object of the inquiry, therefore, as it seems to us, is one of general importance, the prize one of no trifling value. We entreat from those who have a respect for truth an impartial judgment and an unprejudiced verdict, with especial regard for researches which are not within the compass of all, and the direct importance of which to the History of the World, and, indeed, the highest problems of Philosophy respecting it, but few suspect.

II. Critical Objections raised against the Hyksos Period having been of long Duration.

If we are not mistaken, those persons even who are at one with us so far in our researches raise two main objections against the assumption that the Middle Empire embraced a period of nearly nine centuries and a half. The first is of a general nature, founded upon the great improbability of a foreign dominion having lasted so long, at the close of which the national peculiarities reappeared without any symptom of interruption, and art burst forth again into bloom under a new and glorious aspect. The second objection is of a particular character, and, when strictly confined, is reducible to two points — first, that the grounds of Manetho's assumption are neither certain in themselves, nor corroborated by the researches of the critical scholars of Alexandria; and, secondly, that they are unsupported by monumental evidence.

As regards the first general objection, it certainly requires a lengthy investigation in this and the succeeding Book before we can demonstrate its entire fallacy. We must, however, in the first place, remove the erroneous ideas usually entertained as to the Hyksos and the nature of their dominion. We do not deny the pertinency of the objection as long as the objectors start upon the presumptions to which we allude. But what we maintain is, that all such presumptions are entirely fanciful. In the first place, no one is justified in considering the Hyksos either to be Scythians or Babylonians, as his fancy may suggest. The Egyptians have told us who they were, and no one has a right to set up his own notions in opposition to them. They tell us that the Hyksos were not a people who made an irruption from a distant country, but neighbouring Semitic tribes from the north-east of Egypt, that is, Canaanites, associated possibly with the Bedouins of Northern Arabia and the peninsula of Sinai. They were not an ancient people, but tribes or hordes who grew into a people afterwards in Egypt. As such Manetho describes them; so (we may here premise) does Herodotus, when, with child-like faith he owns he did not understand the meaning of what he relates, he speaks of the "*Shepherd Philitis*," who, as he was informed on the Field of the Pyramids, tended his herds at Memphis in the olden time. We shall show that this meant the Shepherd races of the Philistines, i. e. the Palestiners, and that they were the Hyksos. Now, what greater difficulty is there in supposing that an indigenous, powerful race retained possession of Lower Egypt for five hundred or a thousand years, during which the native princes were tributary to them, than that they did so for two or three generations? And such, according to Manetho's explicit statement, was the actual relation between the foreigners and the native princes. The notion of a total subversion of Egyptian life and manners is wholly unwarranted—a pure fancy. Although tributary, the greater part of the land of the Pharaohs obeyed its native princes. The seat of the Shepherd sovereignty was a fortified camp. They held possession of Memphis; but their residence was a vast fortress on the frontiers of the Syrian Desert, not far from Old Pelusium, the very spot, probably, where, in the latter centuries of the Old Empire, the Herakleopolitan Princes founded an empire of their own. The southernmost point they occupied was the primeval royal residence of Lower Egypt, Memphis. From hence (says Manetho) they held the Egyptians in subjection and took tribute of their princes. Not only did the Thebans, then, continue to exercise the sovereignty in the Thebaid as princes of a tributary Egyptian Empire, but also the Xoites in the Delta. Manetho expressly mentions *several* tributary princes; and had he not done so, we should have been obliged to assume the existence of a North-Egyptian dynasty. The Hyksos, according to Egyptian tradition, perpetrated many acts of cruelty, and persecuted the religion of the country. But the sequel of the narrative, as to the tributary condition of the princes and their subsequent revolt, shows the course of events to have been the same there as in China. The peaceable habits and good order of an agricultural and civilised people in time soften down and subdue the rude and hostile conqueror. At first he finds it convenient to take tribute from those whom he has subjugated by force. This, however, implies that he allows them to follow their customary habits and mode of life, as indeed he must do if he expects to receive tribute from them. By degrees the charm of good order and social enjoyment begins to have its effect even upon him, and the barbarian becomes more gentle because better informed. If, in addition to this, we reflect with what far greater tenacity men in the olden time retained their long-established habits and customs, instead of being struck with the improbability of such a state of things, we think it will be found perfectly comprehensible.

Having thus explained away the self-created preliminary objections, we proceed to deal with the particular charges. We shall have no great difficulty in showing that these also are based upon assumptions which have no foundation whatever, arising out of misunderstandings which can be easily removed. Manetho's statements, it is said, are unintelligible, or, at all events, irreconcilable with any sound historical and chronological views—that Apollodorus's List of Kings, which we have introduced to their notice, has no reference to this period, and that the Tablet of Karnak and the Turin Papyrus furnish no satisfactory results. Lastly, the contemporary monuments, which cannot be got rid of altogether, are said not to be in character with the Hyksos period. We have noticed some of the objections and charges which have been raised in the order in which we now propose to institute our critical inquiry, wherein we venture to hope that we shall prove, once for all, how utterly unfounded and untenable all such objections are.

SECTION I.

CRITICISM OF THE ANNALISTS.

A.

MANETHO'S OWN STATEMENT ABOUT THE HYKSOS PERIOD IN JOSEPHUS.

Josephus, in his Answer to Apion, gives what purports to be Manetho's literal version, in the second volume of his Egyptian History, of the inroad of the Shepherd races, who overthrew the Empire of Menes, and held possession of the north of Egypt and Memphis, the capital, for a long series of ages. "The so-called *Timaos*" (read Amuntimaos) became King." "Egypt, during his reign, lay, I know not why, under the Divine displeasure, and, on a sudden, men from the *East country*, of an ignoble race, audaciously invaded the land. They easily got possession of it, and established themselves without a struggle, making the rulers thereof tributary to them, burning their cities, and demolishing the temples of their gods. All the natives they treated in the most brutal manner—some they put to death, others they reduced to slavery with their wives and children.

"Subsequently, also, they chose a king out of their own body, Salatis by name. He established himself at Memphis, took tribute from the Upper and Lower country, and placed garrisons in the most suitable places. He fortified more especially the Eastern frontier, foreseeing, as he did, that the Assyrians, whose power was then at its height, would make an attempt to force their way into the Empire from that quarter. He found in the Sethroite Nome a city particularly well adapted for that purpose, lying to the east of the Bubastite arm of the Nile, called *Avaris*, after an old mythological fable. This he repaired and fortified with strong walls, and placed in it a garrison of 240,000 heavy-armed soldiers. In summer he visited it in person, for the purpose of recruiting them with a fresh supply of provisions, paying their salaries, and practising military exercises by which to strike terror into the foreigners.

"He died after a reign of nineteen years, and was succeeded by another King, *Beon* (Bnon) by name, who reigned forty-four years. After him *Apachnas* reigned thirty-six years and *seven* months; then *Apōphis*, sixty-one years; then *Janias* (*Jannas*), fifty years and one month; and lastly, *Assis* (*Asīs*), forty-nine years and two months.

"These six were their first rulers. They were continually at war, with a view of utterly exhausting the strength of Egypt. The general name of their people was Hyksōs, which means 'Shepherd Kings;' for *Hyk* signifies, in the sacred language, a *King*, and *Sôs*, in the demotic, is *Shepherd* and *Shepherds*. Some say they were Arabs."

This is all that Manetho states; but Josephus adds: "It is mentioned in another work (one of Manetho's, as appears from a subsequent passage) that the word *Hyk* does not signify Kings, but Shepherd prisoners. *Hyk*, or *Hak*, signifies, in Egyptian, Prisoners, and this seems to me more likely and more in conformity with ancient history." Such is the sly and simple remark of Josephus.

He then continues his historical narrative, clearly, however, no longer quoting Manetho's own words, but giving an extract from him to further his own ends — namely, to vaunt the antiquity of the Jews and their famous ancestry against his opponent Apion, and to refute the opprobrious stories current about them among the Egyptians.

"The above-mentioned Kings" (he continues) "*and their posterity* reigned over Egypt, as Manetho states, 511 YEARS. After this the Kings of the Thebaid and of the other parts of Egypt revolted against the Shepherds, whereupon a great and long-protracted war ensued. Under a King called Misphragmuthōsis, the Shepherds were defeated, and not only driven out of the rest of Egypt, but blockaded in a place 10,000 aruras in circumference, by name AVARIS, which, as Manetho relates, the Shepherds had surrounded with a vast and strong wall, as a place of security for their property and plunder."

Here, then, Avaris is again introduced, as if no mention had been made of it before. We have a clear picture before us of a military colony in a large camp surrounded with a wall—10,000 aruras (of 150 feet each) make a square of 15,000 feet (5000 double paces) on each side, consequently a city of twenty ancient, or four geographical miles, i. e. somewhere about twice the size of ancient Rome, within the walls of Aurelian.

Josephus goes on to say, "The son of Misphragmuthōsis, Thummōsis, endeavoured to take this city by blockade, and encamped before the walls with 480,000 men. At last giving up all hope of reducing it by assault, he entered into a treaty with them, by virtue of which they were to withdraw from Egypt, and have a safe conduct to any place they should choose. So they decamped from Egypt, through the Desert to Syria, with all their families and effects, not less than 240,000 persons. Fearing the power of the Assyrians, who were then dominant in Asia, they built in Judæa a city large enough to contain so many thousands, and called it Jerusalem."

He concludes by observing that Manetho had stated, in another part of his Egyptian History, that in their Sacred Books these people were called "Shepherd Prisoners." "And there he is right," coolly adds the

Jewish Historian, "for Joseph called himself a prisoner, and his brethren shepherds."

Before we proceed to a chronological criticism of that portion of these remarks which belongs to the present section, we shall collate the tradition in a synoptical form, with Manetho's lists as they appear in the text now in use.

B.

GENERAL CRITICISM AND PRELIMINARY COLLATION.

I. RESTORATION OF THE TEXT OF MANETHO'S LISTS, FROM THE THIRTEENTH DOWN TO THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY.

IN proposing the question, how the lists of this period are to be collated, we touch upon the most difficult point connected with the length of the Hyksos dominion. In our analysis of the lists, and the notes to the "Appendix of Authorities" in the former volume of this work (p. 624.), we have brought the difficulty prominently forward. There, and in the first edition of the present work, we attempted a restoration of the text of the 17th Dynasty, which we must admit to have been unsuccessful. For this reason we find still more difficulty in coinciding either with the views of Lepsius or De Rougè in respect to the main question—namely, the period which intervened between the 12th and 18th Dynasties: the former critic computes it at little more than 500 years; while the latter makes the sum total of all the reigns from the 13th to the 17th about 1900. Now, in order to place the reader at the outset in a position to form an independent judgment for himself, we commence with a brief summary of the dates of the Kings, and their years of reign, contained in the present text of the lists, for which we refer to the "Appendix of Authorities."

XIIITH TO THE XVIITH DYNASTY.

Africanus.	Eusebius.	
	In the *Arm. Version.*	In *Syncellus.*
Years.	Years.	Years
XIII. Diospolitans, 60 Kings - - 453	60 Kings - - 453	60 Kings - - 453
XIV. Xoites, 76 Kings 484	76 Kings - 484	76 Kings - 184 (484)
XV. Shepherd Kings, (with the names and entries of individual reigns) 6 - - - 284	Diospolitans - 250	Diospolitans - 250 „
XVI. Other Shepherd Kings, 32 - - 518	Thebans, 5 - 190	Thebans, 5 - 190 „
XVII. Shepherds, "other Kings, 43; and Thebans, Diospolitans, 43: in all, the Shepherds and Thebans reigned" 151	Shepherds (4). (Four are specially entered by name.) "In all - - 103"	Shepherds, 4 103 „ (Four entered by name.) "Sum total of years 103"

II. Restoration of the Text of the Seventeenth Dynasty.

Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the collation of these five dynasties, and the length of the period between the Old and New Empires, every one must see, who connects any idea with the word "dynasty," that the text of the 17th in Africanus is utter nonsense. In the first place it was composed of two classes, of Shepherds and of Pharaohs, who are here called "Thebans-Diospolitans," which is just the same thing as saying, Thebans=Thebans. This is, however, a trifle compared with another circumstance. Either Manetho is an ignorant counterfeit of a later age, or he means by a dynasty, what the word indicates, a race of princes continued on in the male line. For as the number of the Dynasties is Manetho's, and the one in question is found interpolated between the 16th and

18th, it is impossible to charge the epitomists with such an absurdity, and say they made one dynasty out of two. There is another stumbling-block of an equally formidable character. In the period of 151 years, the number of Shepherd Kings and Diospolitans is stated to be precisely the same, each 43. But the authenticated entries of the preceding Dynasties (XIII—XVI.) prove that the average length of reigns of the Hyksos Kings was very different from that of the Pharaohs in this period. The first Shepherd Dynasty averages 43 years, the second 16; whereas in the two Pharaonic Houses a reign on an average only lasts 6 or 7 years.

So far as regards the first sentence of the text. The second is utter nonsense, if we bear in mind that the Greek word (ὁμοῦ), which we have rendered by "in all," has no other meaning in the Lists than the sum of the reigns of a given Dynasty, never the period of time that two Dynasties reigned "contemporaneously," or "together." This latter interpretation, indeed, would not in any way improve the sense; but it is advisable clearly to understand that it is wholly untenable philologically, according to the invariable usage in Manetho's Lists.

The passage therefore is corrupt. The only emendation which offers a probable restoration of the sense is the following. We see from the Papyrus that it was the Egyptian custom, on one hand, to proceed by Dynasties; on the other, at certain epochs to state, at the close of a Dynasty, the sum total of the Kings and years reigned in a given period. There is a trace of this in the epitomists at the end of the 11th Dynasty. Manetho, however, must certainly have done so here; and indeed, after giving the length of the reigns of the Kings of the 17th, as well as the preceding Dynasties, the epitomists noticed this, although but slightly, and the copyists of Africanus jumbled the two entries together. The date of 151 years, with which the text now concludes, clearly belongs to the notices of the

17th Dynasty, which, to all appearance, must have been Diospolitan. The previous entry of the number of the Kings, however, is part of the notice here annexed regarding the period of the Hyksos' dominion. The number of the Kings of the 17th Dynasty is thus lost. A further proof of two entries, which were misunderstood and mutilated, being thus jumbled together is found in the barbarous juxtaposition of "Thebans and Diospolitans," which arose from the Kings being styled in the heading Diospolitans (as were those of the XIIIth), whereas, in the summing up, the Pharaohs were designated as Thebans by the side of the Hyksos. Adopting this view of the restoration, the date of the sum of the Hyksos Kings as preserved seems perfectly natural.

	Kings.		Years.		Years.
The 15th Dynasty has	6	in	260	average	43
16th ,,	32		518	,,	16
During 17th (Theban)	5		151	,,	30

Sum total - 43 Kings.

If the average of the last five reigns seems high as compared with those immediately preceding, it may be explainable on the supposition that the first Dynasty might possess more vital powers than the second, especially if there were a third Hyksos Dynasty, whose Kings were not elective.

In restoring the number, which is evidently corrupt, of the sum total of the Theban Kings in this section, we must bear in mind that Manetho had reckoned up 60 Kings in the 13th Dynasty: the question here, therefore, as to the sum total can only be between 73 and 83. The latter is the probable one, the alteration being but slight, Π Γ instead of Μ Γ; and 23, which in that case would be Manetho's number for the 17th Dynasty, would give, in 151 years, an average of 6½ years, which is the medium between 7¼, the average of the 60 reigns of the 13th, and 5¾ that of the 76 Xoite reigns in 474 years. The text would, consequently, be restored in the following manner:[*]

"Diospolitan Kings 10, who reigned - 151 years.
"Sum total of Shepherd Kings 43.
" Thebans (instead of 43) 83."

The result of our analysis, therefore, is:

First, that Manetho considered the 17th Dynasty Thebans.

Secondly, that it lasted 151 years.

Thirdly, that Amos, the first King of the 18th, the restorer of the Empire in Memphis and Thebes, succeeded it.

Fourthly, that Manetho assigned to the 17th Dynasty 23 reigns, in complete agreement with the average of the lengths of reign in the 13th (Theban) and the 14th (Xoite) Dynasty.

III. THE COLLATION OF MANETHO'S LISTS IN THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

WE can quite understand the possibility of the Egyptians having kept a register and computation of the period of the Hyksos' dominion, and, indeed, a more accurate one, perhaps, than the Jews did of the time of their bondage. According to their mode of viewing it, after its esta-

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[159] We give the text of the 16th and 17th dynasties, in order to show how the present unmeaning version originated:

Ἓξ καὶ δεκάτη δυναστεία

Ποιμένες ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς $\overline{ΛΒ}$ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη $\overline{ΦΙΗ}$ (518)

Ἑπτὰ καὶ δεκάτη δυναστεία

(Present Text.)	(Amended Text.)
Ποιμένες ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς $\overline{ΜΓ}$. Καὶ Θηβαῖοι Διοσπόλιται ΜΓ. ὁμοῦ οἱ ποιμένες καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη $\overline{ΡΝΑ}$.	Διοσπολίτων βασιλέων $\overline{Ι}$ (10) or $\overline{ΙΕ}$ (15) οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ΡΝΑ (151) ὁμοῦ οἱ ποιμένες βασιλεῖς ΜΓ (43) καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ΠΓ (83).

blishment in Memphis, the beginning and end of the computation were given points. They did not date the Hyksos rule from their inroad and first conquest, but from the taking of Memphis, and the assumption of the regal dignity by the Chief of the Bedouin tribes. Again, it did not conclude with the rising and successful revolt of the Egyptians under their hereditary Princes, especially the Princes of Thebes, but with the expulsion of the Shepherd Kings from Memphis, and the restoration of the national Imperial Kings and of the Empire of Upper and Lower Egypt, i. e. of Thebes and Memphis, which was strictly secured. The intrenched camp of Avaris, near Pelusium, might be still in the hands of the Shepherds, and yet the restoration of the Empire might not be in jeopardy. According to all the accounts, as well as the testimony of monuments, this restoration synchronized with the reign of Amos, or the beginning of the 18th Dynasty.

Thus, according to Egyptian views, the length of the period was limited by their constitutional maxims; and we find them defining that of the Persian dominion upon the same principles.

The question is then, *how* they measured this period, and registered its duration in their annals. In doing this, they might adopt either of the two following methods. One was to say, that between the death of the last King of the old Empire and the accession of Amos, the Chief of the 18th Dynasty, so many Hyksos reigns intervened, the sum total of which made up so many years. This was the most natural mode of making the computation in the Memphis annals. But in those of Thebes the other plan was probably adopted. They must have said, the question is to ascertain how many Kings reigned between the last independent Theban Imperial Sovereign (Amuntimaos) who was recognised as such in Thebes, and the first Theban King (Amos) who restored the Empire in the old city of the Pharaohs, and therefore probably ruled in the whole of the Thebaid. The Thebans kept their own independent registers, as the list of Eratosthenes itself clearly indicates, and as the monuments of the house of Nantef indirectly prove.

In both systems the enumeration was dynastic. The historical date of the restoration coincided with the beginning of a new (the 18th) Dynasty; the fall of the Old Empire synchronized with the first century of the 13th, and consequently divided it, in an historical sense, into two sections—the periods of independence and of vassalage.

The following, therefore, will result from these considerations in favour of the admission or non-admission of synchronisms in Manetho. As we learn from himself, that the Egyptian royal houses were not annihilated or expelled by the Hyksos, but only became tributary to them; and as, according to him and the monuments, the Kings of the Thebaid held the first rank among these tributary native houses, and continued to register their lists of Kings; it is a manifest absurdity to argue that we must enter the 13th (Theban) and 14th (Xoite) Dynasties in the chronology before the Hyksos Dynasties, instead of collaterally with them. We shall, moreover, show in the fourth book, where the complete restoration of Manetho's dates will be given, that he himself did not reckon in that manner; a thing, indeed, which no one who estimates his character, and that of Egyptian tradition, from the points of view of historical criticism—that is, connectedly and logically—would think of laying to his charge.

The Hyksos dates, accordingly, must necessarily stand on one side, and the years of Pharaonic reigns on the other; the general result of which is the following arrangement of Dynasties:

XIII. Thebans.	XV. First Hyksos Race.
XIV. Xoites.	XVI. Second Hyksos Race.

XVII. Thebans. The Hyksos Kings, contemporary with the 17th Dynasty in Memphis.

Here, however, the question arises, whether the Thebans of the 13th and the Xoites of the 14th Dynasties reigned contemporaneously, or whether the reign of the latter only commenced after the 13th Dynasty became extinct, which does not necessarily follow from Manetho having entered them after the Thebans. He must have done so, if their sovereignty commenced only a few years after the Thebans of the 13th Dynasty. For, if there be any positive conclusion to be drawn from a critical examination of his lists and the monuments as well as the Papyrus, it is this: that it was a leading principle in the formation of the Egyptian registers to continue a race of Kings, without interruption, till it became extinct.

The following circumstance again corroborates this view of the subject.

The Xoite Nome, from whence the Kings of the 14th Dynasty took their name, was situated in Upper Egypt on the Sebennytic arm of the Nile. There was consequently no connexion between the rule of the Xoites and the Thebans. During the Hyksos period they were both tributary; and Manetho expressly states, not that the Thebans established themselves as tributary Princes, but that the Shepherds made the Upper *and* Lower country tributary to them, while their own Kings possessed Memphis. Hence, none but tributary Princes could exist contemporary with them; but there must have been such, both in Lower and Upper Egypt. As regards us, the only difference between the Thebans and Xoites was this. We know that the rule of the former lasted down to the restoration; we do *not* know that that of the latter did last so long. Now, if we assume, as we necessarily must, that 484 is the correct sum total of the reigns of the 14th Dynasty, it being the better authenticated as compared with 184, and, moreover, much more suitable to so large a number as 76 Kings; and if we compare this date with the 453 years of the 13th Dynasty, the following will at once suggest itself.

It is, perhaps, not an accidental coincidence, supposing the Xoite Dynasty to have commenced 31 years later than the Theban (and at all events it did commence later than it) that they both ended in the same year. This would lead to the supposition that the Hyksos abolished the semblance of sovereignty in the two Pharaonic Kings at the same time. If, therefore, the numbers 453 and 484 represent, not an historical chronology indeed, but an equally accurate enumeration of regnal years; supposing them to have ceased to reign at the same time, the Xoites must have founded a sovereignty in their Nome 31 years after the Thebans of the 13th Dynasty, which the Shepherds found in existence when they invaded the country, which took place, according to our calculation, in the 87th year of the chronology from the extinction of the race of the Sesortosidæ.

We must, however, for the moment defer the proof of this assumption. In reference to the succession, on the other hand, or the co-ordination of these two national dynasties, we must bear the following circumstance in mind. The period in question intervenes between the Old and New Empire. In the former it is admitted that there were contemporary races of Pharaohs; in the latter it is equally clear that there were only consecutive dynasties. It may therefore be supposed that the system pursued in the New Empire had already commenced at this time. These, however, are mere conjectures which lead to nothing. What is really established by the preceding inquiry is simply this, that a system of co-ordination must have subsisted in this period, namely—that of the Egyptian dynasties on one side, and of the Hyksos on the other. A restoration of the chronology without such a system would be a self-contradiction. It is therefore a strong corroboration of our fundamental assumption as to the nature of the Middle Period that we are really obliged to assume that such a system of contemporary sovereignty did exist throughout it. The question, however, whether the Xoites are to be entered along with or after the The-

The Egyptian Kings.						
Africanus.			*Eusebius.*			
Dyn.		Years.	*Arm. Version.*	Yrs.	*Syncellus.*	Yrs.
XIII.	Diospolitan Kings, 60 reigned	484	Diospolitan Kings, 60, reigned	453	Diospolitan Kings, 60, reigned	453
XIV.	Xoite Kings, 76, reigned	184	Xoite Kings, 76, reigned	484	Xoite Kings, 76, reigned 184 or	484
XVII.	Diospolitan Kings reigned	151				
	Sum total of the Shepherd Kings	43				
	And of the Thebans (read 63 or 53).	43				
	(The XVIIIth Dynasty (Amos) follows).					

bans of the 13th Dynasty must at present be left undetermined. The only basis, therefore, on which a preliminary summary can be founded is the separation of the Hyksos races from the historical dynasties, and, as we think, the already well-established assumption, that the first Theban Dynasty (the 13th) survived the inroad of the Shepherds, and that the last (the 17th) brought about the restoration of the independence of Upper Egypt.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">The Shepherd Kings (Hyksos).</th></tr>
<tr><th>Josephus.</th><th>Africanus.</th><th>Eusebius.</th></tr>
<tr><td>I.
Inroad under Timaos (Amyntimaos):
Laying waste of the country.
Tributary vassalage of the Princes.

II.
Shepherd Kings, 6.

Years M.
1. Salatis - - 19
2. Bêon - - 44
3. Apachnas - 36 7
4. Apôphis - - 61
5. Janias (Jannas) 50 1
6. Assis (Asês) - 49 2
Sum total - 259 10</td><td>Fifteenth Dynasty.
Shepherd Kings, 6.
Phœnicians, strangers, took Memphis, made Egypt subject to them from that city in the Sethroite nome onwards.

Years.
1. Saïtis - - 19
2. Bnôn - - 44
3. Pachnan - - 61
4. Staan - - 50
5. Archles - - 49
6. Aphobis - - 61
284</td><td>Fifteenth Dynasty.
Diospolitans reigned 250 years.</td></tr>
<tr><td>III.
They and their successors ruled Egypt, 511 years.</td><td>Sixteenth Dynasty.
Other Shepherd Kings 32, reigned 518 years.</td><td>Sixteenth Dynasty.
Theban Kings 5, reigned 190 years.</td></tr>
<tr><td>IV.
The Egyptian Princes rise against the Shepherds. Great and long struggle.</td><td colspan="2">Seventeenth Dynasty.
Shepherds, Brothers, Phœnicians, Foreigners: Kings who took Memphis.</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">V.
Tuthmosis, King of the XVIIIth Dynasty, compels the Shepherds to evacuate Avaris.</td><td>Arm. Ver. Yrs.
1. Saitis - - 19</td><td>Syncellus. Yrs.
1. Saitis - - 19</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">built a city in the Sethroite nome, from which onwards they held all Egypt in subjection.</td></tr>
<tr><td>2. Bnôn - - 40
3. Aphôphis - 14
4. Archles - - 30
Sum total 103</td><td>2. Bnôn - 40
3. Archles - 30
4. Aphophis - 14
103</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">In their time Joseph ruled in Egypt.</td></tr>
</table>

C.

ANALYSIS OF THE SERIES OF SHEPHERD KINGS IN THE EPITOMISTS AND JOSEPHUS (FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH DYNASTIES).

After having taken the preliminary steps to settle and arrange the Lists of Kings in the foregoing period, so far as to render them intelligible, we now proceed to analyse the details.

We commence with the series of Hyksos Kings as being best authenticated. It is difficult to imagine how Eusebius can be acquitted of the charge, brought against him by Syncellus, of having corrupted this part of the text, for the Armenian version is precisely the same as the one which Syncellus states to be that of Eusebius. His charge is worded thus: "Remark how Eusebius, to suit his own especial purpose, transfers to the 17th Dynasty Kings whom Africanus introduces in the 15th. All, indeed," (i. e. all Christian chronographers) "are agreed that Joseph was in power in the reign of Aphōphis. As, therefore, he could not introduce him during any other reign, he transferred Aphōphis from the 15th to the 17th Dynasty, reducing his 61 years to 30, and the 151 years of the whole Dynasty to 103, and making the number of reigns four instead of six."

His obvious motive in so doing was that fatal hankering after synchronisms in the Bible and the Egyptian traditions. The system of Eusebius was based throughout upon the following principle. He placed the Exodus 480 years before the building of Solomon's Temple, which event the Jewish and early Christian calculations had made to synchronize with the 18th Dynasty. Now, in reckoning the 480 years of the sojourn of the children of Israel in foreign countries backwards from that point, he necessarily made its commencement to coincide with the 75th year of Abraham, the year of promise. The arrival of Jacob in Egypt, however, and the power of Joseph were connected by the early Christian chronographers with Apophis or Aphobis, one of the Shepherd Kings. This synchronism, of course, was not derived from Egyptian tradition; and even had it been of Jewish origin, the Bible proves that it was without foundation. On the contrary, the Bible clearly shows that he could not have been the first counsellor and lieutenant of a Shepherd King. Of the Exodus also he had no tradition. The Egyptians, right or wrong, had fixed it in the 19th Dynasty. In Eusebius's time, however, it was necessary that these conjectures, which were nothing but a wrong calculation, should be sanctioned by the Church. His complete course of synchronisms, moreover, admitted no doubt and no open questions.

What was the necessary consequence? The Hyksos period must of necessity coincide with the received date of Joseph; and as Apōphis was specially entered among the Kings of the first Shepherd Dynasty, Eusebius could only admit one Hyksos Dynasty, and indeed was obliged to place it *immediately* before the 18th Dynasty. This (as shown already in the first Book, and as we shall shortly show in greater detail) had increased so prodigiously that he could not manage to place Joseph earlier than the twelfth year before its commencement. *Consequently* he was obliged to make Apophis the last King of his single Hyksos Dynasty, instead of the last but three of the first. In addition to this he was forced to curtail in a barbarous manner his single Hyksos Dynasty; for, according to the Septuagint, he had but a very short interval left (215 years) between it and the year of promise, the 75th of Abraham, which again he could not throw farther back on account of the computation of the date of the Flood. Hence it is clear that, in this period between Joseph and Abraham, Eusebius was obliged to invent an

Egyptian Dynasty to supply the place of a Shepherd Dynasty which was then lost by his calculation. For this purpose he made the 17th Dynasty of Manetho (a Theban Dynasty) into the 16th, and by inventing a Theban one for the 15th, was enabled to give the first 14 Dynasties a still more respectable position. Africanus, again, had not mentioned the names of the Kings of the last Egyptian Dynasties, so that it was an easy matter to alter the entry of the length of a Dynasty as he pleased, that is, as he believed it necessary to suit his Procrustean bed. By this means he had the satisfaction of making the 1st year of Abraham coincide with the first year of his 15th Dynasty.

The charge made against him by Syncellus is therefore fully established. He proves the case against himself, indeed, in his own canon as well as in the Armenian translation; and it is peculiarly hard upon a critic in the 19th century to be obliged to go through the proof in detail, as it ought long ago to have been a settled point that our present popular and school chronology is a fable strung together by ignorance and fraud, and persisted in out of superstition and a want of intellectual energy.

Africanus's dates of the 1st Shepherd Dynasty are, on the contrary, once more completely verified. There is an error in his list, clearly unintentional, and owing either to carelessness of his own or the authorities from whom he was quoting, which is most satisfactorily corrected by the more accurate extract in Josephus. The date of the third reign, 36 or 37, had been omitted and lost out of these lists; that of the fourth got into its place, and those of the fifth and sixth into the fourth and fifth. The sixth and last, consequently, had no date at all; in default of which they repeated that of the fourth, which had become the third. We see the error at once from the fragment of Manetho that has come down to us, and thereby also obtain the sum total in Africanus of 260 years instead of 284 which arose out of that mistake.

The 511 years of Josephus clearly correspond with the 2nd Shepherd Dynasty, or the 16th of Manetho, with 32 Kings, and 518 years. But he represents them as the epilogus of the reigns of the six Shepherd Kings, whom he had introduced by name, *and* their successors, i. e. the 2nd Shepherd Dynasty. Eusebius seems also to have been satisfied with this mode of getting over the difficulty, in the event of his being called upon for an explanation of so arbitrary a proceeding. The 250 years which he assigns to the 1st Theban Dynasty of this epoch make, within one year, the difference between the supposititious sum total of 511 years and the 260 years which are verified by the dates of the individual reigns. Still that by no means improves his statement; for Josephus assigns 260 + 251 years to the Shepherd Kings, in two dynasties, while he, on the contrary, has only one Shepherd Dynasty, viz. the first mutilated one, with 103 years (instead of 260) indeed, and coming after two dynasties, which he calls the 15th and 16th, of 250 and 190 years, invented by himself in order to fill up the gap. Such a corrupt and arbitrary procedure can only be exceeded by one thing, namely, the adoption of it, or even by thinking it deserving of critical consideration.

A true criticism of Josephus and Africanus must, indeed, be a connected one, and can only be arrived at by ascertaining the intrinsic value of these authorities. The correctness of Africanus has been hitherto verified wherever it has been tested. To suppose, however, that he left out the true date of the 16th, 518 years, and gave it instead the epilogus of two other dynasties, would be to charge him with intentional falsification for which there was no reason, and of which there could be no concealment, but which, nevertheless, has not been denounced by any of his successors. Africanus was as much at a loss as Eusebius or Syncellus what to do with Manetho's high numbers in this period. This is evident from the fragments of his chronological work collated above. It did not deter him, however, from transmitting the data he found as they stood. Of course Manetho was wrong whenever his dates did not agree with the Bible chronology; that was an understood thing with the Christians; yet, as an honest man, he was bound to make the chronographer say what he really did say (blind, but very celebrated, heathen as he was). So much the worse for him, if this did not happen to agree afterwards. In those days, to have taken the opposite course might have been treated by the malicious heathens as a fraud "of the Christians."

It is clear, however, that Josephus himself is a witness on behalf of Africanus. He proves that the first number, 260, expresses the sum total of the reigns of the 1st Shepherd Dynasty; the following one, consequently, if it was Manetho's at all, must also have been the sum total of a dynasty. Manetho, however, does not sum up the dynasties; and there was less reason for doing so here, as there was a third shepherd dynasty to follow. We are bound to say thus much in favour of the credibility due to the dates of Africanus.

In considering his further statement, it must not be forgotten that Josephus's work is a controversial one, and that, in this part of it, his object was to prove that the Jews, according to the accredited statements of the Egyptians themselves, were the Hyksos, and consequently not outcasts, but the conquerors and acknowledged lords of the land. It was essential for his purpose, consequently, to arrange the matter in such a way that the three Hyksos Dynasties, of which it is clear that no mention is made in the Jewish tradition, should not be recorded, and that the period of their dominion should not last too long. Here, indeed, he very shrewdly avoids any allusion to the assumption in the text of the Alexandrian Bible, that the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt was only 215 years, although he had adopted it in his historical work. It may therefore seem to one who reads the text, that he agreed with the Palestine Version in making their sojourn there last 430 years. Still he could not venture to go far beyond these 430 years. In order to prove, in his answer to Apion, that the Jews were not descended from the lepers who were expelled by a king of the Ramesside family, towards the end of the 19th Dynasty, with other malefactors under an apostate priest of Osiris, it was enough to show that they, that is, shepherds, who, according to Manetho, built Jerusalem, and were called in Egypt, when they governed it, "Hyksos," had, as expressly stated by him, withdrawn from thence many centuries before, and indeed upon honourable terms. For the same reason also he only quotes here the passage in the fifteenth chapter of Genesis, in which the Jews are said to have sojourned 400 years in Egypt. He could do nothing with the 260 years of the first Hyksos Kings; they were too little. The 511 or 518 years of the 2nd Shepherd Dynasty were a most convenient period; and, by a slight legerdemain, he made them pass for the epilogus of *the two* dynasties. He had now won the game. The next thing mentioned in Manetho's historical work was a bloody and protracted contest; that might pass for the Egyptian mode of representing the period of oppression and bondage. The struggle ended with the departure of the Hyksos; the time of bondage, with the exodus. In this manner Manetho's historical work proved the absurdity of the story which was maliciously raked up again by Apion.

It seems to us that this is the most natural explanation of the course adopted by Josephus. It was a very skilful feint against the calumniator of the Jews, and those who echoed his statements. The latter were not aware how easily his stratagem was detected when tested by Jewish tradition. It is impossible, therefore, for any historical critic to set up this jumbling together of two dynasties into one against the account of Africanus. We might ask, again, what idea those persons entertain of the matter who assume the 518 years assigned by Africanus as the length of Manetho's 16th, and the 2nd Shepherd Dynasty to be merely the sum total of the reigns of these two races of shepherd kings? Will they have us believe that the number 258 or 234 has been lost here, as well as the notice that 518 is the epilogus of this number and the 260 (or 284) years of the preceding dynasty? There is no instance, however, in the Lists of such a summation; nor can it be for a moment entertained here in the case of Manetho himself. Or do they wish, perhaps, to erase the native second Shepherd Dynasty in Africanus? In that case how is the gap to be filled up which would thus be made in the whole summation of the Dynasties? What becomes of all the following dates of Dynasties? The falsification of Eusebius and the legerdemain of Josephus do not harmonize at all!

The really valuable portion of Josephus's statement is his citation of the two following dates of Manetho:

First, 260 years for the first six Shepherd Kings (the 15th Dynasty), which confirms Africanus's statement, in opposition to Eusebius, and is a correction of his text.

Secondly, 511 years, as the length of the following Dynasty, which Africanus makes 518 years. They are obviously the same number; we prefer the latter, the date of the Lists, as being Manetho's own; indeed it is only for the sake of the Lists that we notice Josephus's date at all.

D.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE FIRST TWO EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES OF THIS PERIOD (XIII., XIV.), AND THE GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL RESULT OF A CRITICISM OF MANETHO'S LISTS.

It appears, from what has been said, that the Egyptians most probably measured the period from the downfall of the Old Empire, to the foundation of the New, by Hyksos Dynasties. But in following out this assumption we shall encounter several difficult questions. Historical epochs have in themselves no necessary connexion with dynasties. The Middle Empire commenced historically with the first year of the first Shepherd King who sat on the Imperial throne, and terminated the day on which a descendant of the old Theban Pharaohs recovered possession of Memphis and the royal residence. The case is different with the Egyptian Dynasties of this period. The King whom the Hyksos expelled was clearly not the last, but one of the first of his race; the independence of the empire terminated with him, but not the reign of his house, which, according to Manetho's express testimony, only became tributary. We are not informed in what year of his reign the Shepherds made their inroad; but he is said to have reigned 63 years, and it was not till some time after their invasion and conquest that the Shepherds are stated to have placed a King of their own upon the throne. This probably happened, therefore, when he died, after reigning 63 years. On this occasion, the conquerors abolished the last semblance of the rule of the

Pharaohs, and placed a prince of their own race on the throne of Memphis. From this moment they were registered in the Imperial annals as Kings, and continued to be so till the day when they lost Memphis. When did that event occur? The most natural supposition is, that it was recorded in the annals as the year immediately preceding the *first* of the Imperial rule of Amos, the chief of the first independent Theban Dynasty; consequently the first of the 25 years which he is said to have reigned. It is clear at all events, from the text of the 17th Dynasty, that during it there were still Shepherd Kings in Egypt; the Sovereigns of that family are Theban, and Amos was the first who ruled in Memphis. The period of this 17th Dynasty was evidently therefore a time of war; indeed it is expressly stated to have been a very protracted one. It was only the third of the successors of Amos who blockaded the Shepherds in their vast frontier fortress of Avaris, and the fourth who forced them to evacuate it on condition of withdrawing without molestation.

It is certainly the more probable supposition that they did not enter in the Imperial annals the detested foreigners and enemies of their gods any longer than they were obliged; and again, that they did enter the princes of Thebes who had occupied the throne of the Pharaohs for many centuries, as early as possible. On this hypothesis, therefore, the 17th Dynasty was not contemporary with the two Shepherd Dynasties of the Imperial annals; and the date of its duration, 151 years, must be added to the 260+518 (511) of the Hyksos. The result is, that we obtain for the interval between Amyntimaios, the last King of the Old Empire, and Amos, the first of the New, a period of 929 years.

The other hypothesis, however, must at all events be considered. According to it Amos did not succeed till after the last year of the Shepherd Kings, and then the computation would be as follows:

I.	The XIIIth Dynasty lasted	453 years.
	Deduct for the Old Empire, down to the death of Amyntimaios according to Eratosthenes	87
	And there remain	366
II.	The XVIIth Dynasty	151
	Length of Hyksos period	517

This date offers a surprising coincidence. It results from a calculation deduced from our own system, which is based upon Eratosthenes, and yet it agrees exactly with Josephus's account of the length of the two Hyksos Dynasties (511 years). There are, however, higher critical reasons for assuming that the whole statement of Josephus turns out, upon examination, to be nothing but a distortion of Manetho's account of the length of the second Shepherd Dynasty.

We shall now analyse the calculations which may be proposed in order to compute the length of this period, according to the Egyptian Dynasties.

We have already intimated, that we may calculate the 13th and 14th Dynasties in two ways. They may have been on the whole contemporary, but still with this qualification, that the Xoite Dynasty commenced somewhat later than the Theban, although before the beginning of the 15th or first Shepherd Dynasty. It would therefore have ended almost contemporaneously with the Theban, owing to the same cause perhaps, the expulsion of the lords of the soil. Manetho's account is evidently favourable to the assumption of at least *two* tributary dynasties, one in Upper, and one in Lower Egypt. When he afterwards said, that "the princes of the Thebaid and others" revolted against the Hyksos, this does not necessarily imply reigning princes. A league may have been formed between the Egyptian princes during the struggle, like the league of the Dodecarchy in the New Empire, in the revolt and struggle with the Æthiopians; and yet the Empire might afterwards pass into the hands of the most powerful dynasty, which is therefore introduced into the annals as the 18th. We do not even find any mention made in them of the eleven princely houses which carried on the national struggle conjointly with Psammetichus. The only one then reigning became extinct with Bokkoris, and the members of this confederacy might belong to princely families in their own provinces, but they were not connected with any Pharaonic Dynasty, and never formed a dynasty themselves. It is on this account that the house of the Psammetici follows in the Lists immediately after that of the Æthiopians.

On the accession of Amos, therefore, even at the beginning of the struggle indeed, all the reigning families in Egypt which had been allowed by courtesy to bear the title of Pharaoh might have been extinct.

If we adopt the second supposition, that the tributary dynasty to whom the Hyksos granted the title of Pharaoh, was always only *one* — first the Theban, and then the Xoite — we must add together their two epilogi (453 and 484), and thus we make up 937 years.

By this means, also, Manetho's introduction of the Xoite, and not the first Hyksos Dynasty, as the 14th, is to be explained. It was natural to place the Hyksos, who were the proper channels through whom the dynastic succession was carried on, in the period intervening between the Old and the New Empire, in one series, and the two Pharaonic houses in another.

Now we might urge as an argument in favour of this arrangement, the slight difference existing between the sum total of 453 and 484 years and that of the Hyksos Dynasties. There *seems* to be only 8 years between them; but it is a fallacious appearance. According to one hypothesis, the 87 years of the Theban Dynasty belong to the Old Empire. In Manetho this period comprised at least as many years; but according to the precedent of the Old Empire assuredly more. The identity therefore does not exist.

If, on the contrary, we follow the other clue, and suppose the two Dynasties to have been contemporary, and the Theban Kings of the 13th to have been succeeded immediately by those of the 17th, the question will arise how it happens that these two Theban Dynasties were not only broken in upon by the Xoite, but likewise by the two Shepherd Dynasties? The answer is a very simple one. The 13th Dynasty had commenced when the Old Empire terminated, and consequently it was of necessity the first of this period. The 17th was the immediate predecessor of the glorious house of the Tuthmoses, and must therefore have been the last of the connecting period.

This explanation appears to be in character with the nature of Manetho's system, in which the princely houses, from the first reigning progenitor down to the extinction of the male line, form the links of succession.

Hence it seems that the most natural assumption will be, that concurrently with the measurement of the period by Hyksos Kings, its length was computed by a series of Theban Kings. The 13th and 17th Dynasties are both Theban. There existed in Thebes lists of the Kings who were there recognised as the legitimate Sovereigns. They formed the basis of Eratosthenes' lists and system. At the present stage of the inquiry, the only difficulty which presents itself is our ignorance, whether, during the Hyksos reigns, the succession of national Kings was not interrupted, even in Thebes. It certainly is not very probable; for as the Dynasty at the restoration was Theban, it may be fairly presumed, that they would have taken care to preserve a line of succession of ancestors, or predecessors, who were either tributary or driven into Æthiopia.

The conclusion, therefore, resulting from this preliminary criticism is, that our only choice lies between two hypotheses.

Either the true measure of the period was comprised in the two Hyksos, or the two Theban Dynasties. If in the latter, then there is no other computation of time, except the sum total of the two Dynasties (the 13th and 17th), *minus* the 87 years which had already elapsed when the Old Empire terminated.

This sum total, as already remarked, is 517 years, only six more than the number stated by Josephus, on Manetho's authority, to be the length of the whole Hyksos dominion (511). This *datum*, however, is not only in itself very suspicious, but when more closely examined, will obviously be seen to represent anything rather than the measure of the historical period in question. Josephus afterwards mentions a long-continued struggle of the Princes against the foreigners, which of course must have preceded the sole reign of Amos.

This is no positive ground for rejecting the second hypothesis — namely, that the length of the Hyksos period is,

the two Hyksos Dyn. (15, 16) 260 + 511 - 771 years,
the Theban Dynasty (17) - - - 151
—— 922

There is, therefore, a difference of 412 years between the two hypotheses.

Viscount Rougé thinks all the Dynasties were consecutive; he consequently adds to these - 929 years,
the sum total of the two Theban Dynasties (13, 17) - - - 604
and the sum of the Xoite Dynasty (14) - - - - - 484
—— 2017

which gives from the end of the 17th to the beginning of the 18th Dynasty the vast number of 2017 years.

As he admits the existence of contemporaneous Dynasties in the Old Empire, and also speaks with great respect of Josephus' statement of the 511 years as the length of the whole Hyksos period, and as he does not profess to be able to cite any monuments but those of *our* Theban Kings, we hesitate to consider this opinion as his definitive conclusion.

E.

SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF THE CRITICISM OF MANETHO'S LISTS AS TO THE LENGTH OF THE MIDDLE EMPIRE, AND THE COMPUTATION OF IT AS A PART OF THE 3555 YEARS, ASSIGNED BY HIMSELF AS THE CHRONOLOGY FROM MENES TO ALEXANDER.

THERE are three possible modes of defining the length of the middle period according to Manetho's lists. We may measure it, *first*, by the Theban Kings of that time which gives us

For the 13th Dynasty 453—87 years =	366 years.
For the whole 17th Dynasty - -	156
	517 years.

Secondly, by the Hyksos (15 and 16) *and* the Theban Kings of the 17th Dynasty, and in fact:

A. According to Josephus, assuming that Africanus's number for the 16th Dynasty is a falsification:

15th and 16th Dynasties, together (260 + 251) - - -	511 years.	
17th Dynasty - - -	151	
		662

B. According to Africanus:

15th Dynasty	260 years.	
16th „	518	
17th „	151	
		929

Of these three hypotheses philological criticism must select the last as the best entitled to favour, unless it be untenable on the grounds of internal historical criticism.

The second is based on the suspicious statement of a Jewish controversial document, and is at variance with the *datum* of an honest epitomist and chronologer, which is above all suspicion.

The first is grounded on an assumption, not improbable in itself, but one, which, as regards the starting point, does not coincide with our period, and which can only be reduced to it by the aid of a computation foreign to it, derived from the list of Eratosthenes.

The plan we must adopt will be to endeavour to find some extraneous materials for measuring this period, especially records of higher authority, and above all monuments.

Before proceeding to do this, however, and abandoning altogether the field of Manethonian criticism, we will take a previous review of Manetho's remarkable statement as to the duration of the Egyptian Empire from Menes to Alexander.

Syncellus, as already noticed in the first book (p. 86.), in a passage which can neither be misunderstood nor contested, tells us that Manetho calculated that period at 3555 years.

We have seen in the introduction to the present Book within what limits this calculation is open to criticism. We may here also venture to assume a point of which detailed proof will be given in a subsequent page; namely, that Manetho computed the length of the New Empire from Amos to Nectanebo II., at almost 1300 years (probably 1286). The method we shall adopt, therefore, will be to substract this number which is certain, and the possible calculations of the length of the Old Empire, from the 3555 years, which will give us a number within which Manetho's real date of the Middle Empire must lie.

If we suppose him to make none of the Dynasties of the Old Empire contemporary, its chronology must be the exact sum of all the Dynasties from 1—12 with the addition of 87 years of the 13th.

The highest numbers are:
1481+1114 (929)=2595 (2510)+70 days.
The lowest numbers are:
1112+1036=2148 (2263) days.

To suppose, however, that these numbers (2263 and 2510) represent the length of the 12 Dynasties of the Old Empire is so absurd, according to the first principles of philological and historical criticism, that it must be designated as utterly unscientific. It is, moreover, clear at first sight, that any one who believes the passage in Syncellus to be genuine must reject it as irreconcilable with Manetho's more authentic statement in regard to the whole length of the Egyptian Empire.

If, on the other hand, we discard all such Dynasties as, according to the series of the Theban Tablet do not belong to the chronology, we shall have to choose between 1412 or 1481, and 1302 or 1351 (1347). The former, including 69 years about which there is an uncertainty, is Manetho's sum total in Africanus: the latter dates represent the result of historical criticism. This criticism excludes from the former number everything which does not form part of a continuous series of years, and which, therefore, Manetho himself, perhaps, excluded from his calculation of the whole duration of the period.

We will examine first Manetho's *sum total.* In order to ascertain the number of years which the Egyptian historian computed for the Hyksos period, we must first deduct from the 3555 years the 1412 or 1481 years of the Old Empire. This gives us for the Hyksos period *and the New Empire* together:

either 2074 years
or 2143

Deducting the 1300 years of the New Empire, there remains for Manetho's Hyksos period 773 or 812.

If, on the other hand, we assume that Manetho was well aware that the sum of the years of reign enumerated by himself in the non-cotemporaneous dynasties, one after the other, was not identical with the real chronology, and that so far from doing so he invariably adopted, for that real chronology, some tested number, he must have assigned 1137 years to the Old Empire, and the calculation will stand thus:

Whole length of Egyptian history from Menes to Nectanebo II. - - - 3555 years.

Deducting for the Old Empire 1137
„ „ New „ 1300
—— 2437

1118

and Manetho must have made the Hyksos period above 1100.

These numbers, however, can be brought within still narrower limits. According to the internal probabilities, explained in detail in our analysis of the first twelve dynasties, we were driven to assume that Manetho, although unwarrantably, must have used the sums total of his dynasties to form his chronology, except in the case of the fourth, where it is proved to be impossible. We shall have to examine this point more closely at the end of the fourth book; but we may state, with reference to the preceding criticism, that the probable dates for the Old Empire are as follows:

1st.	Dynasty	253 years	
3rd.	,,	214	
4th.	,,	154	
6th.	,,	203	
7th.	,,	75	
8th.	,,	142	
11th.	,,	43	
12th.	,,	176	
13th.	(beginning)	87	
		1347	
	New Empire	1286	
			2633

Thus there remains for the Middle Period 922, which coincides with the numbers of Africanus, if we adopt for the 16th Dynasty 511 (Josephus's number) instead of 518. We shall be able to prove at the end of the Fourth Book that this was really Manetho's computation.

F.

THE FIFTY-THREE THEBAN KINGS OF APOLLODORUS WHO FOLLOW IMMEDIATELY AFTER THOSE OF ERATOSTHENES.

I. PROOF THAT THE FIFTY-THREE KINGS OF APOLLODORUS ARE THOSE OF THE HYKSOS PERIOD.

WE have already seen in the First Book (p. 118), that Syncellus, after a complete enumeration of the thirty-eight Kings of Eratosthenes, adds the following remark, which is as important, as it is lamentably brief. "Apollodorus, who published the list of Eratosthenes, has also transmitted to us the names of fifty-three Theban Kings, who immediately succeeded these thirty-eight. We consider it superfluous to transcribe them, as being of no kind of use to us; nor indeed, can much be said of those which we have transcribed." The only natural explanation which suggested itself to us when making the inquiry was, that Syncellus lost his patience in epitomizing that list. With infinite pains he had toiled through the awkward Egyptian names it contained, and the Greek versions of them which he did not understand. With infinite pains he had made his calculation of the year of the world which coincided with the beginning of each of the thirty-eight reigns; taking as his starting point the nearest possible year after the Flood according to his system. In reference perhaps to the calculation of the Father of Chronology, he made the epoch, from the confusion of tongues down to Abraham, as long as he thought admissible, and now when he had arrived at the end of 1076 years, he was obliged to admit that all his pains had been thrown away. For he had but a very short interval of time between Abraham and Moses, according to the Septuagint version; he, like all his predecessors, making the latter epoch to synchronize with one or other of the names in the 18th Dynasty. But the list of Eratosthenes brought him already down to the time of the Judges. This closes with the year of the world 3975, and the Exodus is placed by him in the year of the world 3816, or about 150 years earlier! And now there are positive names preceding those of the 18th Dynasty with which he was so well acquainted! Upon this he gives way to his ill humour, throws the list into the fire, and cannot refrain from exclaiming "Even those names are totally unmanageable; how much more these fifty-three!"

We cannot be very angry with him for this. It is contrary to human nature that a man should take up a thing cordially and in a reverent spirit which he does not understand, and which he thinks himself bound to declare to be unintelligible, and necessarily false. We should rather thank him for having recorded the fact, and for having not only mentioned the number of Kings in Apollodorus, but stated his reasons also for losing his temper.

If he did not choose to give us their names and dates, he really could not have told us anything more instructive, than is contained in these few hasty words. They prove most decisively, as already demonstrated, that the fifty-three Kings, who come directly after those of the List of Eratosthenes, were Kings of the Middle Empire, who reigned between the downfal of the Old Empire and the restoration, while the Hyksos had the supremacy, or at least possessed Lower Egypt and Memphis.

Lepsius in his Introduction (I. 518, seqq.) has combated this view of the case. I must confess, however, that his remarks have only served to strengthen me in the belief that these words cannot be explained in any other way than by supposing he meant to say that the list of Apollodorus followed on to that of Eratosthenes, avowedly therefore according to Lepsius at the conclusion of the Old Empire; and that the very reason why the names of the fifty-three Kings in this continuation seemed to Syncellus still more unmanageable than those of Eratosthenes even, unserviceable as these were, was because they were different from the well known names of the 18th Dynasty and its successors. Lepsius's explanation of it on the contrary, that the fifty-three names in Apollodorus were the exact names of the Kings from Amos to Nectanebo (which, moreover, Africanus makes eighty-three, and Eusebius seventy-five), does not explain the words to me in the slightest degree. Syncellus never could say that such names or dates were useless to him, that is, inapplicable to the chronology and the establishment of his canon. But, waiving this point, Apollodorus would in that case not have done at all, what he is expressly said to have done, namely have continued the List of Eratosthenes. That List which he edited would, indeed, have had no meaning, had Eratosthenes not intended to add the Theban Kings in the Hyksos period; and Apollodorus would have done still worse, if, as continuation, omitting the Kings of the Hyksos Period, he had placed the Kings of the New Empire immediately after those of the Old. We must pause, then, before we conclude that the greatest Chronographers of the best Alexandrian age did anything so absurd; and it is in my opinion still more difficult to believe that Eratosthenes actually made a list of Theban Kings from Menes to the fall of the Old Empire, which Apollodorus professed to continue, and yet that he did the very reverse. As to Syncellus, I should not think it impossible that the Vice-Patriarch of the 9th century might have perverted the meaning of the Alexandrians, if he had had any inducement to do so. For this however I can see no motive whatever.

As respects the reason why Syncellus only began the series of Eratosthenes after the year of the world 2900 and not at the first possible year, 2776, which is his date for the dispersion of the nations at Babel (5th year of Phaleg), it may be satisfactorily accounted for in more ways than one. In the first place he had a list of *Egyptian* Kings (which he distinguishes from the *Theban*) commencing with Mizraim, the son of Ham. He makes this series begin at the year of the dispersion itself, according to him 2776. The reign of the Thinite who was recorded by the Greeks and with whom he commences the Kings of Eratosthenes, must naturally have begun later. On critical grounds even an interval was necessary. We must allow some time for the masses of men dispersed from Babel to form themselves into races, and to appear colonized in fixed settlements. To ask why that interval was exactly 124 years, seems to me idle, considering how very arbitrary the old Chronographers were as to those patriarchal times. At all events, Syncellus could not place Menes coeval with Mizraim, and it would not have mended his synchronisms had he done so. For even had he placed the Menes of Eratosthenes in the year 2776, the last King of Eratosthenes' Old Empire would still have come *after* the Exodus, as is proved by what has been remarked above. Very probably Syncellus calculated thus: the end of the List of Eratosthenes ought to coincide at all events with the beginning of the Kings connected with the Exodus Dynasty, or, if possible, a little earlier. Indeed, he tries to do so in his Chronography, although even there the last King of Eratosthenes, who reigned 63 years, begins his reign in the same year as Horus (Chron. p. 279. 286). It is a bankrupt's account: he had no place for those Kings.

But leaving Syncellus and returning to Apollodorus, we ask: Could the Editor and continuator of the researches of Eratosthenes follow a method diametrically opposed to that of his predecessor? His master had arranged the Chronology of the Old Empire, concluding with its downfal, although its last King was the third of a great Dynasty. The scholar of Cyrene could only reckon by Epochs. Apollodorus did the same. That of the Middle Empire was certainly the most neglected; no brilliant conquerors, no imperishable monuments, to extort the wonder of posterity — on the contrary, a period of misfortune and disgrace. It was not, however, on that account the less important for the restoration of the oldest chronology of Egypt: indeed the more important and interesting, and yet in what a state of obscurity the Egyptians seem to have left it.

Now, if after these preparatory remarks, we proceed to examine the number of Theban Kings in that Epoch according to the Alexandrian list, can it be a mere accident that it tallies so well with Manetho's dates when explained in their natural sense? According to his remarkable notice annexed to the 17th Dynasty, as we have seen above, there reigned in the Hyksos Period:

43 Shepherd Kings (6+32+5): consequently, as the 15th has 6 Kings, and the 16th 32, there remain 5 who reigned contemporaneously with the 17th Theban Dynasty, and

83 Theban Kings, i. e. 60 of the 13th Dynasty and 23 of the 14th.

Of these 453 years of the 13th Dynasty, 87 at least, or almost a fifth, belong to the Old Empire. According to Eratosthenes, during this period only 3 Kings reigned. This gives, according to the relative proportions between Eratosthenes and Manetho, in the Old Empire, about 4 Kings, (38 Kings to 46 or 50).

According to the proportion of the years, it would give 11.

(453 : 87=60 : 11).

Of the 83 Theban Kings of Manetho, assuming the same relative proportion, either 72 or 79 would belong to the period of Apollodorus. Now, supposing the proportion between our enumeration of all the reigns (including those, of course, which were collateral with another reign as co-regents or guardians), and a strictly chronological list which contained the real chronology, to have been in this period nearly the same that it was in the Old Empire, the *historical number* of Kings who reigned in this section of it will be 54 or 55, which comes as near to the real number of Apollodorus as could possibly have been expected. The number of Kings, therefore, in his List will strike us as remarkably apposite, and highly probable in itself.

This is the only view of the case which, in my opinion, can stand the test of historical criticism.

II. RESULTS DEDUCED FROM THE LIST OF APOLLODORUS FOR THE APPROXIMATIVE COMPUTATION OF THE MIDDLE PERIOD.

WE have pursued our inquiry into the discovery of Manetho's real date of the length of the Middle or Hyksos Period, wholly independently of the criticism of the Alexandrian List of the Theban Kings. Now, as there is so considerable a discrepancy in the three possible results which have been obtained from it, and according to which Manetho must have assigned to it

either 517 years,
or 662
or 922

it will be useful, at all events, to inquire which of these three numbers bears a greater show of probability from the Alexandrian enumeration of 53 Kings. As to the 517 years, it is clear that, if we apply the proportion between the 1076 years and the 38 Kings of Eratosthenes to the 53 of Apollodorus, the number will be far too great. We have no right, however, to calculate the average length of the reigns of tributary princes by the average of reigns in an independent kingdom, with hereditary Pharaohs and better blood—tributary princes who may have often been capriciously deposed, and who were, moreover, exposed to all the dangers of enervating indolence.

The working of this enervating process seems to exhibit itself even in the Hyksos Dynasties. At the outset they were victorious and evidently possessed strong vital energies. In the first we find 6 Kings reigning the very high, but well-authenticated number of 260 years, that is, on an average $43\frac{1}{3}$ years. In the second, we find 32 Kings reigning 511 or 517 years, or on an average 16 years.

The only *datum*, therefore, with which we can deal is Manetho's:

13th Dyn. 60 Kings—453 years—average 7½ years.
17th „ 23 „ —151 „ — „ 6½ „

If, then, our explanation of Apollodorus's List be correct, the duration of the Middle Period, taken at 922 years, gives, for the 53 Kings of the Alexandrian List, an average of 17 years for each consecutive reign.

Such an average would in itself not be improbable. But let us suppose that we have wronged Josephus, and that his 511 years were indeed the Manethonian number, not for the duration of the 2nd Hyksos Dynasty, but for their whole sway; this could never have been intended by Manetho to be equivalent with the duration of the whole period. The real account will then stand thus:

13th Theban, deducting only 87 years	366 years.
14th Xoite, 76 Kings with - - -	481 „
17th Theban, with - - -	151 „
Sum total - -	998 years.

This gives 76 years more than what we were obliged to consider the true number (922); a difference which might be explained by assuming that the 87 Eratosthenian years were represented in Manetho's sum total of reigns by 163 years. The number 662 is the sum of the first and last of those three data (511+151) without taking into account the 87 years (or more) to be deducted, and without explaining the 481 years of the Xoite Dynasty.

But as to Apollodorus, he must, at all events, have assumed that the interval between the Old and New Empires was to be computed as the Old Empire was, according to the registers of Thebes, and that the series of Theban Kings in that period represented its whole duration. To imagine that he intended to give in his List every thing but the real chronology is incompatible with the whole Alexandrian system, and is equally at issue with the result of the analysis of the List of Eratosthenes edited by Apollodorus, which List consists of Theban Kings.

Such are the conclusions to which we are led by the information furnished by Manetho and the Alexandrians as to the chronology of this period.

SECTION II.

CRITICISM OF THE EGYPTIAN RECORDS AND CONTEMPORARY MONUMENTS.

A.

THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE TABLET OF KARNAK.

I. The Tablet as a Representation of Thirty Generations of the Hyksos Period.

What! it may well be asked, take for granted 53 Kings or more and at least 5 entire centuries, without even knowing their names, much less without having any monuments! Still, is there good foundation for this hypothesis?

In the first place, as intimated above, King Thutmōssis III. himself, with the other half of this Royal Tablet, answers the question. If the half we have examined showed a connexion between him and the race of Menes through the Sesortosidæ; if it commenced with the last King of the former race and ended with the last of the latter, the other half CAN contain none but THE KINGS OF THE HYKSOS PERIOD. Natural as this appears, the first person who was struck by it was Lepsius. It is a discovery ranking as high in historical importance as the discovery that the Sesortosidæ were the 12th Dynasty. He was led to it by his steady belief in the reality of the Hyksos period, by the whole body of Egyptian inscriptions contained on Egyptian monuments in Europe, and a philological criticism of them to which he dedicated himself for seven years with untiring zeal, at the commencement of his Egyptian studies.

We have already met with the Third Tuthmōsis performing acts of worship to his great ancestor, the founder of the 12th Dynasty, Sesortōsis I. In the ancestral chamber of his royal palace, from which the so-called Tablet of Karnak comes, this hero and the whole race of Sesortosidæ are represented on one side, directly in front of the King, who is offering. We see him here doing honour to the most renowned of the Theban Kings, his progenitors. But the pious homage which he pays on the opposite partition of the ancestral chamber to the memory of the Theban Kings of the Hyksos period, is still more peculiar, and, as proceeding from him, has something particularly attractive in it. He, who had at length driven the detested strangers from the frontier fortress — he, the sovereign by whom the New Empire was fully restored — Tuthmōsis the Third, was not satisfied with offering honours in his palace chamber only to his ancestors and predecessors of the glorious time of the Empire of Menes. He would not pass over those who, during centuries of deep degradation, had maintained the throne of the Pharaohs, the customs of their fathers, and the sacred traditions of their gods intact, and who finally, after long and weary ages, by their resistance and indomitable courage had made the detested barbarians and enemies of the Empire to quail, and freed the whole country from the shame of the foreign dominion. This no one could do so naturally as himself, if he were a great man; and the fact of our having hitherto found no one else doing so, is satisfactory proof that he was a great man.

To how many of these Kings, then, is he offering homage and sacrifice? As appears from our general review of the series of Karnak in the former volume, the number of Kings of the Old Empire was 31. Here, on the opposite side, we find 30 in four rows. The two upper have each eight scutcheons; the two lower, on account of the space occupied by the King who sacrifices at the altar, only seven. Of these 30, 18 are more or less preserved. Let us, then, recapitulate the result of our researches in the Old Empire relative to the 31 Kings to whom Tuthmosis is there sacrificing. The opinion which we formed from the general consideration of the two Tablets in the First Book, as being the most natural one — namely, that they are of a *genealogical* character, proved, upon a criticism of the Old Empire, to be the most probable. We came to the conclusion, that by no means all the princes there represented were reigning Pharaohs; some, on the contrary, being expressly stated to be princes. This can only be explained by supposing that the Tablet did not represent a succession of Kings, but a genealogical series. The Tuthmoses, a Theban family, traced back their pedigree through a long line of Princes in Royal Houses, not always through the Kings themselves, who, indeed, down to the 11th Dynasty, were not Thebans at all, but through the younger lines or female branches of Royal Houses.

The second peculiar feature in this Tablet which was startling at the outset, was also explained by this assumption. How can we conceive the possibility of a representation of so long a series of Kings of the Old and Oldest Empire not commencing with Menes? And if it did commence with Menes, how could it be carried on otherwise than through his sons and grandsons, the later Kings of the 1st Dynasty? But it has been demonstrated that it does neither the one nor the other. Fortunately, the first King is preserved, *Ra-hem-Smenteti*, who occurs nowhere else, except it be (and that is very uncertain) in the name of the last King of the 1st Dynasty. The third scutcheon after him (the fourth in the row) contains, however, a well authenticated monumental name of a King of the 3rd or 1st Memphite Dynasty.

The most natural explanation of this circumstance, also, is to suppose that the series of Princes in the Tuthmōsis-chamber does not represent series of Kings, but GENERATIONS.

It did not, therefore, contain Kings exclusively, but their younger relatives, and never brothers.

The period comprised in this series must, accordingly, be measured in the Hyksos time also, not by REIGNS, but by GENERATIONS.

There is also a further consideration which evinces the importance of such a representation and the probability that it — and it only — would be here selected. The whole is a sacrificial offering. Tuthmōsis is offering a sacrifice *to the Dead.* We know, unfortunately, very little of the positive religious ideas of the Egyptians, on which the practice of sacrificing to the dead was founded and of its connexion with family rights. What we do know, however, is sufficient to convince us that the origin of sacrifice was the same with them as with the Indians, Greeks, and Romans. Sacrifice was the tie between children and parents, especially sons and fathers, and through the fathers the connecting link with their forefathers. In general proof of this it may suffice to refer our readers to the representations and inscriptions[160] illustrated by Rosellini, and the passages in the "Book of the Dead"[161] which relate to sacrifice.

This Tablet, however, represents Tuthmōsis offering sacrifice to his fathers, just as Sesortesen I., on the statue of An in my possession, calls this ancestor his father. If we apply this idea simply to the Kings there represented, they must be fathers (or fathers-in-law in the name of the daughters) in the natural sequence of one generation after another, and not collateral kinsmen. They cannot consequently represent reigning brothers of Kings, though they may represent uncles of Kings, because this latter relationship goes back to the direct line in a higher grade (grandfathers, and so on) without increasing the number of the generations.

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[160] Monumenti storici, tav. XXXVII. Conf. Pl. MCXXXVI.

[161] Book of the Dead, pp. 444, seq.

Till the contrary is proved, therefore, we have strong grounds, both of a general and special nature, for considering this Tablet to represent a series of generations. Vague as is such a computation to the chronologer who requires definite dates, it is as satisfactory to the student of history, who has hitherto found nothing but notices and calculations concerning this period differing from each other between five and nine centuries. The length of reigns depends on the very different length of lives and many other circumstances, especially in the case of the Kings. The interval, on the contrary, between successive generations is limited by a natural law which is, to a certain extent, invariable.

Herodotus and most of the classics calculate in long periods three generations to a century. We shall give, in the Fourth Book, a summary formed out of the established genealogies in the Old and New Empires, in order to obtain from it a historical foundation for the average length of the generations of Egyptian Kings. At present we shall only place the extreme limits of the calculation side by side: estimating a generation at 25 and at 30 years.

Thirty generations make at 33⅓ years 1000 years.
at 30 „ 900 „
at 25 „ 750 „
at 20 „ 600 „

The Tablet of Tuthmōsis, therefore, as we interpret it, requires not less than 600 and not more than 1000 years, for the period which it represents. If, however, it contained only a selection of Kings of the Hyksos period, it would at all events represent a longer rather than a shorter period, but not one which can be computed within such proximate limits.

But what is the period meant to be of which a picture is presented to us on this side of the ancestral chamber of the third Tuthmōsis? Have we any right to assume that it represents the whole interval between the last King of the 12th Dynasty, and the first of the 18th?

II. THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE TABLET OF KARNAK REPRESENTS THE THEBAN KINGS OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.

IT is a strictly necessary sequence from Lepsius's fundamental assumptions, that the right side of the Tablet of Karnak follows immediately after the Sesortosidæ. He discovered on a cotemporary monument, the family name *Sevekhept* corresponding to the first scutcheon which is preserved; and as we shall shortly see in detail, this family name proved, interchangeably with a cognate one, *Nefruhept*, to be common to all the Kings of this period. All the monuments on which it occurs bear a peculiar stamp which characterises the age of the Sesortosidæ.

There are, however, two inquiries yet to be made: one is, how far can it be really proved that the *Sevekhepts* immediately followed the Sesortosidæ? and the other, do these thirty scutcheons all belong to that family, or only represent the generations of the first Theban race of Kings of the period?

As far as I know, De Rougé is the first person who proposed the former of these questions. He admits the undoubted correctness of Lepsius's fundamental views, and very ingeniously suggests, that a monument noticed by Durand[162] furnishes direct proof of the *Sevekhepts* following after the Sesortosidæ. There is an inscription on a rock on the primeval site where the exploits of those great Sesortosidæ were performed, in which a man, who was an officer of *Sevekhept* I., mentions a building (Monument, *Menmen*) of the third Sesortosis which was committed to his charge. De Rougé draws from this the irrefragable conclusion that Sevekôphis I. reigned *after* the Sesortosidæ. But his inference from it, that the works of Sevekôphis were of too important a nature to admit of the supposition that Egypt was then tributary to the Hyksos, seems to rest upon a fanciful view of the case. In the first place, the works of the Sevekôphis' are not of such a character that they could only have been accomplished by independent Kings of all Egypt. Strictly speaking, indeed, there are no palaces at all, no temples, or similar public buildings of that Theban race of Princes in existence. The inscriptions in which the names of these Kings are found are one and all those of officials and other private persons in which a King is only incidentally mentioned, and in the present instance, exceptional notice is taken of a building or monument. We see no reason at all however for thinking that the tributary Theban Kings, to whom the victorious Asiatics abandoned Nubia and Ethiopia, had become too insignificant in themselves to build houses or temples for their gods. Such notions are a retrograde step towards the long-exploded ideas which De Rougé himself has combated with so much love of truth, so much research, ingenuity, talent, and success.

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[162] Rev. Archæol. 1848 (tom. v.) p. 311, seqq. Conf. Ann. de Philos: Chrétienne, 1846, 1847.

It may, by way of argument, be urged, that, although the inscription proves Sevekôphis I. to have lived soon after the Sesortosidæ, this is no proof that he was their immediate successor. But besides the main evidence on this point, the similarity in the style of the monuments and inscriptions, there is the fact that the Sevekôphis' occupy a long period of time, in which no name of any other family occurs which can be placed between them and the Sesortosidæ. Any one with a competent knowledge of the nature of Egyptian monuments, and the state of our acquaintance with them, will consider this as strong evidence in itself; and much more so if he will follow our connected research, which seems to me to leave no doubt of the correctness of Lepsius's discovery.

The second question we proposed to consider has not been hitherto entertained; indeed, on the first appearance of this work, it was thought by most persons to be preposterous. But after what has been advanced as to the undoubted historical reality of the sixty Theban Kings of the 13th Dynasty with 453 years, and about twenty-three Theban Kings of the 17th, we perhaps shall not give offence by asking the question, whether the right side of the ancestral chamber represents the generations of the 13th, or those of the 17th Dynasty as well? For we can now state it more exactly in this shape. It will not be denied that thirty generations are a very moderate term to assume for sixty reigns. It will depend upon the names which we can point out on the extant scutcheons. We certainly may be asked, whether it is not a singular supposition, that Tuthmōsis the Third omitted the very 17th Dynasty, with which he was himself probably more closely connected than with the 13th? To which we reply: Does it not appear more singular still, that he should have omitted his own father, and his immediate progenitors, the glorious Kings of his own family? It is by no means clear, however, that he was more closely connected by blood with the 17th in the male line, than with the 13th Dynasty. We are rather prepared to show that (as was generally the case, and in several notorious instances), the chief of the 18th was connected with the immediately preceding Dynasty by marriage with the heiress of the latter. We allude to the celebrated Nefruari Aahmes, Queen in her own right: He might very well dedicate to the ancestors of the great foundress of the line a representation distinct from the rest, to mark a peculiar sacrifice, but omit in this, which is dedicated to his ancestors, the family of his Queen.

There is, indeed, another series of monuments, which enables us to point out the connecting link between the 17th and 18th Dynasties.

B.

THE OFFERING TO THE DEAD AT GURNAH, AND COGNATE MONUMENTS WHICH REPRESENT THE KINGS OF THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY AS THE IMMEDIATE PREDECESSORS OF AMOS.

WILKINSON opened a tomb at Gurnah, which has become celebrated by the name of chamber of the Queen, among the ruins of the ancient giant city of Thebes. The representation which has given it notoriety was first published in Young's collection[163], afterwards more accurately by Lepsius[164], and last of all by Prisse[165]; but it has never yet been explained. It is a double offering to the dead in two rows. At the beginning of each row we find the person sacrificing with a sacrificial table before him, offering the sacred gifts to a double series of Princes and Princesses who are sitting in front of him on their chairs to receive the offerings, with the emblems of Lordship in their hands and with their scutcheons. The inscription states that each row contains 14 deified personages; but the last two drawings in the lower row are destroyed. We will first examine the upper one. The first figure is that of the well known second King of the 18th Dynasty, Amenōphis the First. Behind him stands the celebrated Aahmes Nefruari (the young Moon, the good mistress) the mother of Amenō-

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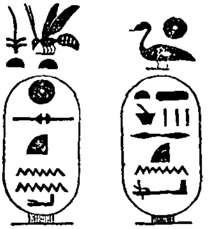
[163] Young's Hierog., table 97. from Robert Hay's drawing.

[164] Lepsius, Auswahl, Pl. xi.

[165] Prisse, Monumens, Pl. III.

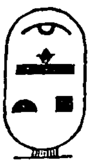
65



Su-kheb Ra sknn. *Sa-en Ra* Tanakn.

phis, royal wife of Amos (Aahmes) the chief of the 18th Dynasty of the house of the Tuthmoses, distinguished more than all the rest by the Pshent, and the double crown of Egypt on her head. The third figure is that of RA SKNN TANAKN, King. The name Ra-Skennen is known to us from the left side of the ancestral chamber of Tuthmosis III., scutcheon 30; and following Lepsius, we had identified him in the first edition of this work by the family name ATNAKEN there annexed to it; subsequently, however, we have found this to be a mistake. It is no uncommon occurrence for later Kings to use the name-scutcheon of a great progenitor, and we find in this representation a second instance of this very intelligible practice. We must not forget that there is an interval of about 800 years between the predecessor of Amos and the Ra-Skennen of the 11th Dynasty! There was consequently no danger of any confusion between them. The supposition that *Ra-Skennen Tanaken* was the immediate predecessor of Amos, seems to have a solid basis owing to his position; for our readers know that the names of the Kings of the 17th Dynasty are omitted in the lists, as well as those of the 13th. For the same very natural reason, we are led to consider the fourth figure, AAH HEPT, as the predecessor of Ra-Skennen. But before we venture to propose a more positive conjecture on this point, we must examine the corresponding figure in the lower row. For the ten following figures in the upper one do not come under consideration, because they do not represent reigning Kings, but royal relatives, and indeed with the exception of two sons, all Princesses who are indicated as royal sisters, mothers, or wives.

66



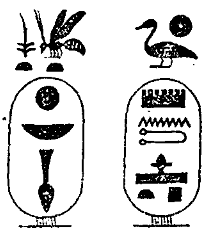
Aah hept.

The first four figures in the lower row represent
1. Under Amenôphis I.

RA NB TU MNTUHEPT, King.

Ranebtu is probably the second throne-name borrowed from the 11th Dynasty. In the 26th scutcheon of the Tablet of Karnak we have *Ratuneb*, the second and third signs being transposed; and we thought therefore that there was a connexion between him and the monumental name of Mentuhept (Manduôphis), which we now admit to be a mistake.

67



Su-kheb Ra nb tu. *Sa-en Ra* Mntu-hept.

2. Under Queen Aahmes Nefruari, her son,

AAHMES, Chief of the 18th Dynasty.

3. Under Ra-Skennen

RA SPN NB, King.

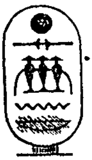
4. Under Aahhept

RA SN (NB) KAMS.

Here again come Princes and Princesses.

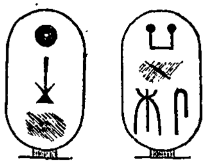
We have only eight scutcheons therefore for the history of the Dynasty. The following table exhibits their chronological connexion as far as we know it:

68



Ra spen nb.

69



Ra sn (nb.) Ka-mes.

	IV.	III.	II.	I.	
A	*Aahhept,* King.	*Ra-Shennen Tanaken,* King.	*Aahmes Nefruari,* (Mother of Amenôphis, wife of Amos)	*Amenophis* I. XVIII. 2.	The sacrificer and altar double.
B	Ra Sen (nb) Kames, King.	Ra Spen (nb), King.	Aahmes, King, XVIII. 1.	Ra tu neb *Mentuhept,* King.	

As we find Amenôphis I. the second King of the 18th

Dynasty, sitting before his well known mother, the heiress, next to the person sacrificing, while his father and predecessor Amos, is placed the second, in the lower row, we might be tempted to suppose that the King Mentuhept, who sits before him, was one of his distant descendants and successors. We have authentic proof, however, that the name of Mentuhept is nowhere found in the 18th Dynasty, with the order and relationship of whose Kings we are perfectly acquainted. The alteration in the order, therefore, might be explained by supposing that the intention was to place the husband directly underneath his Royal Consort. This Mentuhept is probably one of the latest Kings of the 17th Dynasty. As regards the rest, we might suggest, what is at least a very natural supposition, that the upper row is intended to represent the *maternal* progenitors of the reigning King Amenôphis, the lower one the *paternal.* As all the Kings here represented, however, must have been ancestors of the foundress of the line, and the Kings of the upper as well as the lower row are Princes of the 17th Dynasty, all that can be said is, that Amos was a direct relative of the heiress Aahmes.

King Mentuhept and King Tanaken were, at all events, direct and significant progenitors of the 18th Dynasty. This is proved by other monuments. We find Ra-Skennen, for instance, in a similar sacrificial representation of the 20th Dynasty at Gurnah, discovered in 1843 by George Lloyd, a young scholar who was carried off at an early age to the great loss of science. Prisse unfortunately was unable to make a correct copy of it, and we therefore possess nothing more than the account given in the text to the Third Plate of his Monuments, which represents that celebrated tomb.[166]

We there see Ra-Skennen by the side of Amenōphis III., the third King of the 18th Dynasty, who has his two scutcheons. If these two monuments, and especially the first, cannot be rationally explained, except upon the supposition that the Kings of the 18th Dynasty were immediately connected, both as to order of succession and blood relationship, with those here mentioned, namely those of the 17th, as were the Kings of the 19th with those of the 18th, a third Theban monument, described but unfortunately not given entire by Champollion, furnishes proof that Ra-Skennen Tanaken was the immediate predecessor of Aahmes. In the "Notices Descriptives," published in 1844, in lithograph, there is the following description of a tomb in Eileithyia (El Kab).[167] The deceased is standing upright, and by his side a small and a large person. The tomb itself was erected by the grandson of the deceased. An inscription, in three columns, mentions the following as reigning kings:

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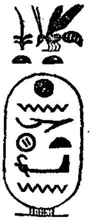
[166] Prisse, Mon. Text, p. 1.

Ta-na-ken.
Aahmes, XVIII. 1.
Amenōphis I. XVIII. 2.
Tuthmōsis I. XVIII. 3.

Much as it is to be regretted that Champollion did not copy the inscription, and that the publishers of his work did not get it done by subsequent travellers, still his remarkable accuracy, which is so well known, is sufficient guarantee that these Kings were mentioned in the above order. We now learn from De Rougé's memoir[168] on this inscription, that Bakhi, the father of Aahmes the admiral, lived under Ra-Skennen, while Aahmes himself flourished from the time of Amos to Thothmes I. To this period also belongs the King, RA [S]-NAKHT-EN.

70



Su-kheb
Ra-nakht.n.

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[167] P. 271. Cinquième tombeau.

[168] De Rougé. Mémoire sur l'Inscription du Tombeau d'Ahmes. 4to. Paris, 1851.

C.

THE FRAGMENTS OF THE TURIN PAPYRUS, WHICH BELONG TO THIS PERIOD.

If the right side of the ancestral chamber of the Tuthmoses represents but a portion of the Theban Kings, and probably only those of the 13th Dynasty, those, in a word, by whom the succession was carried on, we find considerably more than the 60 Kings of that Manethonian Dynasty among the Royal names of the Papyrus, which Lepsius has conclusively proved to belong to this period. There are 65 of their Royal scutcheons in eight consecutive fragments; some of which can be identified with the Karnak scutcheons, and others which undoubtedly cannot. The former, therefore, belong to the 13th, or 17th Dynasty.

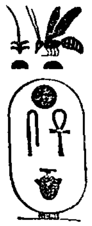
I. Fragment with Names of Theban Kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

FRAGMENT I. (VI. 72.) 9 scutcheons.

Nine Kings, the immediate successors of the last two of the 12th Dynasty. The first three (at least), therefore, are identical with the last three Kings of the Old Empire in Eratosthenes, who reigned 87 years, at the close of which the Hyksos Kings, being lords of Memphis, began to be registered.

The sixth King of this series, who had therefore probably been obliged to fall back upon Thebes, is called RA S.ANKH HET, corresponding to the third scutcheon at Karnak (the second which is unmutilated).

71

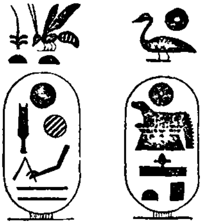


Su-kheb
Ra s. Ankh
het.

FRAGMENT II. (VI. 76—79.) 14 scutcheons.

The second King is called SEBEK-HEPT, a name well known to us from the monuments as a throne-name or title. The sixth King has both his names in the scutcheon: RA KHU TETI HEM (*Kherp*) SEBEK-HEPT, corresponding to the fourth King of the first row at Karnak, whose family scutcheon we have on the contemporary monuments. Consequently we have here eight Kings of the Papyrus at least, between the third and fourth scutcheons at Karnak.

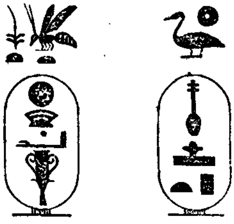
72



Su kheb Ra khu teti hem. *Sa-en Ra* Sebek-hept I.

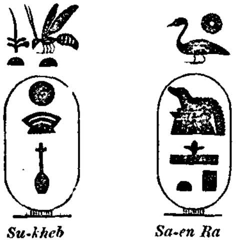
The eleventh King bears the family name of SEBEK-HEPT at the bottom of the scutcheon, and must therefore have corresponded with the *fifth* scutcheon at Karnak, which has been destroyed. The twelfth King really corresponds to the *sixth* scutcheon of the Tablet, for it reads RA SHA.... NEFRU-HEPT. But the first part of that mutilated scutcheon which is legible, reads RA SHA..... In like manner the 14th name of the second fragment, RA SHA NEFRU SEBEK-HEPT, undoubtedly corresponds to the *seventh* throne-name in the series of Karnak, which is RA-SHA-NEFRU.

73



Su-kheb Ra sha ssesh. *Sa-en Ra* Nefru-hept I.

74



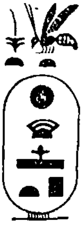
Su-kheb Ra sha nefru. *Sa-en Ra* Sebek-hept III.

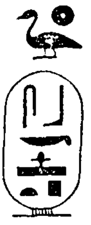
The last three reigns are consequently in the same order; but there are three reigns given in the Papyrus which are omitted in the Tablet of Karnak between the fourth and fifth scutcheon, and between the third and fourth at least eight are omitted. We cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that this may be used by sceptics as a powerful argument against the views we have adopted relative to the Tablet of Karnak. Could eight reigns be omitted in a tablet which represents continuous generations? We would observe in reply to this, in the first place, that there is authentic proof, that in the strictly historical period of the 20th Dynasty four brothers reigned one after another, representing therefore one generation. In the second place, we are dealing here with a time during which Kings might be forcibly deposed in favour of kinsmen, not to speak of co-regencies. At all events, there is no improbability in finding ten reigns during three generations. But the circumstance of the subsequent reigns tallying so well ought in itself to be considered as proof admitting of no doubt as to the fact itself. On the whole, then, we have at least twenty-two reigns for the first seven scutcheons of the Tablet of Karnak, but as the two fragments do not match, probably twenty-three or twenty-four. Unfortunately there are but very few remains of dates in the Papyrus, but these show that the reigns were short, frequently not exceeding two years.

FRAGMENT III. (VIII. 81.) 8 scutcheons.

The first King of this fragment is called RA SHA HEPT. This is the same name as that in the tenth scutcheon of the Tablet of Karnak. The two which are wanting between the fragments show that at least two Kings are missing, but probably four or upwards.

75

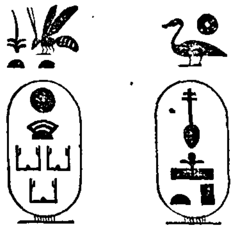

Su-kheb
Ra sha hept.


Sa-en Ra
Sebek hept V.

For the second of these (scutcheon 9.), Lepsius has discovered the family name, and inserted it into his series as RA SHA HEPT SEBEK-

HEPT IV. Now, according to the monuments, this King was preceded by RA SHA KAR.U NEFRU HEPT II., who would occupy most satisfactorily the eighth scutcheon of the Tablet of Karnak now destroyed, just as the former would the *ninth*.

76

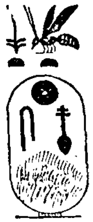


Su-kheb Ra sha kar.u.

Sa-en Ra Nefru hept II.

But then comes a difficulty. In the Tablet of Karnak RA S.NEFRU follows *Ra sha hept*, as the eleventh scutcheon: in the Papyrus (second scutcheon), the name is certainly partially obliterated; but it was to all appearance a very different one. It may however have contained both names, as there are a great many signs.

77

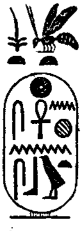


Su-kheb Ra s.nefru.

There seems to be a different order of succession here, as the following juxtaposition proves:

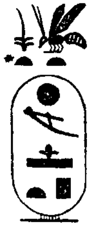
Papyrus (VIII. 81.)	Karnak.
1. *Ra sha hept.*	10. *Ra sha hept.*
2. *Ra uah het—A-het.* *	11. *Ra s.nefru.*
3. *Ra mer nefru.*	12. *Ra* . . . . . .
4. *Ra mer hept.*	13. *Ra s.sesur-teti.*
5. *Ra s.ankh n̄ sehtu.*	
6. *Ra mer ankh—Ank.*	14. *Ra mer kar. u.*
7. *Ra snab kar—Hera.*	21. *Ra mer hept.*
8. (*Ra*)...*m kar—Nub.*(?).	(=*Papyrus* 4.)

78



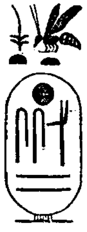
Su-kheb Ra s.ankh n̄ sehtu.

79



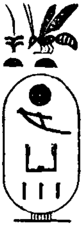
Su-kheb Ra mer hept.

80



Su-kheb Ra s.sesur-teti.

81



Su-kheb Ka mer kar.u.

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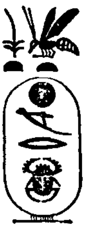
* The name is marked by a capital in this, and Nos. 6, 7, and 8.

Hence, although not certain, it is probable, that the eighth scutcheon in this fragment corresponds to the fourteenth in the Tablet of Karnak: while it is certain, that the eleventh and thirteenth in the Tablet do not belong to any of the six names, which according to this must have intervened between *Ra sha hept* and *Ra m kar.* And how are we to explain the fact of the twenty-first scutcheon of Karnak corresponding to *Ra-mer-hept* the fourth name in this fragment?

FRAGMENT IV. (VIII. 87.) 2 scutcheons.

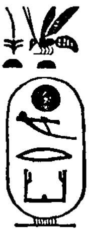
1. *Ra mer kheper.* 2. *Ra mer kar.* As the singular and plural number of *ka* (offering) are used indiscriminately in writing the name of King Menkarra, the fourteenth scutcheon in the Tablet of Karnak might also have corresponded to the second of this fragment.

82



Su-kheb
Ra mer kheper.

83



Su-kheb
Ra mer kar.

II. Uncertain Fragments.

FRAGMENT V. (VIII. 94, 95.) 5 scutcheons.

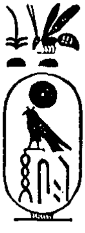
1. . . . . . . *su.*
2. . . . . . . *ma—Ab. .*
3. . . . . . . *uben—Har. . . . .*
4. . . . . . . *kar.*
5. . . . . *n.*

There is nothing to correspond with these on the Tablet.

FRAGMENT VI. (IX. 97.) 8 (11) scutcheons.

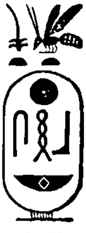
1. *Ra nahasi* (Negro-Helios).
2. *Ra sha tu.*
3. *Ra neb. f . . . . . .*
4. *Ra s.heb.*
5. *Ra mer tef a.*
6. *Ra seb kar.*
7. *Ra neb tef a.*
8. *Ra uben.*
9. (Perhaps 10, 11.) destroyed.

84



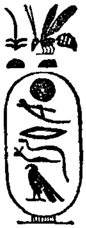
Su-kheb
Ra nahasi.

85



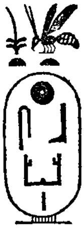
Su-kheb
Ra s.heb.

86



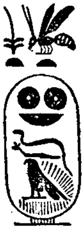
Su-kheb
Ra mer tef a.

87



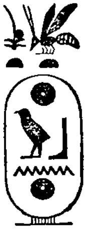
Su-kheb
Ra seb kar.

88



Su-kheb
Ra neb tef a.

89



Su-kheb,
Ra uben.

Likewise without analogous names in the Tablet.

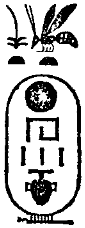
FRAGMENT VII. (IX. 98, 99.)

5 (7) scutcheons.

1. (*Ra*) . . . *tefa*
2. . . . . *uben*
3. *Ra* . . . . . . *ut het*
4. *Ra her het.*
5. *Ra neb sen.*

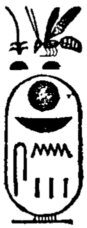
Two scutcheons perhaps destroyed.

90



Su-kheb
Ra her het.

91

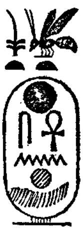


Su-kheb
Ra neb sen.

FRAGMENT VIII. (100, 101.) 13 scutcheons.

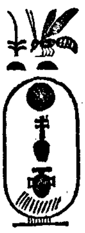
1. *Ra* . . . .
2. *S.kheper n' Ra.*
3. *Ra tet tu.*
4. *Ra s.ankh* . . . .
5. *Ra seb.* . . . .
6. *Ra hem* . . . . .
7. *Ra kar* . . . . . .
8. *Ra nefru het.* (?)
9. *Ra a* . . . . . .
10. *Ra sha* . . . .
11. *Ra neb kar* . .
12. *Ra s.men* . .
13. *Ra* . . . .

92



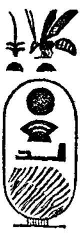
Su-kheb
Ra s.ankh . . . .

93



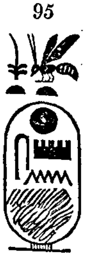
Su-kheb
Ra nefru het.

94



Su-kheb
Ra sha . . . .

95



Su-kheb
Ra s.men . .

There is no corresponding scutcheon for these again, either at Karnak or Gurnah, or on the Theban monuments. We may, therefore, perhaps venture to assume that the last five fragments of the Papyrus contain either the unknown names of the earlier Kings of the 17th, or the 76 Kings of the 14th (Xoite) Dynasty, all of which are unknown.

D.

GENERAL COMPARISON OF THE SCUTCHEONS AT KARNAK AND THE THEBAN FRAGMENTS IN THE TURIN PAPYRUS.

I. The Scutcheons at Karnak, 1—14.

It results from the foregoing remarks that the points of contact between the Tablet of Karnak and the Theban names in the Papyrus are limited to the first 14 scutcheons of the former. The Fragments, however, give 33 Kings (9+14+8+2). It would be in itself a most improbable notion that no names should be wanting between the Fragments. As regards the first 3, three names at least are omitted between them. This would make the number of reigns recorded in it amount to at least 33+3; and if we add the 4th Fragment, the lowest number will consequently be 38 Kings.

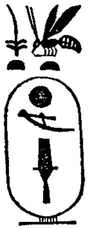
This circumstance by no means proves that the Tablet of Karnak contains a mere selection; a supposition, indeed, for which we have no authority. In 14 generations there might well be 40, indeed 60 reigns, reckoning those of brothers and all the co-regencies and collateral reigns. The 12th Dynasty proves that such co-regencies did exist in Egypt, and that they were recorded.

II. The Scutcheons at Karnak, 15—30.

We have now only to ascertain whether there be any identity between the remaining 16 scutcheons in the Tablet and these Fragments. They are as follow:

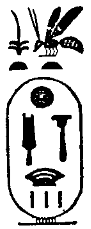
15. *Ra mer hem (kherp)* : (46) if taken alone, might be considered the same as Fragment II. 8. *Ra m kar* . . . . .
16. Destroyed.
17. *Ra hem het sha.u* (48): might be VIII. 6., where *Ra hem* only is preserved.
18. 19. Destroyed.
20. *Ra khu teti* (51).
21. *Ra mer hept* (52) is III. 4.
22. *Ra suak n̄ ra* (53).
23. *Ra* . . . . . *sha.u* (54).
24. 25. 26. Destroyed.
27. *Ra.f* . . . . . .
28. *S.het n̄ ra* (33).
29. *Ra s.nefru* (60).
30. *Ra* . . . . .

96



Su-kheb
Ra mer kherp.

97



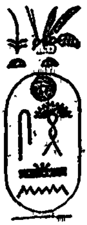
Su.kheb
Ra het sha.u, hem (kherp).

Evidently not one of these names can be pointed out with certainty on the Fragments. Only one is found, and that in a very unsuitable place; and it must not be forgotten that there may be some trifling mark of distinction between the 21st scutcheon in the Tablet, and the 4th in the 3rd Fragment, which are written in Hieratic characters, and here transcribed into hieroglyphics. The above-mentioned coincidence, therefore, is either one only in appearance, or the result of accident.

Lastly, these names cannot be identified on any of the above four monumental scutcheons, which are not identifiable on the Tablet of Karnak. Lepsius, however, has discovered them in European collections, and has arranged them here, both on account of the similarity of style as well as the impossibility of finding any place for them in the Old or New Empire.

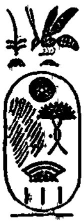
Now, whether these Kings, who are found neither in the Fragments of the Papyrus, nor the Tablet of Karnak, but who nevertheless are undoubtedly old and historical, belong here or not, we have, at all events, *fifty* scutcheons EXTANT which *must* have belonged to the 1st Theban Dynasty — the 13th — during the time of the Hyksos. Apollodorus makes the number for the whole period 53; Manetho gives 60 for the 13th, and probably 23 for the 17th Dynasty: not to speak of the 76 Xoite Kings.

98



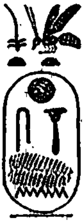
Su-kheb
Ra-suak-n.

99



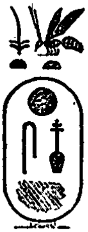
Su-kheb
Ra suak sha.u.

100



Su kheb
Ra shet n.

101



Su-kheb
Ra s.nefru.

SECTION III.

THE RESTORATION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE RESTORATION OF THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE TABLET OF TUTHMOSIS, AFTER THE ROYAL PAPYRUS AND MONUMENTS.

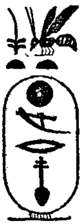
We begin with the restoration of the Tablet of Tuthmosis, according to the contemporary monuments and the Turin Papyrus.

As regards the former, we have already remarked in the previous section, that only 18 of the 30 scutcheons are preserved, and that Lepsius has found for the first of these (the last in the top row on the left) the corresponding family name, *Sebekhept.* Three other Sebekhepts, therefore, which he has identified as monumental names of the Old Time, belong unquestionably to the same series, probably to three of the 12 lost scutcheons of Karnak. All these names are indigenous in Upper Egypt: there the inscriptions were found; but most of them, unfortunately, only occur incidentally on private monuments.

Here, then, we have direct proof of the reality of the Royal series at Karnak, about which, indeed, no competent judge could well entertain any doubt. As there is no place for it in the Old or New Empire, what can it represent but the whole or a portion of the Theban Kings of the Middle Empire; and unless we admit their existence, it cannot be explained at all? It is certainly, however, a still stronger corroboration when *contemporary monuments* furnish us with the family names of some of the Kings of the series. On other contemporary monuments of the same style and workmanship, another family name, *Nefruhept*, is found, together with that of Sebekhept. Connecting them both with the names in that series, we have on the Tablet five Sebekhepts and two Nefruhepts. The two names are interchanged in this Dynasty, as are the Tuthmoses in the 18th with the Amenôphises. This gives us 7 complete Kings' names of the time, whose titles were all doubtless given in the series of Karnak, although among the great number of destroyed figures only one of them (the old Sebekhept) is preserved. The fourth plate of the Royal scutcheons and the beginning of the fifth show the synoptical arrangement made of them by Lepsius. Besides these there are likewise in Upper Egypt, on contemporary inscriptions, other Royal names mentioned, which from the style, workmanship, and character of the titles seem to belong here, and certainly do not belong to the Old or New Empire. Lepsius, accordingly, inserted their names here, although they cannot be pointed out in the Tablet of Karnak. They are the 4 following:

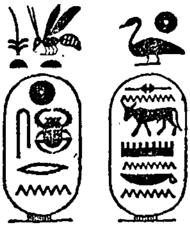
1. Ra mer hem (kherp) nefru.
2. S.kheper n' ra SENKEMENKEN.
3. Ra het sha.u hem (kherp) SEBEK EMSAF.
4. Ra suak sha hem (kherp) RA HEPTU.

102



Su-kheb
Ra mer nefru.

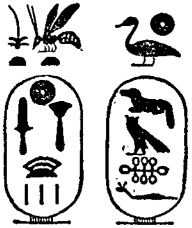
103



Su-kheb
S.kheper-en Ra.

Sa-en Ra
Senkemen-ken.

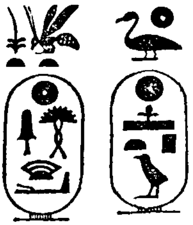
104



Su-khcb
Ra het sha.u.

Sa-en Ra
Sebek emsaf.

105



Su-khcb
Ra suak sha.u hem.

Sa-en Ra
Ra heptu.

The second of these names sounds very strange. It was found by Caillaud at Mount Barkal in Ethiopia, and is mutilated.

THEBAN KINGS OF THE MIDDLE EMPIRE ACCORDING TO THE CORRESPONDING NAMES ON THE

I.	1 . . . KA	2 S. HET-EN-RA	3 RA-S. ANKH-HET Royal Papyrus.	4 RA-HEM-KHU-TETI Royal Papyrus. SEBEK-HEPT (I).
II.	RA-SHA-ANKH. SEBEK-HEPT IV.	10 RA-SHA-HEPT SEBEK-HEPT V.	11 RA-S. NEFRU . . .	12 RA . . . .
III.	17 RA-HEM HET SHA.U SEBEK-EM-SA.F. (Kossayr Road).	18 Destroyed.	19 Destroyed.	20 RA-KHU-TETI
IV.	24 Destroyed.	25 Destroyed.	26 Destroyed.	27 RA . . F (?)

RIGHT SIDE OF THE TABLET OF KARNAK, WITH THE MONUMENTS AND IN THE PAPYRUS.

5 Destroyed. RA-HEM-S. HET TETI SEBEK-HEPT II.	6 RA-SHA . . . Royal Papyrus. NEFRU-HEPT (I).	7 RA-SHA-NEFRU. Royal Papyrus. SEBEK-HEPT (III).	8 Destroyed. RA SHA KAR. U NEFRU-HEPT II.
13 RA-S-SESER TETI.	14 RA-MER KAR.U According to Wilkinson in Lycopolis (Siût).	15 RA-MERI HEM.	16 Destroyed.
21 RA-MER HEPT. Royal Papyrus.	22 S.UAK..Ǹ-RA.	23 RA...SHA. U.	Tuthmôsis III. sacrificing to the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt.
28 S.HET-Ǹ-RA.	29 RA-S. NEFRU.	30 RA : . . .	

A.

RESTORATION OF THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY, THEBAN KINGS.

THE HOUSE OF THE SEVEKÔPHISES AND NEFRUÔPHISES.

We place the Kings in the order which, according to our researches, they seem to require, and refer the reader to the scutcheons in our Tables. The continuous numbers take no notice of the chasms which have been noted down in their proper place, and are consequently below the real numbers.

Thirteenth Dynasty.

60 Kings, according to Manetho, with 453 years and 30 generations.

(FRAGM. VI. 72.) 1—9.

Royal Papyrus, Column VI. Frag. 72. immediately after the close of the 12th Dynasty, on the same piece.

A .... followed by .... Kings .... RA S.HEPT HET.

1. RA KHU TA, 1 yr. 3 m. 24 days.
2. RA·PEKH KAR, 6 yrs.
conf. Karnak I. (32) RA...KA
3. AMENEMHA,
4. RA S.HEPT HET,
conf. Karnak II. (33) S. HET Ǹ RA
5. AUFNA,
6. RA S.ANKH HET,
Karnak III. (34)
7. RA S. MEN KAR
8. RA S.HEPT HET
9. RA MEN KAR (?)

Eratosthenes,
XXXV. last King of
XIIth Dynasty,
XXXVI.
Siphthah, 5.
XXXVI. Phuoro, 9.

XXXVII.
Amuthartæus
(read Amuntimæus),
63.

Here one or more Kings are wanting.

FRAGMENT VI. 76—79. 14 reigns follow.

10. RA HEM HET.
11. RA SEBEK HEPT.
12. REN SNAB.
13.
14. RA S.TEF
hem khu teti.

15. RA PEKHI SEBEKHEPT (I.), Karnak IV. (35)
16. RA SESER S.HEPT Ñ RA.
17. RA ...... KA (Commander of the Archers).
18. RA SESER..........
19. RA PEKH KAR SEBEKHEPT (II.), Karnak V. (36)
20. RA SHA KAR NEFRUHEPT (I.), VI. (37)
21. RA HAT......... MENTUSA
22. RA SHA NEFRU SEBEKHEPT (III.), „ VII. (38)
23. RA SEBEKHEPT.

Down to this King we have, consequently, for seven scutcheons of the ancestral chamber, and, consequently, for seven generations, $23 + x$ (at least, therefore, twenty-four) reigns. Reducing them to years, we have, according to the usual average of generations (30 or 33) 210 or 231 more years: and the average length of reigns would be 9 or $9\frac{2}{3}$ years. Comparing these with Eratosthenes, we find that the first two reigns, with six years, correspond to his first reign of fifty years. It must not, however, be forgotten, that Eratosthenes does not enter either Amenemha Ramatu (IV.) or Seveknefru, of the 12th Dynasty, who in the Papyrus appear as independent Kings; and also that there is a discrepancy as compared with the Tablet of Karnak. The first scutcheon has on it RA... KA. This will tally well with the second King in the Papyrus; but where is there anything to correspond with the remains of the second scutcheon, S.HET Ñ RA? The family name, Phuoro, the River Nile, of the next King in Eratosthenes, would, therefore, answer very well for the third throne-name in the Papyrus, which is simply the family name Amenemha of the 12th Dynasty. We do not know which of the following is the unfortunate King in whose reign the Old Empire came to an end, and to whom Eratosthenes assigns a reign of sixty-three years. He cannot possibly be omitted in the Tablet of Karnak, and he seems to have more than one representative or adjunct in the Papyrus. It is strange enough, and proves the great predominance of the Dynastic principle over the historical in the Egyptian Lists, that not one word is said in the Papyrus about the great event which divided the 13th Dynasty into two parts, of which one was independent and one tributary.

(destroyed)
24. RA SHA KARU NEFRUHEPT (II.), Karnak VIII. (39)
25. RA SHA ANKH NEFRUHEPT (IV.), „ IX. (40)

We owe the discovery of these two Kings to Lepsius, who first copied them from contemporary monuments. He placed them here, because, in the first place, the tenth scutcheon at Karnak (41) corresponds with the first King of the fragment of the Papyrus (viii. 81.), which he makes to follow on here, containing eight reigns. It is probable, however, that the Egyptian Lists have omitted to enumerate in this place the reigns 4—8, so that the next may suit perfectly well for the 33rd.

FRAGMENT VIII. (81.)

26. RA SHA HEPT - Karnak X. (41) name on contemp. mon. Sebekhept V.	4 years,	8 months,	27 days.
27. RA UAH HET AHET -	10 „	8 „	28
28. RA MER NEFRU - (? Karnak XI. (42) RA S.NEFRU).	- 23 „	8 „	18
29. RA MER HEPT -	- 2 „	2 „	7
30. RA S.ANKH—NSHTU	- 3 „	2 „	—
31. RA MER ANKH-ANKA	- 3 „	1 „	—
32. RA SNAB KAR-HERA	- 5 „	8 „	—
33. RA . . . M. KAR. NUB (?). (? Karnak XIV. (45) RA MER KAR.U).			
34.			

From this point the identifications are all uncertain, and we can only, therefore, remind our readers that the fourteenth scutcheon at Karnak brings us down to thirty reigns of the 16th Dynasty, or even more, and that Manetho assigns to this Dynasty sixty Kings. In all probability, therefore, the remaining sixteen scutcheons of the Tablet contain even more than the remaining reigns of that Dynasty, which are at most twenty, perhaps not fifteen, when all are added together. There are two possible solutions of this difficulty. Either the second part of the right side of the ancestral chamber represented the end of the 17th Dynasty (in which case we must suppose that the Papyrus recorded about eighty instead of sixty Kings of this House); or else the generations of the 17th Dynasty are exhausted in those fourteen scutcheons which (computing them at thirty or thirty-three years) would then represent 420 or 462 years, or *almost exactly* Manetho's number (453). In that case, the second half of this side must be appropriated to the 17th Dynasty, which would then represent only 151 years in sixteen scutcheons. We know, however, from the opposite side, that the last of the Dynasties of the Old Empire there represented is distinguished from the earlier by the circumstance of almost all its Kings being recorded. This may, therefore, very well have been done here with the last Dynasty, as regards the immediate predecessors of the reigning House.

Now, as the last four or five Kings of the 17th Dynasty are known from the sepulchral chamber at Gurnah, we should have no difficulty in deciding between these two important alternatives, did we possess the throne-names of four even of the last Kings of the 17th Dynasty on one side at Gurnah, or if two even of the last eight scutcheons at Karnak were preserved. It is much to be regretted that the point cannot be absolutely cleared up; for, as the still remaining scutcheons of the Tablet bear no resemblance whatever to the remaining royal names in the Papyrus which belong to this period, we must suppose them to belong to totally different Dynasties. In general the Papyrus names, in all

$$5+9\ (11)+5+13=32\ (34)$$
$$+\text{ at least } 4=36\ (38),$$

bear some resemblance to the above Theban names; the thirteen last, indeed, so strong a one, that we might venture to identify them as Kings of the 13th Dynasty, in which case the number would then amount to 47; and, according to what has been remarked above, this must correspond to *at least* 53.

Ra Nahasi (the Negro Sun), the first name in the ninth fragment, certainly cannot belong to a Xoite King; and the third, Uben Ra, looks so very like the eighth of the former Kings' names, and the second of the following, that we should be much inclined to assign this series (5+9 (11)+5=19 (21)) to the 17th Dynasty.

In like manner, we shall be obliged to appropriate to it the entries of the two isolated names, which Lepsius has copied on other contemporary monuments, and which have nothing resembling them in the remaining scutcheons of the Tablet, any more than they have in the fragments of the Papyrus. They are

RA MER NEFRU.
RA HEM...SHA HEPT U.

According to this adjustment, the number of Kings in the 13th Dynasty is too great when compared with Manetho; and we shall find a similar excess in the 17th.

B.

RESTORATION OF THE SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY, THEBAN KINGS.

THE HOUSE OF THE MENTUÔPHIS.

According to the critical examination entered into above, it appears that the last King of the 17th Dynasty is

RA S.KENN N TA-NA-KEN.

We have other reasons for assigning to him that position besides the place he occupies in the sepulchral chambers at Gurnah, as object of the act of sacrifice. The most simple course would seem to be to reckon backwards from him, as the last acknowledged King, from the upper to the lower row. In that case, two suggestions may be offered as to Mentuhept. The fact of his being separated by the chief of the 18th Dynasty from the other Kings of the 17th, may possibly imply that he was the Patriarch of the House, from whom Aahmes, the husband of the daughter of the last King, descended in the female line. At all events, his position immediately in front of the person sacrificing is a marked one, as is evidently the case with the then reigning Pharaoh, Amenōphis I., in the upper row.

On the left side of the ancestral chamber of the Tuthmōses the usual order is also reversed, the two chiefs of the 12th Dynasty being represented sitting immediately in front of the person sacrificing.

Whether the one of the monumental Kings above mentioned belonged to this Dynasty, as one of the earlier Pharaohs, or not, and whether there were within the 150 years preceding Amos 5 or 23 Kings of the 17th Dynasty, the tablet of Gurnah presents us with five Kings, whose order of succession may have been the following:

RA-TU-NEB MENTUHEPT.
RA-NEB S.PEN.
RA-SEN KA-MES.
AAH-HEPT.
RA-S.KENN Ǹ AT-NA-KEN.

I am, however, far from considering this succession as certain. It may be argued that the interruption of the series of Kings in the lower row by Aahmes, is not to be taken into consideration, and that *Ratuneb* immediately preceded Aah-hept. Upon that supposition the order would be this:

RA-SEN KA-MES
RA-NEB-SPEN
RA-TU-NEB MENTU-HEPT
AAH-HEPT
RA S.KENN Ǹ TA-NA-KEN.

As to the number of Kings of this Dynasty, I will observe, lastly, that the fact of five being here represented, as predecessors of Aahmes, cannot be taken as a proof that the 17th Dynasty had only five Kings. An average of 30 years for a reign seems to me too improbable to adopt such an hypothesis.

At all events, we have already more Kings' names than are required for the reigns of Manetho's Theban Dynasties of this period; and we can thus prove, not only their historical reality, but also the necessity of allowing a corresponding period of time for their succession. Hence the period which we found to be the most probable for other reasons, recommends itself also in this respect.

As the principal object of our present research was to establish this point, I deem it unnecessary to enter into further details, Lepsius and De Rougé having announced their intention of treating fully upon the subject.

SECOND DIVISION.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW EMPIRE.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE PECULIARITY OF THIS PART.—THE METHOD OF THE CRITICISM AND HISTORICAL RESTORATION.

THE method of conducting our researches into the chronology of the New Empire, is very intimately connected with the peculiarity of its history and authorities. This portion of our undertaking, upon the whole, has much fewer difficulties to contend with than the preceding.

From this time forth the names and dates of the Kings are only once omitted by the Epitomists, namely, in the 20th Dynasty, and even there only in appearance We shall find that the contemporary Dynasties cease entirely, and that the Lists of Manetho now form only a single series. This series, with the exception of the first two Dynasties, the 18th and 19th, is strictly chronological; that is, the epilogus given of the Dynasties now represents the real date of the Epoch in which the Dynasty flourished.

This circumstance is the more welcome to us, as in the New Empire we lose altogether the benefit of Alexandrian criticism, with the exception of a few commentators, and these have hitherto been overlooked by Egyptologers. On the other hand, soon after the year 1000 B. C., the Jewish synchronisms commence and furnish points to guide and test our researches. With the Psammetici the Greek notices, which are to a certain extent trustworthy, commence—then come the reigns of the Kings of Persia, transmitted in the Canon of Ptolemy with all the accuracy of an era which was employed for astronomical observations, and last of all a few Greek synchronisms. We are, indeed, ready to admit that we believe we actually have discovered the fixed astronomical point, coinciding with the earlier part of the New Empire, in a period heretofore without any historical synchronisms—a point which previous critics have attempted in vain to establish. Lastly, there is no portion of Egyptian history which is so rich in contemporary monuments, and which furnishes us such startling information, in the most difficult and confused part of the inquiry, than that of the first two renowned Dynasties of the New Empire. It is admitted that the most celebrated of all chronological monuments, the Tablet of Abydos, gives us the series of the 18th Dynasty complete, and the 19th down to the Great Ramesses, accompanied by smaller successions of Kings of the same period.

But it is precisely at this point that obstacles which have proved hitherto insurmountable, beset the inquirer. We have endeavoured to give an historical exposition of the nature of these in the first Book. The Pharaoh in whose reign Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, was a Prince of the 18th Dynasty, according to a tradition which identified the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos. This attracted especial notice to that Dynasty. But the 19th Dynasty was likewise brought within the pale of Christian research, in consequence of the Egyptian account that the lepers were expelled during the reign of one of its Kings, an event which Josephus had endeavoured to prove to have no connexion with the Jews.

This accounts for many glosses and interpolations in our present Lists. But we have seen in the critical survey of the Old Empire, that these Lists were not of a strictly chronological nature, inasmuch as Manetho followed the usual method of the earlier Royal registers, that of inserting *all* the reigns, even those which were contemporaneous, and consequently the co-regencies in a given Dynasty, one after the other.

Besides this, however, it appeared that our present Lists have undergone a process of deterioration; the entries of the months and days of reigns being systematically omitted, frequently even the names; while they were amplified by notices, names, and dates borrowed from the historical work. Although genuine, therefore, they turn out to be somewhat mutilated and somewhat enlarged without competent authority; and the epilogi of the Kings and their years of reign, obviously composed by the Epitomists from notices annexed to them, could not be received without inquiry as Manetho's own. Their sums total especially (independent of contemporary Dynasties) were very far from representing a certain continuous chronology.

The greater the importance, which the names and dates of a Dynasty possessed in the ages of the Epitomists, to whom we are indebted for our present form of Manetho's Lists, the more copious must those historical extracts have been, and the greater the difference between the sum of the numbers they contained and the strict chronological epilogus of the whole period.

The question therefore was this—Does this inaccuracy cease from henceforth? and if so, is there an improvement in the state of the Lists? Certainly not, as far as the Epitomists are concerned; for it is exactly in the Lists of the 18th and 19th Dynasties that we find palpable interpolations. If, therefore, historical notices from Manetho's work were introduced into them, without being understood and in an incorrect shape, the confusion in them necessarily very soon became still greater, and consequently in all Egyptian research. The Tablet of Abydos obviously gave a series of Kings of that period, accompanied by smaller contemporary successions. The monuments furnished the family names of the Lists.

Assuming then that the Lists and the Tablet of Abydos start from a given common point, the Chief of the 18th Dynasty for instance, they will in all probability diverge in the next Royal scutcheon, certainly very soon after, and the discrepancy between them will become continually greater and greater. By comparing therefore the second name in the Lists with the second scutcheon, the third with the third, and so on, we must inevitably very soon fall into mistakes which will constantly increase upon us; and ingenious as the attempts may be to identify the scutcheons with the names and dates in Manetho, their only effect will be to divert us the more effectually from the only correct course. Now, the previous investigation has proved to demonstration that such is the nature of the Lists of the Old Empire, and a glance at those of the 18th and 19th Dynasties, will show that this has actually occurred nowhere to so great an extent as here, the reason for which has been also stated. The fact, however, that all previous inquirers who have tried to identify the Lists with the Tablet of Abydos and the monuments generally have really fallen into that error, is one only to be explained by the history of Hieroglyphical research above alluded to.

The plan we have adopted in the present portion of our task is, in general, the same as that pursued in the Old and Middle Empires. We have endeavoured to discover from the monuments the fixed points which are common to the Lists, the Tablet of Abydos, and similar authentic notices of the series of Kings. If the first critical assumption were not incorrect, by a course of patient and continuous research the supernumerary names and dates in the Lists must have explained themselves. In a word, the Tablet of Abydos, and the contemporary monuments which corroborate it, have compensated me for the want of the guiding hand of the historian Manetho, in both those Dynasties. The advantage derived from that first assumption was so immediate, that I have never found reason to make any alteration in the arrangement of the succession of Kings and the chronology from the 18th down to the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty, since its first discovery and application in December, 1832; and it has remained essentially the same, as my address to the Archæological Institute at Rome, and their annual Report in 1834, will testify.

II. The Principle of the Division in the Treatment of the New Empire: the Epochs of Historical and Chronological Research.

By the aid of chronological research we shall condense the restoration of the Dynasties into larger masses, which are at the same time adapted for forming the groundwork of an historical representation and the treatment of the synchronisms in the Fourth Book.

The following are the principal historical Epochs of the New Empire:

First Epoch. The restoration of the Empire, its zenith, and decline:

18th Dynasty, *House of the Tuthmōses.*
19th Dynasty, *House of the Ramesses.*

During the reigns of the first Kings of the Ramesses Family the New Empire recovered itself again, after the confusion which took place towards the end of the 18th Dynasty, and reached its zenith, but shortly sunk back into confusion after the reign of the great Ramesses.

Second Epoch. The supremacy of the Assyrians, the fall of the Theban Dynasties, and decline of Royal power: Theban Ramessides and Tanites: 20th and 21st Dynasties.

Third Epoch. Restoration of the Imperial power and the might of Egypt under Sheshonk, the prince of Bubastis in Lower Egypt; decline of the Empire under the Tanite princes, and its subjugation by the Kings of Ethiopia:

22nd Dynasty	(Bubastites).
23rd „	Tanites (Osorkon=Sesach).
24th „	A Saite (Bokkhoris).
25th „	The Ethiopians (Sabako).

Fourth Epoch. The last restoration and its fall:

26th Dynasty: Saites, the PSAMMETICI.

Fifth Epoch. The Persian conquest and dominion, and its struggles down to the Macedonian conquest:

27th Dynasty:	Persians, the ACHÆMENIDÆ.
28th „	A Saite (Amyrtæus).
29th „	Mendesian Kings (Nepherites).
30th „	Sebennyte King (Nectanebo).

The *first* of these sections, as respects the chronological inquiry, is limited by two circumstances: the occurrence of synchronisms, by which it is possible to find a point of contact for Egyptian chronology with ancient history in general; and then the state of Manetho's Lists. These latter require two things to be done: to treat them, first, in a general manner, by Dynasties; and then, in particular, to make a collection of the first four, from the 18th to the 21st.

The two groups which we thus obtain for treating of the chronology, are as follow:

The *first* comprises the period between the beginning of the restoration of the Empire and the first synchronistic point. This is the conquest of Jerusalem by Sheshonk Sesak, in the fifth year of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon. Although this Epoch is placed several years too high in the ordinary Jewish chronology, as we shall show in the Fourth Book, and although we do not know at present the year of Sheshonk's reign corresponding with the fifth of the reign of Rehoboam, in which he took Jerusalem, we have nevertheless, it is admitted, found a fixed point within certain limits, from whence, reckoning backwards, we may preliminarily determine the starting point of the 18th Dynasty, and, if our previous inquiries have not deceived us altogether, the first year of Menes. This, then, is the first of the calculations by which we shall endeavour to make fast and connect with general history, the thread of Egyptian chronology, shown to be a period of 2000 years, which has hitherto drifted loosely down the stream. As Sheshonk is the first King of the 22nd Dynasty, our first division will necessarily comprise the 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st Dynasties.

The *second* group treats of the five following Dynasties, that is, down to the Persian conquest. The accession of Cambyses is a fixed and well established point. Here, then, we have the first independent test for fixing the chronological starting point of the reign of Sheshonk. But between him and Cambyses there are several other synchronisms which strengthen this proof. The latter part of this group, the attempted restoration of the Empire by Psammetichus after the conquest of the Ethiopians, requires, both chronologically and historically, especial notice.

The *third* and last group comprises the period from the Persian conquest down to the final disappearance of the Egyptian Dynasties, i. e. to within nine years of the conquest of Alexander. It comprehends, therefore, the four remaining Dynasties from the 27th to the 30th. Here again, as the accession of Alexander the Great, as well as the whole series of Persian Kings between him and the conquest of Cambyses, is known, from the Canon of Ptolemy, which is thoroughly authentic, and as various other points of synchronism present themselves, we are furnished with continuous tests of Manetho's dates as well as with further proofs of the correctness of the fixed chronological points before laid down. Hence, therefore, there results the following arrangement for this Book:

First division. First and second historical Epoch:
Dynasty XVIII.—XXI.

Second division. Third and fourth historical Epoch:
Dynasty XXII.—XXVI.

Third division. Fifth historical Epoch.

In treating the particular Dynasties, we shall confine ourselves strictly to the restoration of the chronology, in order not to anticipate either the independent synchronistic researches of the Fourth Book, or the historical exposition from the monuments, which we reserve for the Fifth.

FIRST SUBDIVISION.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE XVIII. XIX. XX. AND XXI. DYNASTIES.

FIRST AND SECOND HISTORICAL EPOCHS.

229 + 112 + 185 + 130 = 656 Years.

SECTION I.

BASIS OF THE COLLATION OF THE MONUMENTS IN THE XVIII. XIX. XX. AND XXI. DYNASTIES.

I.

SURVEY OF THE PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO MAKE THE LISTS OF THE FIRST FOUR DYNASTIES OF THE NEW EMPIRE IN MANETHO HARMONIZE WITH THE TABLET OF ABYDOS.

(*Felix, Wilkinson, Champollion, Rosellini.*)

In order to obviate the necessity of interrupting the inquiry hereafter, by a recurrence to the connexion between this exposition and that of previous critics and its results, we here condense these results in the shape of a comparative synopsis of the four Dynasties. At each end of the table we introduce the two conflicting elements: On the left, the Tablet of Abydos, and other Monuments connected with it: On the right, the Lists of Manetho, in the form in which they have been hitherto adopted and quoted by the investigators. In the column next to the one containing the first of these authorities, we have given the Lists as arranged by the English, referring to Wilkinson's last very valuable works, and especially his frequently quoted "Topography of Thebes." In the column adjoining that containing the Lists, we have given the systems of Champollion and Rosellini. The former, as we have seen, have for the most part followed the order of the Monuments; the latter have made the Lists their authorities, endeavouring to discover on the Monuments the names and dates which they contain, and have made them the basis of their computations.

The Tablet of Abydos and other Monuments.	Felix 1828 (1830).	Wilkinson.	
		Materia Hieroglyphica 1828	Topography of Thebes 1835.
	" Dynasty of the Tuthmoses" (9 Kings) part of Manetho's XVIII. Dyn.	15 Kings. " XVIII. Dynasty."	
Aahmes-Abydos I.	Amo,Tuthmos I.	1. AMOSIS—Chebron	Chebron (?) Ames—Amosis
AMENHEPT (I.) . II.	Amenoph I.	2. AMVNOPHTEP—Amenoph	Amunoph I.—Amunftep
TETMES (I.) . III.	Tuthmosis I.	3. AMENSE—Amensis 4. TOTMES I. (Son of Am.) Mephres.	Thothmes I.—Mesphratuthmosis
TETMES (II.) . IV.	Tuthmosis II.	5. TOTHMES II.—Mephru Tuthmosis	Ames (Amesses) *and* Amun-neit-gori (females)
TETMES (III.) . V.	Tuthmosis III.	6 TOTHMES III.—Tuthmosis	Tothmes II.—Mephra Tuthmosis Tothmes III.—Tuthmosis
AMENHEPT (II.) . VI.	Amenophis II.	7. AMVNOPHTEP II. . .	Amunoph II.—Amenoph
TETMES (IV.) . VII.	Tuthmosis IV.	8. TOTHMES IV. Son—Horus	Tothmes IV.—Horus
AMENHEPT (III.) . VIII.	Amenophis III.	9. MAVT-M-SHOI—Acherres, Mother 10. AMVNOTP III.—Rathotis—Memnon (AMVNOTP, elder brother) Co-Regent	Maut m̃ schôi—Achenchres (Regency) Amunoph III.—Rathotis (Memnon) Amun—Tuônh, Brother (Danaus?)
HER IX.	Horus " Dynasty of the Ramses" Manetho's end XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI.	11. AMVN MEN (or ANAMIK)—Akencheres	Achencheres
RAMSES I.	Ramses I.	12. RAMSES I.—Chebres	Remeses I.—Acherres.
(MENEPHTHAH) SETI I.	Osirei I.	13. OSIREI I.—Armæus	Osiri ? I.—Armaïs (Busiris)
RAMSES II. MIAMUN	Ramses II. Sesostris.	14. RAMSES II. MIAMUN, Son—Sesostris	AMUN MAI RAMESSES (II.) (Rameses—Miamun)
MENEPTHAH (SETI II.)	Phthamenoph	15. PHTAMEN—Amanephthis	PTAHMEN-THMEIF-HO (Amenophis, Menophis)
		XIX. Dynasty.	XIX. Dynasty
MENEPTHAH	OSIREI II	1. OSIMENEPHTHAH (?)	PTAHMEN SEPHTHAH—Sethos
MERRER	Amerre	2. - - - - Sethos	OSIREI II ? or OSIRI MEN. PTAH—Rapsakes (Ramses)
		3. REMEROR—Amenoph	OSIRITA (?) REMERRER (?) AMVNMAI

Champollion.		Rosellini 1833.	The Lists of Manetho according to Josephus, Africanus, Eusebius.
1820.	1826—1828.		
	XVIII. Dynasty Chronological Starting Point 1822 B. C.	XVIII. Dynasty Chronological Starting Point 1822 B. C.	XVIII. Dynasty Jos. 17 K. 333 years Afr. 16 „ 263 „ Eus. 14 „ 348 „
AMENOPHIS I. chief of the Dynasty	AMENOFTEP (Abyd. II.) —Amosis—Tuthmosis (Son of the last King of the XVII.) 30, 7	Amosis Tethmosis—AMENOF I. 26, 4	1. Tuthmosis 25. 4 (Afr. Amos. Eus. Amosis)
TVTHMOSIS I. Son	TVTHES I. (Ab. III.)—Chebron, Son . 13, 0	Chebron—TVTHMES I.	2. Chebron, Son 13, 0
TVTHMOSIS II. dies without descendants	AMONMAI—Amenophis I. 20, 7	Amenophis—TVTHMES II.	3. Amenophis 20, 7
AMENSE, Sister	AMENSE—Amenses, same as Jos.	Amenses AMENSE and wife TVTHMES III. and AMENEMHA	4. Amesses Sister 21. 9
TVTHMOSIS III. Son of Mœris, her first husband	TVTHMES II. (Ab. V.) —Mephres—Mœris, as in Jos.	Mephres (Mœris)—TVTHMES IV. Son	5. Mephres 12, 9
AMENOPHIS II. Son	AMENOPHIS I. (Ab. VI.)—Mephra Tuthmosis, as in Jos.	Mephratuthmosis, Son—AMENOF II	6. Mephramuthosis 25, 10
TVTHMOSIS IV.	TVTHMOSIS III. (Ab. VII.)—Tuthmosis, as in Jos.	Tmôsis—TVTHMES IV.	7. Thmosis (Tuthmosis) 9, 8
AMENOPHIS II. (read III.) Memnon	AMENOPHIS II. (Ab. VII.)—Amenophis, as in Jos.	Amenôphis (Memnon)—AMENOPH III.	8. Amenophis 30, 10
HORUS	HOR—Horus . 38, 7	Horus—HOR	9. Horus . 36, 5
	THMAVHMOT—Akencheres, as in Jos.	Akencheres—TMAVH. MOT	10. Akencheres, Daughter 12, 1 (Afr. 32)
RAMSES I.	RAMSES I. —Rathotis, as in Jos.	Rathotis—RAMSES I.	11. Rathôtis, Brother 9, 0 (Afr. 6)
MENEPHTHAH VSIREI	VSIREI—Akencheres (Afr. Chebren) as in Jos.	Akencheres I. II.—MENEPHTHAH . 24, 8	12. Akencheres, Husband 12, 5
	MANDVEI—Akencheres 20, 3		13. Akencheres 12, 3
RAMSES II. Brother of the successor	RAMSES II.— Armais Armês . as in Jos.	Armais, Armesses—RAMSES II. 14	14. Armais . 4, 1 (Eus. 5. Afr. Armeses)
RAMSESSES the Great (III.)	RAMSES III.—Ramesses, Son . . . as in Jos.	Ramses Sesostris—RAMSES (III.) Brother . 66, 2	15. Ramesses . 1, 4 16. Armesses
MENEPHTHAH II.	RAMESSES MIAHVN IV.—Ram. Miam. as in Jos.	Ramses Miamun—MENEPHTHAH (II.) Son . . 3	Miamu 66, 2 17. Amenophis 19, 0
MENEPHTHAH III.	RAMESSES V —Amenophis as in Jos.	Amenophis II.—MENEPHTHAH (SIPHTHAH) . 19, 6	
RHAMERRE 16 Kings	17 Kings. Sum (as in Eus.) 348 years.	. . UERR I.	
		17 Kings, Sum 348	years 333 (According to Jos. 393 years)

The Tablet of Abydos and other Monuments.	FELIX 1828 (1830).	WILKINSON.	
		Materia Hieroglyphica 1828	Topography of Thebes 1835.
RAMESSES III. MIAMUN, Son	Ramses III. Miamun (Memnon)	RAMESSES III. Son	RAMESSES III—Miamun or Amunmai, Son
RAMESSES IV. Son	Ramses IV.	RAMESSES IV. Son	RAMESSES IV.- Ammenemes Son
RAMESSES V. Brother	Ramses V. "After these 8 Kings 10 without any certain order."	RAMESSES V. Brother	RAMESSES V—Thuôris (Polybus) Son of Ramses III.
RAMESSES VI. Brother.	Ramses VI.	RAMESSES VI. Son of Ramesses. III.	RAMESSES VI. Son of Ramesses III.

CHAMPOLLION.		ROSELLINI 1833.	The Lists of Manetho according to Josephus, Africanus, Eusebius.
1820	1826–1828.		
	XIX. Dynasty (according to Eusebius).		Afr. 7 K. 209 years Eus. 5 „ 194 „
RAMSES MEIAMUN (IV.) Sethos	RAMSES VI.—Sethos, Sesostris	Sethos, Ægyptus—RAMSES IV.	1. Sethos (Sethosis) 55 (Jos. 59. Afr. 51)
RAMSES V.	RAMSES VII.—Ramses Pheron	Rampses—RAMSES V.	2. Rampses . 66 (Afr. 61)
AMENOFTEP IV.	AMENOFTEP IV.—Amenophtep	Ammenephthes—RAMSES VI.	3. Amenephthes 40 (Afr. 20)
RAMSES VIII.	RAMSES VIII.—Rameses . . 21	Rameses—RAMSES VII.	4. . . . . (Afr. Ramesses 60)
RAMSES IX.	RAMSES IX.—Ammenemes . 5	Ammenemes—RAMSES VII.	5. Ammenemes 26 (Afr. 5)
THUORIS	THUORIS—Thuôris 7	Thuoris—RAMSES IX.	6. Thuoris . 7
	Sum 6 Kings, years 194	Sum 7 Kings, 194 years	Euseb. 5 K. years 194 Afr. 6 „ „ 209

Remaining Royal Scutcheons.		Arrangement of Felix	Arrangement of Wilkinson 1828—1835.
Wilkinson.	Rosellini.		
		("without any certain order)"	XX. and XXI. Dynasties 1160—about 1068.
REMESES (VII.)	REMESES X.	RAMSES VII.	Remeses VII. . . . 1170
REMESES (VIII.)	REMESES XI.	RAMSES VIII.	Remeses VIII. . . . 1153
REMESES (IX.)	REMESES (XII.)	RAMSES IX.	Remeses IX. . . . 1140
REMESES (X.)	REMESES (XIII.)	RAMSES X.	Remeses X. 1125
REMESES (XI. ?)	REMESES (XIV.)	RAMSES XI.	Remeses XI. (?) . . . 1110
„ XII.	REMESES (XV.)	RAMSES XII.	Amunmai Pui (?) . . 1095 (that is Pisham)
„ XIII.		OSIREI III.	Amunmeses 1080—about 1068
„ XIV.		RAMSES XIII.	(Sheshonk succeeds, the chief of the XXII. Diospolitan (?) Dynasty 978—945).
„ XV.			
AMUNMESES	AMENEMSES		
	AMENSI-PEHOR		
PUI (Pisiam)	PHISHIAM		
7 Scutcheons (properly 11) for 12 + 7 Kings.	9 Scutcheons for 12+7 Kings.		

Arrangement of CHAMPOLLION 1826—1828.	Arrangement of ROSELLINI 1833.	Manetho's Lists according to Africanus and Eusebius.
		Twentieth Dynasty.
Twentieth Dynasty.		Diospolitan Kings 12
		reigned according to { Africanus . 135 years. Eusebius . 178 „
1. RAMSES X.	1. RAMSES X.	1. . . . . . .
2. RAMSES XI.	2. RAMSES XI.	2. . . . . . .
	3. RAMSES XII.	3. . . . . . .
	4. AMENEMSES.	4. . . . . . .
	5. RAMSES XIII.	5. . . . . . .
	6. RAMESES XIV.	6. . . . . . .
	7.	7. . . . . . .
	8.	8. . . . . . .
	9.	9. . . . . . .
	10. RAMSES XV.	10. . . . . . .
	11. AMENSI-PEHOR	11. . . . . . .
	12. PHISCIAM.	12. . . . . . .
		Twenty-first Dynasty.
Twenty-first Dynasty.		Tanite Kings . . . . . 7 reigned . . . 130 years.
MANDUFTEP?	1. MANDUFTEP ?	1. Smendes (is) Afr. . 26 —
AASEN ?	2. Aasen ?	2. Psusennes . — 41 —
	3.	3. Nephercheres . — 4 —
	4.	4. Amenôphthis . — 9 —
	5.	5. Osochôr . . — 6 —
	6.	6. Psinaches . . — 9 —
	7.	7. Psusennes . — 14 —

II.

ERROR IN THE FRENCH AND INSUFFICIENCY OF THE ENGLISH RESTORATION.

In looking over these tables, we must allow that if Champollion's restoration be correct (the principal features of which Rosellini adopted), all hope of restoring the Lists, even as to their names, must be abandoned, to say nothing of founding any chronology upon them. It is admitted that the Tablet of Abydos represents the series of Kings of the 18th Dynasty. Now, the Lists either give this series, or they do not. In the latter case, which is clearly the true one, the fault must lie with them. For how was it possible that, in the reign of Ramses the Great, a mistake in that series could be made? Admitting that females were excluded from the Royal Tablet, though the Lists evidently mention one Queen or more, very little is explained by that. If, however, it be maintained that an Amenōphis in the Lists corresponds to an Aahmes or Tuthmes in the monuments, and again a Tuthmōsis to an Amenoph, a thoughtful critic is thereby prevented from proving any thing whatever. He may hold it to be possible, however improbable, that the Lists occasionally mention a King, not by the same name as he is known by in the Royal scutcheons, but by some other title, which they do not contain. Tuthmōsis and Amenōphis, however, are notoriously monumental names, and clearly correspond, the former to Tuthmes, the latter to Amenoph, but a Tuthmōsis can never by possibility be called Amenoph, nor, on the other hand, an Amenōphis, Thothmes.

The English investigators felt the force of this, and therefore adhered, more or less strictly, to the Tablet of Abydos and the other monumental names. The restoration of Felix is clearly the most guarded in this respect. He abandons entirely Manetho's Lists, and enumerates only the monumental names. He talks nevertheless of "18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st Dynasties." Yet it never occurs to him that there can be no other names, for instance, in the Royal series of the 18th Dynasty, than those which are given in the Tablet of Abydos. The chronology of the Lists, of course, he considers as utterly valueless. Wilkinson endeavours to combine the Lists and Monuments, which, however, he cannot effect without assigning arbitrary dates in his Chronology, and contradicting almost all the names in the Monuments and Lists; so that, in the main, all the objections that are brought against Champollion and Rosellini's restoration, hold good also against his; with this difference, however, that he does not, like them, profess by his List to be able to explain and restore that of Manetho.

III.

METHOD OF THE REAL RESTORATION.

THE train of thought which led me, in December 1832, to the real connexion between the Lists and Monuments, the result of which was the restoration of those four Dynasties, is the following:

(1) Amōs — (7) Thmōsis — (8) Amenōphis — (9) Horus of the Lists, clearly correspond to the first and last three scutcheons on the Tablet of Abydos; viz. (1) Aahmes — (7) Tetmes — (8) Amenhept — (9) Her: consequently the intervening names must also correspond; the apparent discrepancy must lie in some misapprehension of the Lists, which requires explanation. The succession in the male line ceases with Horus, there, consequently, the 18th Dynasty must have ended. It follows that in the succeeding names of the Lists, only the six *really* historical Royal names which we find on the Tablet and other Monuments, can be comprised. Of the latter, five are names of Ramses and Menephthah, the sixth only is of a totally different character. This

must correspond, therefore, with the Thuôris of the Lists, the last of the 19th Dynasty. All the names and dates between Horus and Thuôris, which do not tally, must *therefore* be in the first instance rejected, before we attempt to explain how they came to be inserted. The data of the reigns on the Monuments lead to the immediate conclusion, that the reign of sixty years and upwards, which is so frequently repeated, must be that of the Great Sesostris. Thus all the names of Ramses after Ramses III., belong to the 20th Dynasty; or — if the different mode of writing the title of the Great Ramses should seem to require us to distinguish him from his brother, the Co-regent and Traitor of Egyptian tradition, and designate them as Ramses II. and III. — all the scutcheons after Ramses IV. This explains the omission of the names in the Lists of the 20th Dynasty, of which there is no other instance after the restoration of the Empire.

All the other names before Sheshonk will belong to the 21st Dynasty.

This train of reasoning appeared to me so convincing, that I undertook to restore those four Dynasties the very same day, according to that principle. Such of my readers as have followed me thus far, will perceive that the criticism hitherto attempted of the Lists of Manetho in the Old and Middle Empire, is a methodical development of that train of thought, and, if we are not mistaken, a justification of it.

The result of the method announced above is so striking and palpable, that the reader will gain courage by it to follow us in the criticism of details, which, though necessarily a laborious one, will amply repay every friend of historic truth.

Before proceeding, therefore, to restore the individual Dynasties, and to carry out that train of thought in all its details, in the shape and completeness it has assumed in the last eighteen years, by following out the above method, and by the aid of the conclusive criticisms of all the Monuments as yet known and decipherable, which Lepsius has undertaken, we will first take a more complete and critical survey of Manetho's Lists of those first four Dynasties than has yet been given, and collate its Kings with the Tablet of Abydos and the corresponding ancient series of Kings of the Ramesside era. In so doing, we notice at once the family union already well known from contemporary monuments, and thereby demonstrate the accordance between them and the Lists when properly understood. We also lay a foundation for the arrangement of the Royal scutcheons on contemporary monuments in each particular Dynasty.

Comparative Synopsis of the Lists of Manetho,

THE EIGHTEENTH

Abydos.	Rames-seum.	Gunah.	Medinet-Abu.	Highest Year of reign on Cot. Mon.	Josephus against Apion.					
					In the Greek text.			In the Armenian version.		
						Yrs.	M.		Yrs.	M.
40. RA NEB . . . . (Aahmes)	3.			XXII.	1. Tethmôsis, after the expulsion of the Shepherds	25		Sethmosis, after the expulsion of the Shepherds	25	4
					2. Chebrôn, Son	13	7	Chebron, Son	13	
41. RA SER KAR (Amenhept I.)	4.				3. Amenophis	20	7	Amenophis	20	7
					4. Amessês Sister.	21	9	Amenses, Sister	21	9
42. RA NA KHEPER KE (Tetmes I.)	5.				5. Mephres	12	9	Mephres, Sister of the above	12	9
43. RA NA EN KHEPER (Tetmes II.)	6.				6. Mephramuthosis	25	10	Mephrathmuthosis	25	9
44. RA MEN KHEPER (Tetmes III.)	7.	1.		XXXV.	7. Thmôsis	9	3	Thmothosis, Son	9	8
45. RA NA KHEPER .U (Amenhept II.)	8.	2.								
46. RA MEN KHEPER.U (Tetmes IV.)	9.	3.		VII. XXXVI.	8. Amenôphis	30	10	Amenophis, Son	30	10
47. RA NEB MA (Amenkept III.)	10.	4.	1.							
48. RA SER KHEPER.U Setep en Ra (Her.)	11.		2.	VII.	9. Oros	36	5	Orus, Son	38	7
49. RA MEN PEH (Ramessu I.)	12.		3.	II.	10. Akenchres, Daughter	12	1	Chencheres, Daughter	12	1
50. RA MEN MA (Seti I.)	13.		4.	I.	11. Rathotis, Brother	9		Athosis, Brother of above	9	
					12. Akencherês	12	5	Chencheres, Son	12	5
					13. Akencheres, another	12	3	Achencheres, Son	12	3
					14. Armais	4	1	Armais, Son	4	1
					15. Ramessês	1	4			
51. RA SESER MA Setep en Ra (Ramessu II.).	14.		5.	LXII.	16. Armesses Miamu	66	2	Ramesis, Son of Miamu	66	2
			6. BE-EN-RA Meri ń Amen (Meri ńpteh).	IV.	17 Amenôphis	19	6	Amenophis, Son	19	6
					Make 383 years.					

AND THE DATA OF THE LISTS OF KINGS AND MONUMENTS.

DYNASTY.

THEOPHILUS.			AFRICANUS.		EUSEBIUS.					
					In Syncellus.		In the Armenian version.		In the Canon.	
	Yrs.	M.						Yrs.		Yrs.
			“ 16 Kings, 263 years.”		“ 14 Kings 348 years. 85 years more than Africanus.”		14 Kings.		16 Kings.	
Amasis (Amôsis) after the expulsion of the Shepherds	25	4	Amos (to be restored by 25)		Amôsis	25	Amoses	25	Amosis	25
Chebrôn	13		Chebrôs	13	Chebron	13	Chebron	13	Chebron	13
Amenôphis	20	7	Amenôphthis 24 ($\overline{\text{K}\Delta}$ read $\overline{\text{KA}}$)	21	Ammenôphis	21	Amophis	21	Amenophis	21
Ammesse, Sister	21	1	Amensis	22						
Mephrês	12	9	Misaphris	13	Miphrês	12	Memphres	12	Memphres	12
Mêphrammuthôsis	20	10	Misphragmuthosis	26	Misphragmuthosis	26	Mispharmuthosis	26	Mispharmuthosis	26
Tythmôsês	9	8	Tuthmôsis	9	Tuthmôsis	9	Tuthmosis	9	Tuthmosis	9
Amenôphis	30	10	Amenôphis “ (Memnon and the sounding stone).”	31	Amenôphis “ Memnon and the sounding stone.”	31	Amenophis (as in Syncellus)	31	Amenophis (as before).	30
Orus	35	5	Orus	37	Orus “ in another MS.”	35 38	Orus read	28 38	Orus	37
Daughter	10	3	Acherrês	32	Achencherses	16	Achencheres	16	Achencheres	12
			Rathôs	6					Athoris	9
			Chebrês	12	Acherrês	8	Acherres	8	Chencheres	16
Kencheres	12	3	Acherrês	12	Cherrês	15	Cherres	15	Acherres	8
									Cherres	15
Armaïs	30	1	Armesis	5	Armaïs (Danaus).	5	Armaïs (Danaus)	5	Armais (Danaus)	5
Ramesses-Miammu	66	2	Rameses	1	Ramesses (Ægyptus)	68	Ramesses (Ægyptus)	68	Ramesses (Ægyptus)	68
Ramesses	1	4	Amerôphath	19	Menôphis	40	Amenophis	40	Amenophis	40
Amenôphis	19	6								
			Syncellus, altogether 263 years without Amos 262 (259) with Amos 287 (283)		Syncellus, 348 yrs, 85 more than Afr. making 325 yrs.		“ altogether 348 yrs.” making 325 yrs.		346 yrs. Beginning of Amos, = Year of Abraham 294 (making 348 years.)	

THE NINETEENTH

Medinet-Abu.	Number.	Josephus against Apion.	
		In the Greek text.	In the Armenian version.
	(18) 1	*Sethosis*, who is also called Ramesses, the brother of *Armæus*—*Danaus*, reigned after they were expelled - 59	Sethosis, who is also called Ramesses, (end of the extract from Josephus in the first Book of the Chronicle of Eusebius).
	(19)	*Rampses*, the elder of his two sons - - 66	. . .
	(20) 3	*Amenôphis*, driven out by the Shepherds, flies to Ethopia with his son who was five years old.	. . .
7. RA SESER KHEPER.U Meriamm (Seti II.)	(21) 4	*Sethos*, who is also called Ramesses, after the father of Amenôphis—returns with his father at the end of 13 years.	. . .
8. RA SESER SHA.U (*Set necht Meri-ra*) chief of the next Dynasty.			

DYNASTY.

THEOPHILUS.	AFRICANUS.	EUSEBIUS.		
		In Syncellus.	In the Armenian version.	In the Canon.
Sethôsis, who is also Ramesses.	*Diospolitans—7 Kings.* 1. Sethôs - 51	*Diospolitans—5 Kings.* 1. Sethos - 55	Sethos - 55	Sethos - 55
	2. Rapsakes - 61 (read 66)	2. Rampses - 66	Rampses - 66	Rampses - 66
	3. Amenophthis 20	3. Ammenephthis 40	Amenephthis - 9 (read 40)	Amenōphis 40
	4. Ramesses - 60			
	5. Ammenemes 5	4. Ammenemnes 26	Ammenemes - 26	Amendes - 6
	6. Thuoris - 7 "in Homer, *Polybus* the husband of Alkandra, in whose time Troy was taken."	5. Thuoris - 7 (as in Africanus).	Thuoris - 7	Thuoris - 7
	209 "altogether 209 yrs."	194 "altogether 194 yrs."	194	194

OF THE BOMBAY

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY.

Diospolitan Kings—12.

Succession in Medinet-Aboo and contemporary Monuments.	Highest year of the reign.	Africanus reigned 135 years.	Eusebius.		
			In Syncellus reigned	In the Armenian version 178 years.	In the Canon 178 years.
8. RA SESER SHA. U Meriamn (Set necht Meri-ra)		1 . .	. . . .	. . . .	
9. RA SESER MA Hek-pen	XVI.	2 . .	. . . .	. . . .	
RAMESSU Meriamn-Hek-ma		3 . .	. . . .	. . . .	
RAMESSU Amnhichepschf, Neter-hek-pen		4 . .	. . . .	. . . .	
RAMESSU Amnhichepschf . . . neter-hek pen		5 . .	. . . .	. . . .	
RAMESSU Amnchichepschf . . Meri-Set		6 . .	. . . .	. . . .	
RAMESSU Shama, Meri-amn	III.	7 . .	. . . .	. . . .	
RAMESSV Meri-amn, Hek ma	VI.	8 . .	. . . .	. . . .	
RAMESSU Shama Meri-amn Hek-neter-pen	XVII.	9 . .	. . . .	. . . .	
RAMESSU Amnhichepschf	II.	10 . .	. . . .	. . . .	
RAMESSU Amnhichepschf Meriamn		11 . .	. . . .	. . . .	
— Hek ma Setep ǹ Ra, Amnhichepschf.		12 . .	. . . .	. . . .	

THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY.

Tanite Kings—7: Reigned 130 *Years.*

Contemporary Monuments.	AFRICANUS.	EUSEBIUS.		
		In Syncellus.	In the Armenian version.	In the Canon.
	"7 *Kings.*"	"7 *Kings.*"	"7 *Kings.*"	
	1. Smendes - 26	Smendis - 26	Smendis - 26	Smendis - 26
—	2. Psusennes - 46 (read 41)	Psusennes - 41	Psusennes - 41	Pseusennes 41
—	3. Nephelcheres 4	Nephercheres 4	Nephercheres 4	Nephercheres 4
—	4. Amenophthis 9	Amenophthis 9	Amenophthis 9	Amenôphis 9
PE-HER SE-AMEN	5. Osochôr - 6	Osorchor - 6	Osochor - 6	Osorchor - 6
PIANKH	6. Psinaches - 9	Psinachès - 9	Psinnaches - 9	Psinaches - 9
PI-NAM MIAMUN	7. Psusennès - 35	Psusennès - 35	Psusennes - 35	Psusennes - 35
	135 "altogether 130 years." (read 130).	130 "altogether 130 years."	130 "altogether 130 years."	130

SECTION II.

RESTORATION OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

I.

CLOSER APPLICATION TO THE NAMES AND DATES OF THE 18TH DYNASTY OF THE METHOD ADOPTED FOR COMPARING THE LISTS WITH THE OLD SERIES OF KINGS AND THE CONTEMPORARY MONUMENTS.

The Royal Tablet of Abydos enumerates nine Kings from Aahmes to Her inclusive—the Lists have the like number of names and dates between Amōs or Amōsis and Horus; consequently the dates of the reigns would seem to be preserved complete, and thereby the possibility to exist of restoring the chronology of that important Dynasty.

This was the idea from which we started. We now endeavour to develope it in detail, and to explain the method of our further researches.

The first, seventh, eighth, and ninth Kings in the Lists bear monumental names, as cannot fail to be admitted:

1. Amōs — Aahmēs.
7. Tuthmōsis — Tuthmēs IV.
8. Amenōphis — Amen-hept III.
9. Horus — Her.

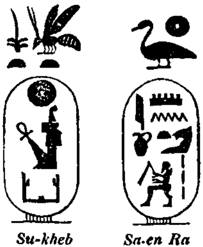
Consequently the dates in the Lists, annexed to the names of the Kings 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, must probably belong to the monumental names between 1 and 7. Their relative corresponding order is as follows:

2.	Chebrōn -	13 years	— Amen-hept I.
3.	Amenōphis -	20 (24)	— Tuthmes I.
4.	Amesses (Amenses)	22 „	— Tuthmes II.
5.	Mephres -	13 „	— Tuthmes III.
6.	Mephramuthōsis	26 „	— Amen-hept II.

Now, if we consider first of all the *names* in the Lists, Chebrōn, the second, is obviously one foreign to the Royal Tablet, and consequently to be discarded; whether we are in a situation to explain it, or not. Having done this, Amenōphis, the third name, takes its natural position at once, opposite to Amenhept.

The three following names in the Lists — 4, 5, 6 — Amenses, Mephres, Mephramuthōsis, are likewise foreign to the Tablet of Abydos, and consequently out of place here. This explains the reason of the disappearance of the genuine name of the three Tuthmōses (3, 4, 5), when these three intruders were inserted — for there were only three numbers open, to which only three names consequently could be assigned. If we attempt to explain these three interpolations, we shall easily recognise in the last of them, Mephra-Muthōsis, a corrupted combination of the preceding name, Mephres, with that of Tuthmōsis. I thought that as the third Tuthmōsis, in whose place Mephra-Muthōsis now stands, bears on the monuments the title of *Mai-ra*—loving the sun, Manetho might have called him *Mephres*, *Mephra* (with the article prefixed), to distinguish him from the other Tuthmōses. I am now inclined, with Lepsius, to explain the name as an abbreviation of Mekaphre, the sister, co-regent with her brothers. At all events, the name was twice registered—once, in its simple form; and once, combined with Tuthmōsis. Amensis, or Amessis, therefore, is the only one which requires explanation. We have upon the

106



Su-kheb Ra-ma-kar.

Sa-en Ra Ha.t-asu Num.t Amen.

monuments, between the scutcheons of the first three Tuthmōses, the name of the royal female, which formerly, on the authority of Champollion, was read *Amen-se* (daughter of Ammon). They would seem accordingly to intimate that there was some connexion and relationship between her and the Tuthmōsis family, though it was difficult to ascertain exactly what that connexion was. Various explanations were proposed, giving rise to the most complicated questions, which the members of the joint French and Tuscan Expedition Society puzzled themselves in endeavouring to solve. They came, however, to no satisfactory conclusion, for every fresh attempt left some obscurities remaining; and yet, as it seemed, the name was explained. Now, as the seventh, eighth and ninth names of the Lists agree with the corresponding names in the Royal Tablet, the sixth only remains to be restored. This must necessarily have been omitted in the Lists, for the three lower names were in their right places, whereas from the top downwards they were all pushed one place too low, owing to the interpolation of Chebrōn. It is clear from the Royal Tablet, that the King whose name was omitted, is an Amenōphis; and its omission is the more easily accounted for from the circumstance of its being already recorded both above and below.

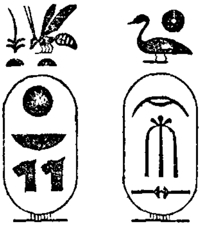
The *dates* still remain to be considered. It seemed at first sight the most natural thing to be contented with placing the nine dates against the nine genuine names thus obtained, which produced the following result:

	Years.
1. Amōsis — Aahmes (omitted in Africanus in consequence of Syncellus, after he mentioned the name, intercalating a disquisition on the birth of Moses, and then continuing the Lists, beginning with the second King.)	25

		Years.
2. Amenōphis — Amen-hept (I.)	-	13
3. (Tuthmōsis) — Tuthmes (I.)	-	21

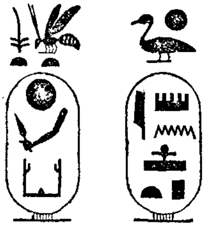
(The ΚΔ, 24, in Africanus, is got over by supposing it to be a slight slip of the pen for ΚΑ; and the harmony between Josephus and Eusebius must be considered decisive.)

107



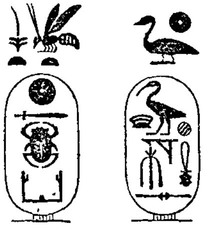
Su-kheb Ra neb peh. *Sa-en Ra* Aahmes I.

108



Su-kheb Ra(ta)sr kar. *Sa-en Ra* Amenhept I.

109



Su-kheb Ra-na-kheper kar. *Sa-en Ra* Tetmes I. Sha kha ra.

4. (Tuthmōsis)—Tuthmes (II.)	-	22
5. (Tuthmōsis)—Tuthmes (III.)	-	13
6. Amenōphis — Amen-hept (II.)	-	26
7. Tuthmōsis — Tuthmes (IV.)	-	9
8. Amenōphis — Amen-hept (III.)	-	31
9. Hōrus — Her	- - -	37

It soon became apparent, however, that this arrangement could not be correct, for they had even at that time a record of the 27th year of Tuthmōsis III., and Wilkinson gave the 35th of Amenōphis III. Now, as a joint or counter-reign, contemporaneous with Tuthmōsis III., seemed to have occurred after the death of Tuthmōsis II., as might indeed be inferred from the composition of two names in the Mephratuthmōsis of the Lists; the most natural assumption was that Manetho recorded two dates for the fifth reign, 13 *and* 26, in order to distinguish the length of the joint reign and that of the single reign. In accordance with the Lists, therefore, I assigned the *sum total*, 39 years, to the legitimate monarch. In that case, the succeeding dates will be pushed up one place higher, and Amenōphis III. will stand opposite to 37, which is correct. Out of the remaining unappropriated dates, we may hope to determine that of the reign of Horus. Our restoration therefore will stand thus:

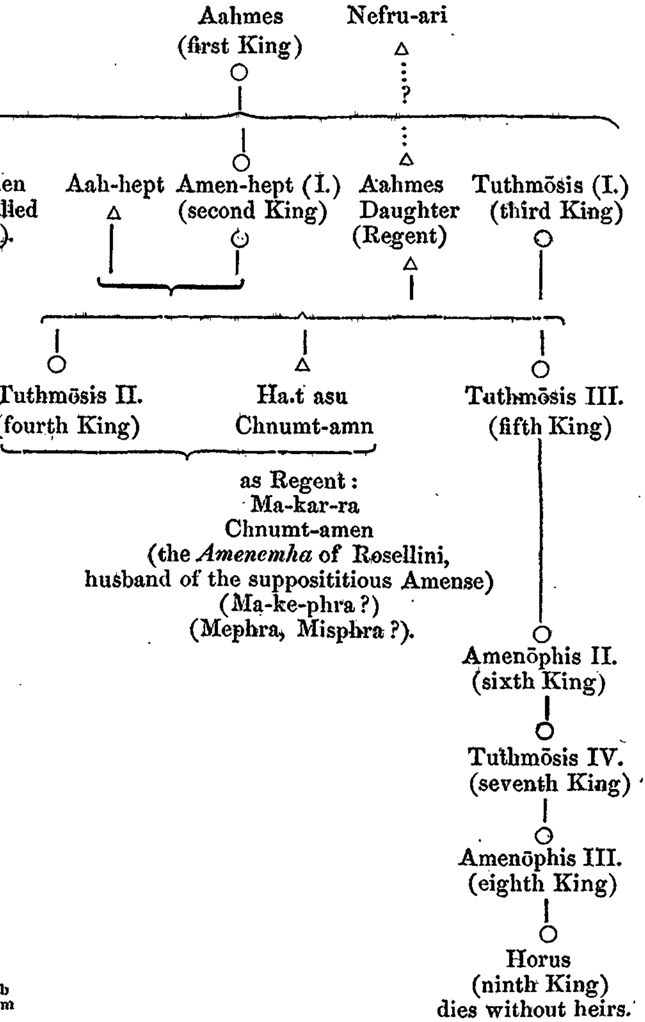
		Years.			Years.
1. Amōs	Aahmes	25	-	Monuments	XXII.
2. Amenōphis I.	Amen-hept	13			
3. Tuthmōsis I.	Tuthmes	21			
4. Tuthmōsis II.	Tuthmes	22			
5. Tuthmōsis III.	Tuthmes	39	-	„	XXVII.
6. Amenōphis II.	Amen-hept	9			
7. Tuthmōsis IV.	Tuthmes	31	-	„	VII.
8. Amenōphis III.	Amen-hept	37	-	„	XXXV.
9. Horus	Hor	?	-	„	VII.

II.

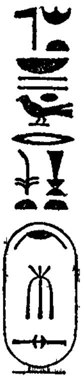
LEPSIUS' OWN MONUMENTAL RESEARCHES: HIS RESTORATION OF THE GENEALOGY OF THE TUTHMOSES.

This was the state of the inquiry before Lepsius made his researches in 1840, a detailed exposition of which will be given in its proper place. The first effect of them was to corroborate the *Dates*. He found the 35th year of Tuthmōsis III., and the 36th of Amenōphis III.

They were, however, still more important in contributing to the restoration of the correct *Genealogy* of this Dynasty. He discovered that there never was a Queen Amense, and that the name must be read *Setamen*. She is not recorded in the Scutcheon as a reigning Queen, but as Daughter of one King, Aahmes, and sister of two others, Amenōphis I., and Tuthmōsis I. We subjoin the genealogy of the Tuthmoses, as restored by Lepsius, omitting such details as are not essential for understanding the succession of the Reigns.


Aahmes
(first King)
Nefru-ari
?
Set-Amen
(falsely called
Amense).
Aah-hept
Amen-hept (I.)
(second King)
Aahmes
Daughter
(Regent)
Tuthmōsis (I.)
(third King)
Tuthmōsis II.
(fourth King)
Ha.t asu
Chnumt-amn
Tuthmōsis III.
(fifth King)
as Regent:
Ma-kar-ra
Chnumt-amen
(the *Amenemha* of Rosellini,
husband of the supposititious Amense)
(Ma-ke-phra?)
(Mephra, Misphra?).
Amenōphis II.
(sixth King)
Tuthmōsis IV.
(seventh King)
Amenōphis III.
(eighth King)
Horus
(ninth King)
dies without heirs.

110



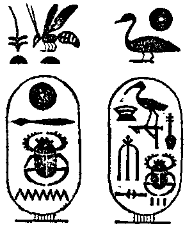
Hem-neter Neb ta ur sen sutn Aahmes.

Aahmes probably, but not demonstrably, daughter of the first King *Aahmes*, precedes Tuthmes I. as Regent, and is the Amessis of the Lists of Manetho. This is the reason why she is introduced immediately after

Amenōphis I., her (elder) brother, and is designated "Sister."

Ha-tasu reigned as *Makar-ra* first of all in the name of her (elder) brother Tuthmōsis II., then in that of her (younger) brother Tuthmōsis III., and probably therefore was the eldest child of Tuthmōsis I. Her scutcheon has been chiselled out, and is consequently difficult to identify.

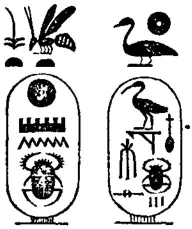
111



Su-kheb Ra na kheper.n̄.

Sa-en Ra Tetmes II. (Sha neferkheper.u.)

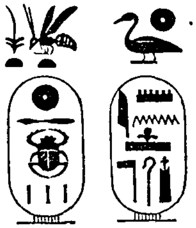
112



Su-kheb Ra men kheper.

Sa-en Ra Tetmes III. nefer kheper.u.

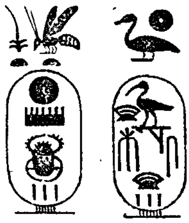
113



Su-kheb Ra na kheper.u.

Sa-en Ra Amenhept II. neter hek pen.

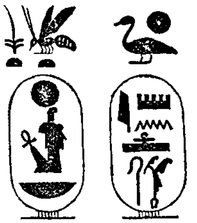
114



Su-kheb Ra men kheper.u.

Sa-en Ra Tetmes IV. Sha shau.

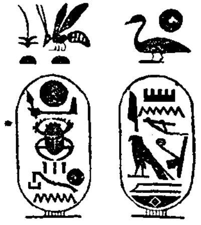
115



Su-kheb Ra-neb Ma.

Sa-en Ra Amenhept III. hek Ma.

116



Su-kheb Ra taser kheper.u satp n̄ Ra.

Sa-en Ra Haremheb Meri n̄ Amen.

By these discoveries, all the points, which were still obscure and uncertain, seem to be satisfactorily elucidated, and accurately determined. They happily relieve us of a false reading and supposed connexion between the Scutcheons of Set-amen, the daughter of Aahmes, and Chnumt-amen, the daughter of Tuthmōsis I., which is wholly unfounded. The Scutcheon which was incorrectly read Amense, in order to explain the name of the Lists, was still more incorrectly identified with that of the Female, whom Wilkinson calls Queen Amun-gori, but whom Rosellini converted into a man, and called King Amenemha, the husband of the supposititious Queen Amense. On the other hand, the name of Aahmes, the wife of Tuthmōsis I., gives us the key to *Amessis*, the name of the Lists, which turns out to be the right reading, instead of *Amensis*. Everything concurs to show that she was really the sister of Amenōphis I., as the Lists say, although we are not yet able to prove it from the monuments. But even without the evidence of the Lists, the lineal descent must have been supposed to be continued either through her or her husband. The name of Tuthmōsis then would seem to have come into the Dynasty through a relative of the direct line of Aahmes, who married his daughter. The existence of a regency, which we have assumed in the first part of the long reign of Tuthmōsis III., is now proved by the discovery of the real name of the Queen, which was read in so many ways; MA-KAR-RA, MISPHRA, MEPHRA. This explanation also necessarily implies that the Egyptian article was pronounced before the name of the sun, which we have shown was itself pronounced *Phra*, *Phre*. This was far less probable in the case of Mai-ra: first, because the complete title is *never* found in the Scutcheons of King Tuthmōsis III., while MA-KAR-RA is the actual name in the Scutcheon which contains the title; secondly, because the Greek name Moeris would lead to the conclusion, that this title of the celebrated old King was pronounced without the article. Champollion's idea, that the Moeris of the classics is the same as Tuthmōsis III., ceases consequently to be in anywise authorised by the Lists. We have already shown, too, that it is wholly unsupported by Greek tradition, actually indeed contradicted by it, as well as the buildings of Moeris themselves.

III.

CONJECTURE AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE INSERTION OF THE NAME CHEBROS. COMPLETE UNRAVELLING AND RESTORATION OF MANETHO'S LIST OF THE FIRST FIVE REIGNS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

We must, however, defer to the fifth book the proof of the following points, among others, as far as is now possible, in their historical connexion; viz.: that the Kings of this Dynasty, memorable as it is in many respects from its chief downwards, erected in that marvellous edifice, the Temple-Palace on the eastern side of Thebes, imperishable monuments in the purest and most complete style of Egyptian art; that Tuthmōsis III., who expelled the Hyksos from the frontier city, surpassed all other monarchs by the magnificence of those stupendous works; and that his three successors, Amenōphis II., Tuthmōsis III., and Amenōphis III., are recorded on the monuments as having been victorious warriors and conquerors, and that the latter, indeed, carried his arms as far as Mesopotamia.

But in order clearly to show the origin of the mistake in Manetho's Lists in the first five reigns of the 18th Dynasty, all that is required is an explanation of the name of *Chebrôs* (*Chebrôn* according to Eusebius), which is inserted after Amos, and which after what has been said, remains as obscure as it was before. My views upon it are as follows. It may now be asserted more confidently, that it can neither be entirely fictitious nor a fanciful name. From the analogy of the other names it must be also a *Monumental* name travestied; and in fact, that of either Amōsis or Amenōphis I., for it stands between the two. Analysing it, as we have done the transcripts of earlier royal designations, is it not obviously the same name, *Chebrôs*, slightly corrupted, which is found in the Scutcheon of the chief of the Dynasty? *Neb*, the Lord, according to the analogies of *Gnub* for *Nub*, gold, and *Canopus* for *Nubeï*, cannot be transcribed in Greek without a strong guttural sound, so that *Chneb* is a perfectly correct version of *Neb*. The first sign in that Scutcheon, after the sun (pronounced last or omitted in abbreviation) is ascertained to have been pronounced *Neb*. The third sign has been read by Birch, and is pronounced *peh*. Now this horse's head is said by Horapollo to be the symbol of *watchfulness*. The Coptic root *Rôs* for *watchfulness* might therefore have given rise to a popular designation. Hence the Scutcheon would have been pronounced *Neb-rôs-Ra*, of which *Chnebrôs* is a very natural Hellenic abbreviation. The form *Chnebrôn*, which occurs in Josephus and Eusebius, may have been copied into the Lists simply owing to its recurring in the historical work. At all events, Chebron is not a monumental name.

The following arrangement would be the simplest to show the confusion made by the Epitomists :

		Date of reign. Years.		Chronology. Years.
I. 1.	Amôs, Amôsis, chief of the line, reigned	25	i. e.	25
	who is also found called,			
2.	Chneb-rôs	13	„	—
II. 3.	Amenophis, son (with the date carried over to Chneb-rôs) reigned	21	„	13
III. 4.	Amesses, his sister, reigned also for her brother Tuthmôsis I.: Tuthmosis I.	22	„	21
	After these reigned			
IV. 5.	Mekaphre, Mesphre, Mephre, her daughter, for her elder brother : Tuthmosis II.	13	„	22
	And afterwards for Tuthmosis III., as:			
V. 6.	Mephra-Tuthmōsis : this sole reign lasted, as Tuthmōsis III.	26	„	39
VI.	„ „ Amenōphis II.	-	-	9
VII. 7.	Tuthmōsis (IV.)	9	„	31
VIII. 8.	Amenōphis (III.)	31	„	37
IX. 9.	Hôrus, Orus	37	is wanting	

The whole confusion, therefore, in the Lists, from

Amos to Horus, is owing to two misunderstandings: the first was that the title of Amōs was introduced into the chronology and reckoned as a separate reign. Thus all the names were thrown back, and as a natural consequence the sixth altogether omitted. This caused all the other dates to be thrown back one place, and thereby the one which belonged to Amenōphis, the sixth King, who was omitted, was appropriated to the seventh reign. The second error independent of this was, that the reigns which attracted attention from the circumstance of the names "of the two Regent-sisters of Tuthmosis I. and II." being recorded, and last of all the compound name of the second of these *and* Tuthmosis the Third, were introduced into the Lists, as the 4th, 5th, and 6th reigns, instead of the principal names of the third, fourth and fifth place, the first three Tuthmoses. The proof of the correctness of this explanation and restoration consists in the genealogy of the Kings, and in the circumstance that the dates of the length of reigns now annexed to the Kings' names in their present order do not at all agree with the notices of the highest year on the monuments, but according to our simple restoration tally with them very satisfactorily.

We cannot carry the proof further without proceeding on to the 19th Dynasty. The 42nd year of Tuthmōsis III. having been discovered, it became necessary, however, to propose another restoration. Mephra appearing as co-regent with her two brothers, and Tuthmōsis III., the surviving brother, evidently considering himself the legitimate heir of Tuthmōsis I., he reckoned the years of his reign from the year following that of the death of his father. We must therefore consider 22 + 26 = 48 as the date of the period from the death of Tuthmōsis I. to that of Tuthmōsis III. The chronological dates, therefore, which mark the successive years of reign from Amos to the death of Amenōphis III. are: 25 + 13 + 21 + 22 and 26 (48) + 9 + 31 + 37.

SECTION III.

THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH, AND THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY. THE COMPLETE RESTORATION OF BOTH.

I.

HORUS AND RAMESSES I., OR THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY.

As far as Horus no link of evidence was wanting as to the unity of the Dynasty. It is true that the direct male line became extinct in the second generation. The son and successor of Amos (Amenôphis I.) had no issue; but his younger daughter (Aahmes, the Amessis of the Lists), as Regent, bestowed her hand and throne upon a prince (Tuthmōsis), who is entered as an independent King (the third), and whose name proves him to have been a relation. Although, therefore, the genealogy of Tuthmōsis the First is unknown to us, we need not hesitate to consider him as the nearest cousin and heir. He was succeeded by his two sons with the same family name, Tuthmōsis II. and III. The latter continued on the line of descent, and was followed in the direct line by *Amenōphis* II. (the sixth King), *Tuthmōsis* IV. (the seventh), *Amenōphis* III. (the eighth), and *Horus* (the ninth).

We find however, no record of any issue of Horus, although there are magnificent buildings and monuments of his extant down to the seventh year of his reign.

The next King of the Tablet of Abydos and the other Royal series is not identified, either as to title or family name, in the 18th Dynasty. On the other hand, both in the Lists and Tablets and monuments the family name of Ramesses is conspicuous throughout, and among them Ramesses Miamūn, many memorials of whom still abound throughout Egypt, and who was mentioned to Germanicus by the priests as the great hero and conqueror of Egypt, under the name of Sesostris.

But the discrepancy in the Lists and monuments becomes greater and greater from this turning point, the reign of Horus. There are, as we have seen, only six really historical reigns in all—one of which, that of the great Ramesses, was, according to tradition, during a portion of it, a joint reign—which may correspond with the other *eight* names and dates of the 18th Dynasty in the Lists, and the *six* names and dates that follow them in the registry of the 19th.

I subjoin a concise history of the method I adopted in my researches from 1832—1834. Having begun to unravel the thread from the lowest point, I was obliged to identify the last Scutcheon on the monuments with the last name in the Lists (XIX. 6), although they evidently do not correspond. *Meri-ra*, *Merr-ra*, must correspond with *Thuoris*, as the last name is now read in the Lists. By this means the *last* monumental name *but one* (V.), which Wilkinson reads *Osimenephthah*, Champollion and Rosellini *Menephthah*, became identified with the last name of the Lists but one (XIX. 5), which is now read *Ammenemês* or *Amenemnês*.

There was no other way of dealing with the names of the Lists and the monumental Kings before Sheshonk; the Ramessides, after the 3rd, formed the 20th Dynasty, and the Pishams the 21st.

Considering Horus, therefore, as the last legitimate King of the 18th Dynasty, and Ramesses as the first of the 19th, we obtain for the latter six Kings, that is to say, the number assigned to it in our Lists.

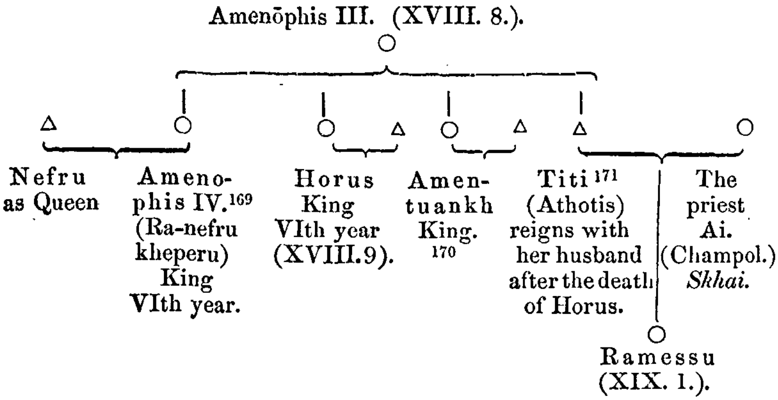
Most of the names, however, as they were then read, agreed very imperfectly with this arrangement. It appeared to me certain that in Amenōphath, who, in Africanus, follows a Ramesses, a Menephthah or Menōphthes must be concealed. But which was the monumental name that tallied with him? Champollion read the name of the successor of Ramesses I. first Menephthah, then *Usireï* (i. e. Osireï) or *Menduei*; both of these readings were very questionable and unsuitable. In like manner the family name of the two successors of the great Ramesses was sometimes read Menephthah, sometimes differently. Nobody, again, was able to point out the dynastic connexion of the Kings between Horus and Ramsēs Miamūn; and there was the end of the 19th Dynasty.' With whom was the name of Sethōs, Sethōsis, who holds so prominent a position in the Lists and extracts from Manetho's work, to be identified?

In this hopeless state of obscurity the details respecting this period were left till Lepsius commenced his researches on the subject in 1840. Champollion and Rosellini's restorations were manifestly quite wrong. The correctness of my fundamental assumptions was proved by the success of my restoration both of the 18th Dynasty from Amos to Horus, and of the 20th and 21st Dynasties. But the interval between them still remained enveloped in obscurity.

II.

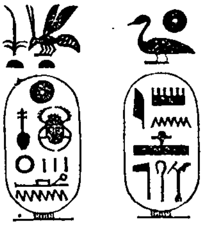
AMENŌPHIS III. PROVED BY LEPSIUS TO BE THE MATERNAL GRANDFATHER OF RAMESSES I.

UPON this obscurity a light as unexpected as it was anxiously desired was thrown by Lepsius's monumental researches in 1840. In anticipation of their early publication, which may shortly be looked for, we here give the genealogy of Amenōphis III., the eighth, and last King but one, of the 18th Dynasty.


Amenōphis III. (XVIII. 8.).
Nefru as Queen
Amenophis IV.[169] (Ra-nefru kheperu) King VIth year.
Horus King VIth year (XVIII.9).
Amen-tuankh King.[170]
Titi[171] (Athotis) reigns with her husband after the death of Horus.
The priest Ai. (Champol.) Skhai.
Ramessu (XIX. 1.).

Hence we obtain the following invaluable fragment of the dynastic history of this epoch, as to the extinction of the Tuthmōses and the rise of the House of Ramesses. King Horus consequently was neither the only nor eldest son of the third Amenōphis. The eldest does not appear at all on the Royal Tablets; but he is found on the monuments as

117



Su-kheb Ra nefer kheper.u ua n̄ Ra.

Sa-en Ra Amen hept IV Neter hek Ma.

AMENŌPHIS IV.;

and his sixth year of reign is recorded. His Scutcheon, however, has been erased from all his monuments on account of his having changed his name to

BEKH-N-ATEN[RA],[172] or AAKH-N-ATEN[RA],

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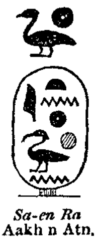
[169] The name of Amenophis IV. is not found farther north than Ashmunin, in middle Egypt, and is always erased. Stones with his Scutcheon upon them are found worked up in the Pylon of Horus at Karnak.

[170] *Amen-tu-ankh* must have been a sovereign hostile to Horus after the death of Amenōphis III., but have died before him, as stones with his Scutcheon on them were used by the latter in his buildings. There are monuments of his, as well as of his son's, in Ethiopia.

[171] These two reigned *after* the death of Horus. *Titi* is called "Royal Daughter, Sister, Mother, Wife." Her tomb is uninjured. Her husband was transferred by Champollion to the 17th Dynasty, and afterwards thrown still further back.

[172] The first part of the name, *Bekh*, appears, upon a comparison of the

118



Sa-en Ra
Aakh n Atn.

after his conversion to the heretical worship of the Sun's Disk. This name is doubly important to us, as being the prototype of the royal Egyptian names *Kenchērēs*, *Akencherēs*, *Cherrēs*, *Chebrēs*, which occur three times, that of Rathos (Rathôsis, Athôsis) only intervening between them, and of which they are evidently only Hellenised varieties. We subjoin them in a tabular form.

	Josephus.	*Afr.*	*Euseb.*
XVIII. 10.	Akencherēs 12, 1. daughter.	Acherrēs 32.	Achencherēs 16.
12.	Akencherēs 12, 5. a man.	Chebrēs 12.	Acherrēs - 8.
13.	Akenchrēs 12, 3. a man.	Acherrēs 12.	Cherrēs - 15.

These reigns therefore are manifestly all collateral with Horus, the King recognised on the Tablets as the legitimate successor of the third Amenōphis, and indeed conjoined with him in the first portion of his reign.

The monuments, however, also bear witness to the existence of a younger brother of Horus either as joint or hostile sovereign,

AMENTUANKH.

The name RA-NEB-MA,

formerly supposed to belong to a grandson of Amenōphis III., is now proved to be either that of the King himself replaced in his own Scutcheons after the suppression of the Disk heresy by his orthodox successors; or that of his own Genius, the deified Ra neb-ma.

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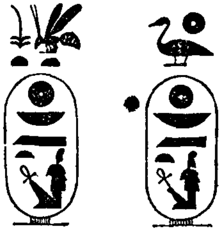
hieroglyphical and Greek names of the 7th of the Decans (Lepsius, Einleit. p. 68. (Ουέστε βκάτι) to have been pronounced *Ouash:* but reads in the chapter on the coffin of Api ankh (Lepsius, Denkm. Abth. ii. Bl. 98a. l. 22.) *Aakh*, which is much nearer to the name Akencheres than the preceding form Bekh.

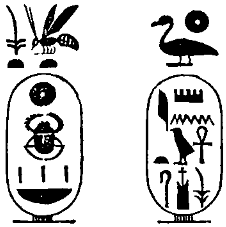
119



Su-kheb Ra neb ma.

Sa-en Ra' Ra neb ma.

120



Su-kheb Ra neb kheper.u.

Sa-en Ra Amen tuank hek Pen res.

They both maintained themselves a considerable time in Ethiopia, which must, therefore, then have been a province of Egypt. Horus, however, survived them both; for we find blocks used in his buildings which contain their names.

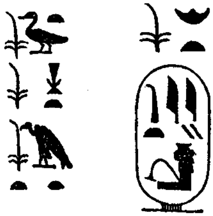
Lastly, we find a fourth child of the third Amenōphis reigning as Queen, a daughter,

TITI,

in whom we recognise the Egyptian name of the *Athōsis* (i.e. Athōtis, Thōtis), who in Africanus intervenes between the series of the Kencherēs.

She married a priest AI, who is likewise represented as a King. His tomb in the western valley bears marks of considerable violence, the names having been erased in ancient times. Champollion read the name *Skhai.*

121



Su sa.t.su.sn su mut su hm.

Titi.

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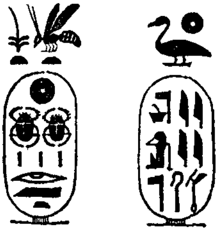


Su-kheb Ra kheper-kheper.u Ar n Ma.

Sa-en Ra Ta neter Ai Neter hek Ma.

This *Titi-Athōtis* is the mother of the first

RAMESSES (RAMESSU).

If we reduce these facts into the form of a list, the following juxtaposition will result:

	Monuments.		*Lists.*
Horus	Amenōphis IV., elder brother, (Aakh n̄-aten-Ra.)	XVIII.	10. Akencherēs, daughter.
	Amentuankh, his younger brother.	,, ,,	12. Akencherēs, husband. 13. Akencherēs, husband. 11. Athōtis.
	Titi, younger sister, and the priest Ai, her husband.	,,	14. Armeses.
	Their son, King Ramessu, the first Ramesses (XIX. I.).	,,	15. Ramesses.

Of these collateral reigns, that of Ti-ti may either have occurred in the last years of Horus, or immediately after his death, supposing she reigned as guardian of her son, King Ramesses.

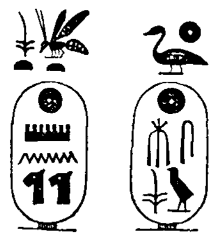
These are the immediate results of Lepsius' researches; but his discoveries of the right readings of the names of the latter Kings of the 19th Dynasty, the successors of the first Ramesses, are of no less importance and equally well substantiated.

III.

READING AND DYNASTIC CONNEXION OF THE ROYAL NAMES OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY, AFTER RAMESSES I.

We have already remarked that the reading of several names of the monumental Kings of this epoch was very uncertain, and their family connexion very doubtful. The monuments remove all doubts as to the dynastic connexion of the first four Kings of the 19th Dynasty in the direct line. There is no difference of opinion as to the name of the first King. The reading, Ramessu, rests upon the invariable mode of spelling that royal name with all the letters complete, whereas the Ramessides generally omit the final vowel, which, however, is inherent in the last hieroglyphic sign. We have already remarked that the monuments of the chief of that Dynasty, which are not numerous, record no later year of his reign than the second. On the other hand we meet with the *sixty-second* of Ramesses II. (the Great).

123



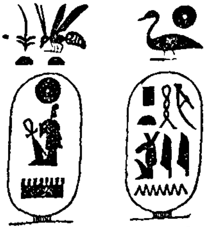
Su-kheb
Ra men peh.

Sa-en Ra
Ramessu. I.

Lepsius, as early as the year 1835, ascertained the distinguishing name of the *second*, as well as *fifth* King, which had hitherto been read *Manduei* or *Osireï*, by discovering that the strange hieroglyphical symbol of Deity was the Giraffe, and that it was pronounced *Set*. We have the authority of Vettius Valens and Plutarch, that *Set* is the Egyptian name of Typhon; and the monuments prove, that he was at that time a highly honoured and beneficent Deity. This discovery, which has been of so much assistance in many ways to the progress of Egyptian research, was also announced in his Letter to Rosellini of 1837.

The peculiar designation of the second and fifth King still remained a moot point. *Usiri-Seti* was a title: the distinctive name on the scutcheon Champollion and Rosellini read Menephthah, precisely like the name of the fourth King, so that we had three Menephthahs, the first and last of whom were distinguished by the

124



Su.kheb
Ra men-ma.

Sa-en Ra
Seti I.
Mer.n Ptah.

former epithet. Wilkinson, on the other hand, read the middle one PTAHMEN (formerly PTAHMENOPH), the first and third simply OSIREI. After a thorough examination of the monuments, Lepsius convinced himself first that the Ptah-Element in the two Setis is interchangeable with Ammon, and that it consequently is not pronounced, being merely one of the ordinary distinctive epithets; and, secondly, that the successor of the great Ramses must be pronounced *Me(r)-ň-ptah* = *Menephthah*. This name occurs in the Lists in two places:

XVIII., Last: Menōphis (Eus. Arm.)—Amenōphis. (Jos.) — Amenōphath (Afr.).
XIX., 3. Ammenephthis.

This furnishes us with a corroboration of our internal criticism of the Lists which required us to assume that the names, with nineteen and twenty years annexed to them, referred to the same reign, that of the successor of the great Ramses; for we now see, that he is the only King who can have been called in the Lists, MENEPHTHAH.

The last name but one also in the Lists, which occupies the place of the second Seti, AMMENEMNĒS-AMMENEMĒS, is explained by the researches of Lepsius. They prove the existence of two counter-Kings to Menephthah, one of whom is called *Si-phthah*, the other, *Amenemsês*. We have monuments of them both, but without dates. Here then is another instance of the name of the succeeding King being excluded, owing to the introduction of the counter-reign of the preceding one, the consequence of which was that the latter had the date assigned to him which belonged to the legitimate monarch, and which could not originally have been omitted in the Lists.

The tomb of the counter-King Siphthah and his wife Taseser was appropriated by some King, who had their scutcheons erased. His name, according to the principles which Lepsius laid down and has carried out, can only be read *M-rr-ra* or *Meri-ra*, that is, *Merer-ra* or *Meri-Ra*. Rosellini had previously remarked that it was this King who caused the scutcheons of Siphthah and his wife to be chiselled out. But his chronology had already got into such confusion owing to the false names in the Lists, that he removed Seti II., Siphthah and *Uerri* (as he reads the name) back to the end of the 18th, instead of the close of the 19th Dynasty, and the Thuosis of the Lists, the legitimate successor of Seti II., was according to his calculation only the successor of Ramses VIII., one of the later Kings of the 20th Dynasty. I had myself from the very beginning identified Meri-ra as the monumental King answering to the last name of the 19th Dynasty. The passage in Manetho runs thus:

> "Sixth, Thuōris, who is called in Homer Polybus, the husband of Alkandra, in whose reign Troy was taken—reigned seven years."

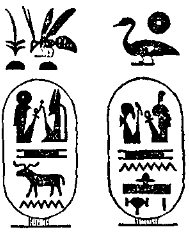
Thuōris has not only no analogy with the monumental name—especially when the right pronunciation is established—but bears no resemblance to a monumental name at all. The only one which it sounds at all like, with a slight emendation, is the Phuorô-Nilus (*iôr* with the article), the last King but one in Eratosthenes—if we read ΦΟΥΩΡΙC instead of ΘΟΥΩΡΙC. This supposition is very remarkably substantiated by a calculation of Dicæarchus, which we examined in the first Book, where in computing the length of the period between the first Olympiad and the taking of Troy, King Neilos is mentioned as the Egyptian sovereign who reigned contemporaneously with the latter event.

We by no means think therefore that PHUORIS-PHUORO is an Hellenic transcript of the monumental name of King Merer or Meri-ra, but a *title* given by Manetho, and entered in the Lists alone, instead of the proper name—a piece of negligence of which we have found instances even in the Epitome of Eratosthenes.

When we come to the restoration of the 20th Dynasty, we shall see that Meri-ra was only mentioned by anticipation at the end of the 19th Dynasty, and consequently omitted in his right place, the beginning of the 20th. Precisely the same thing occurred on the accession of the 12th Dynasty, which forms an Epoch in the history. Ammenemes, its chief, was mentioned at the end of the 11th, and omitted at the beginning of the 12th. The reason was obviously the same in both cases. Manetho, in conformity with Egyptian usage, had made his chronological computations at these places, as being the close of a Dynasty; and in doing so he had, in order to mark the Epoch, mentioned the first King of the succeeding Dynasty by name.

The monuments record the *fourth year* of *Menephthah*, but no regnal year of his two successors; and unfortunately they throw no light whatever on the dynastic connexion of the last two reigns with each other, and the royal line. It is very probable, nevertheless, not only from his scutcheons that Seti II. belonged to it, but this is directly proved by one of the most important fragments of Manetho's history preserved by Josephus, which we shall shortly explain more par-

125



Su-kheb
Ba en Ra
Meri ñ Amen.

Sa-en Ra
Meri en Ptah
hept her Ma.

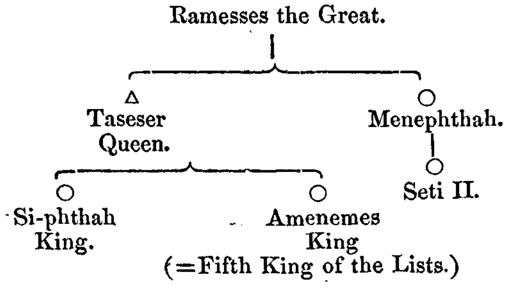
ticularly. The case is very different with *Meri-ra*, with whose name a totally new element was introduced into the Royal scutcheons.

We thus obtain the following genealogy, the figure before the name representing the highest year of reign mentioned on the monuments.

II. Ramessu (I.) son of Titi (Athōsis) daughter of Amenōphis III.
I. Seti (Sethōs, Sethōsis) I.
LXII. Ramessu II. (Ramses, Rameses, Ramesses, Rampses, Rapsakes) the Great.
IV. Menephthah (Menophthes, Amenōphath, Menōphis).
Seti II. (Sethōs).

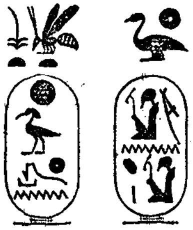
(Meri-ra=Thuōris, i. e. Thuōri, i. e. Neilos succeeds.)

The dynastic connexion between the counter (usurping) Kings is as follows:


Ramesses the Great.
Taseser
Queen.
Menephthah.
Seti II.
Si-phthah
King.
Amenemes
King
(=Fifth King of the Lists.)

The heading of the Dynasty in Africanus has seven Kings, which may be quite right, namely, the five consecutive and two counter-reigns: nothing can be advanced in favour of six. If then we find Meri-ra in clear connexion with the Ramessides of the 20th Dynasty, we must unhesitatingly place him at their head.

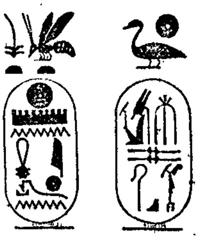
126



Su-kheb Aakh en Ra Satp en Ra.

Sa-en Ra Sa-en Ptah Meri en Ptah.

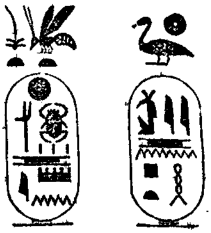
127



Su-kheb Men-kha Ra satp en Ra.

Sa-en Ra Amen mes hek Ma.

128



Su-kheb Ra-seser-kheper-u Meri en Amen.

Sa-en Ra Seti II. Meri en Ptah.

IV.

RESTORATION OF THE LENGTH OF THE REIGNS, ACCORDING TO THE LISTS, FROM HORUS TO THE END OF THE 19TH DYNASTY.

THE discoveries of Lepsius have thus explained those mysterious names in the Lists which alone prevented me from carrying out to its fullest extent my fundamental assumption, and at the same time stood in the way of a complete restoration of those two celebrated Dynasties. They have likewise proved for the first time in an authentic manner the dynastic connexion in the 18th as well as 19th Dynasty, and illustrated the House of the Tuthmoses from Amos to Horus, and that of the Ramses from Ramessu I. to Seti II., proving in each the unity of the male line. The correctness of my division of the two Dynasties was thereby also fully established.

But how stands the case with the dates of the regnal years? We had shown the probability of a simple displacement having been made from Amos to Horus, the effect of which was that, without making any changes, the dates of the Lists for the first time harmonized with the data of the monuments. We assumed that the dates must be placed a step higher up, by which that of Horus became that of his predecessor, Amenōphis III. By this means Horus himself had no date at all assigned him. How are we to proceed with the restoration?

The following seems to be the safest mode of proceeding. We must endeavour, in the first place, to find a fixed unassailable point in the names of Kings, the successors of Horus. Such is the name of Ramses Miamūn, to which the monuments assign a reign of more than 60 years. We find him in the 19th Dynasty, once as the second King, Rapsakes, with 61 years of reign, and then as the fourth, Ramesses, with 60 years of reign. The first of these is very rightly succeeded by Amenephthes (Menephthah, the son of Ramses the Great), with 20 years of reign: he is consequently the same King whom we meet with as the last in the Lists of the 18th Dynasty (XVIII, 16) under the name of Amenôphath with 19 years (and 6 months in Josephus). If we exclude these names of Menephthah, there remain between Horus (XVIII, 9) and Ramesses (XIX, 4) only the well-established names of Kencheres and Athôtis (XVIII, 10—13), which we have identified as counter-Kings to Horus, and, finally, two apparently Ramesses names:

XVIII,	14	Armesses (Armais),	5 years.
	15	Ramesses	1 year.

We cannot refer these two names to Ramessu I., for we are already in the reign of Seti (12, 13); nor can we refer them to Ramses his son, as I at first thought. Josephus's quotations from Manetho clearly refer the entries of 5 years and 1 year to the history of Sethōs himself and of his younger brother, Armais. The next number (XIX, 1) concludes the entries respecting Seti I. His son Ramesses begins with XIX, 2, and is very correctly succeeded by his son Menephthah.

The result of this analysis, therefore, is that after Horus, the last King of the 18th Dynasty, we have two appendices:

I. *Rivals of Horus Kings* in a double series

A. 10 and 11: Acherres and Rathôs (Bekh-n̄-aten Ra and Titi), 32 years (12, 1 Jos.), 6 years.

B. 12 and 13: Acherres, twice, with a slight difference in the spelling and dates, 12, 5; 12, 3.

II. (Properly a gloss belonging to the 19th Dynasty). The brother of Sethōs Ramesses the Great and his son.

A. XVIII, 4 Armesses (Armais), 5 years.
15 Ramesses - - 1 year.
16 Amenōphath - - 19 (19, 6.).

The List of the 19th Dynasty begins with the same Ramesses group, but makes the father of the great Ramesses its chief.

XIX, 1 Sethōs.
2 Rapsakes (i. e. Ramesses the Great).
3 Amenephthes (*i. e.* Menophthes); after which,
4 Ramesses, properly spelled, is inserted.

The first thing we have to inquire is whether Sethos, whom we identify as Seti I., has his right date? Clearly not. Fifty-one years are assigned to him, which is in itself an impossible number; for his son reigned, at all events, according to the monuments, 62 years, and, according to the most accurate entry of the Lists, 66. That a father and son should reign above 50 and 60 years respectively is a thing impossible in a hereditary monarchy; besides which it is in contradiction to all we know from Manetho of the history of the great Ramesses. He succeeded to the throne when a young man, as he must evidently have done if he reigned above 60 years. The monuments only record the first year of Seti I., and we shall see that his son completed the buildings commenced by the father.

Fifty-one years, then, cannot be the date of the reign of Seti I., but must be regarded as belonging to the only long one in the period, that of his son. We must now ascertain whether this date can be explained by the historical notices about the great Ramesses. The first result of our scrutiny, then, is simply this: the name of the first King of the 19th Dynasty, Ramessu, and the date of the reign of the second, Seti I., are wanting. Either, therefore, these two dates have disappeared out of the Lists altogether, or they are represented by the counter-reigns, which were a subsequent interpolation, and so displaced the proper names. The trustworthy Africanus has assigned to the name of the first Acherres 32 years. As the date of Horus's reign, 37, was necessarily restored to his predecessor, in order to make the Lists and Monuments harmonize, we may venture to claim those 32 years for him, by carrying out the principle of pushing up the dates, which we have been obliged to adopt as far as Horus. There then remain for the date of Acherres 12 years;

(12, 1: 12, 5: 12, 3);

for that of Athôtis,

In Africanus, 6 years;
In Josephus, 9 „

The second is the better authenticated, because it is quoted as that of Josephus in Syncellus and in the Armenian version.

Either, then, the dates of Ramessu I. and Seti I. are lost, or we have them in these two entries of 12 and 9 years. We shall see that this assumption agrees so well with the monuments and with history, that we cannot suppose the agreement to be accidental.

The following table shows how simple this coincidence is:

COMPARATIVE TABLE.

	MANETHO.	Years.						Years of Reign.	Highest Monumental Year.
XVIII.	9. Horus - -	37	belong to	*Amenōphis III.*	XVIII.	8	consequently	37	XXXVI.
	10. Kencheres[a] -	32 -	„	*Horus* - - -		9	„	32	VII.
	11. Rathôs (Athôtis)	6 (Jos. 9)	„	*Ramessu* -	XIX.	1	„	9	II.
	12. Kencherês[b]	12							
	13. Kencheris[c]	12							
	14. The brother of Sethos Armesses (Jos. Armais)	5 -	„	*Seti* -		2	„	12	I.
	15. Ramesses (*i. e.* Armais) (Jos. I, 4)								
XIX.	1. Sethōs								
	2. Rapsakes = Ramesses.								
	4. Ramesses. Jos. 16. Ramesses Miamû. 66. 2. - -		„	*Ramessu II.*		3	„	66	LXII.
	3. Amenephthēs, 20 years. Jos. 17. Amenōphis 19 „ - Africanus XVIII, 16. Amenōphath 19. - -		„	*Menephthah*		4	„	20	IV.

V.

SETHOS (SETHŌSIS, SETHŌTHIS, SESŌSIS), AND RAMESSES THE SECOND, HIS SON: NEITHER OF THESE IS SESOSTRIS, BUT THE MOST CELEBRATED HERO OF THE NEW EMPIRE WAS SETHŌS, AND NOT RAMESSES.

The examination of the Sesostris legend in the preceding Book has, we think, placed it beyond all critical doubt that Sesostris is the hero of the Old Empire, and that one or two great personages of the New Empire can only have been mistaken for him by Herodotus, who was probably led into this error by the confused accounts and popular songs about Sesostris, "which (as Diodorus remarks) did not agree with what the priests said about him."

It was received as a self-evident fact, that this hero of the New Empire was called Ramesses. The Egyptians call their great King, the Sesostris of the Greeks, Ramses. The priests stated so to Germanicus, when they pointed out to him the monuments of that world-renowned conqueror. Champollion thought it the highest meed of his labours, to be able to identify him on the monuments, and in the Lists. The English, however, preceded him in the right course, and it was at length universally admitted by the two schools, that the Ramses-Miamūn of the monuments must be the great Sesostris. His stelæ, distinguished by the grandeur and elegance of their execution, are still met with all over Egypt, and the ruins of his Temple-Palace in Thebes illustrate, not merely by their representations, but also by their explanatory hieroglyphic inscriptions, the wars and conquests by which he extended his fame and power in Africa and Asia. Even the monumental trophies of his victories in Phœnicia and Asia Minor, of which Herodotus speaks, seemed to be discovered. A Description of his army and conquests was said, indeed, to be recorded in a Papyrus, at the end of which the ninth year of his reign is mentioned in the written characters of that day, a record added in 1839 to the treasures of the British Museum.[173]

The Sesostris pillar which has been discovered in Asia Minor, bears no inscription, indeed barely any trace of an Egyptian origin; and the Papyrus Sallier contains everything, except an authentic and historical narrative.

I had myself in early times supposed this Ramesses to be identical with the King Sethōs who is sometimes called Sesostris, sometimes Sesōthis or Sesoōsis or Sethōsis, and had thrown out the conjecture that the second was a popular name, Si-sōthi, the son of Seti, or "the son of the Sothis," i. e. Sirius. He did not, it is true, live to the commencement of the New Canicular Cycle (having died a year before), yet, nevertheless, during his reign congratulations were offered according to the new computation.

But when I returned to the inquiry with fresh eyes, I was convinced (as early indeed as 1845, as will appear in the historical criticism of this dynasty in the 5th book) that the personage celebrated as Sesostris was the father and not the son, and that Seti I. (Sethōsis) is the real hero. The confusion between them originated from Seti and Ramesses having both been great conquerors and Kings, and the son having by his long reign and innumerable monuments eclipsed the father.

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[173] Specimens of it were published by Salvolini: Campagne de Rhamses le Grand, manuscrit hiératique de M. Sallier, Notice sur le MS. Paris, 1835, 8vo. An accurate facsimile of this unique and remarkable MS. is given in the historical Papyri of the British Museum.

The position of the great Ramesses, the third King of the nineteenth Dynasty, the son of Seti and father of Menephthah, has been established by the authority of the Lists as well as of the monuments. We cannot, however, be satisfied with this, but must endeavour to answer the two following questions. First: What is the origin of the confusion by which the tradition about the brother of the great King, the traitor and rebel, was connected with Ramses instead of Sethōs? And secondly: What satisfactory authority is there for admitting the reign of sixty-six years?

We have already remarked that Champollion and Rosellini obstinately adhered, in opposition to the English scholars, to the notion that there were two Ramses-Miamūn, one of them, Ramses II., who simply bore the name, and the other who bore on his scutcheon the additional title, "prized by Helios." They consequently identified these two Ramses-Miamūn with the two brothers alluded to by Manetho and Diodorus—according to whom the former was the brother, Armesses = Armais, the latter the great King himself.

Rosellini is the critic who up to this time has given this question the most thorough discussion. The most striking proof adduced by him is the one based upon the monuments, that in the temple of Aboosimbel in Nubia, the two brothers, *in their own proper persons*, each with his own scutcheon, are standing before their father Seti performing an act of worship.

This is nothing but one and the same King Ramses, represented as a man and as his own genius deified. The colossal statue at Mitraheni has, in one place, the name with, in another without the additional title. The fact is that the story of the two brothers has nothing at all to do with Ramses, but belongs to his father.

We shall therefore have to examine the traditions about the two brothers more closely, both for the sake of testing their historical value, and of understanding the various Sethōs and Ramses-dates which occur in the Lists.

In the quotation repeatedly alluded to, which Josephus makes from the synopsis of Manetho's historical work, and which forms the basis of the later Lists, we find the following statement. It occurs immediately after the introduction of Akenchres and Athōtis, whom we have shown to be two sisters and successive rivals of Horus, whose names have been substituted for those of the first two reigns of the 19th Dynasty:

"He (Athōtis) was succeeded by

Armais - - - -	4 yrs.	1 month.
then Ramessês - - -	1 ,,	4
then Armessês (read Ramessês) = Miamūn - - -	66 ,,	2
then Amenōphis - - - (that is, Menophthah)	19 ,,	6
then SETHŌSIS, WHO IS ALSO RAMESSÊS."		

"The latter possessed a body of cavalry and a navy. He appointed *his* BROTHER ARMAIS, Viceroy, and gave him all the authority of a sovereign, prohibiting him only from wearing the diadem, and enjoining him to offer no outrage to the Queen and mother of his children, and to respect the royal concubines. He himself made an expedition to Cyprus and Phœnicia, and afterwards one against the Assyrians and Medes. All these he subjugated, some by force, and some without drawing the sword, by the mere panic which the greatness of his armament inspired; and as his courage increased with success, he boldly advanced further and further, and subdued many cities and countries in the East. In the course of time Armais, who was left in Egypt, had the audacity to do every thing which his brother had forbidden him. He laid violent hands on the Queen, and, without any regard to consequences, persisted in appropriating to himself the royal concubines. Indeed, at the instigation of his friends he assumed the royal diadem, and rebelled openly against his brother. The High Priest of Egypt, however, sent a written dispatch to Sethōs, in which he informed him of every thing, and how that his brother Armais had rebelled against him. Upon which he came suddenly back to Pelusium, and re-assumed the government."

"The country was called Egypt after him, for Manetho says Sethōs was named Ægyptus, and his brother Armais, Danaus. This is Manetho's account."

In a subsequent passage, either erroneously or with intent to deceive, he computes the sum total of the reigns from Tuthmosis (whom he perversely confounds with Amos), down to the two brothers Sethōs and Ermœus (read Armais), at 518 instead of 458 years, and then proceeds to say—"of one of these, Sethos, Manetho relates that he bore the additional name of Ægyptus, as the other did that of Danaus. Now AFTER SETHŌS HAD DEPRIVED THE LATTER OF THE SOVEREIGNTY, he reigned 59 years. The eldest of his two sons, Ramses, succeeded him, and reigned 66 years."

Here we discover at once the origin of our Lists. Sethōs and Ramesses are identified. The 59 years may be a date of the reign of Ramses, but certainly not of Sethōs his father. After this mistaken date, Josephus found a second entry of the whole reign of Ramses, 66 years: and Ramses was in fact here recorded as the elder of the two sons of the same father. This, however, did not prevent him, any more than the other worthies who collected all these entries as compendiously as possible in the form of Lists, from considering both dates consecutive. Ramses, the son and successor of the very Sethōs, is also made one and the same person with Sethōs, Sethōsis.

We will now scrutinize the names and dates in the order of their connexion. The Armeses of the Lists accordingly is the brother, the Viceroy; and the date assigned to him (4, 1.) may, perhaps, have been intended simply to give the term of his regency, if we interpret Manetho by Manetho. In the following notice, "Ramesses, 1 year and 4 months," appearing where it does, we must also read Armais, and refer it to the reign of Sethōs, whose name follows not that of Ramses, but his son. Both dates agree perfectly with the length of the reign of Sethōs, which was twelve years, the number given by Josephus to Athōtis. As to the reign of his son, Ramses the Second, we have the following dates: in Josephus once, 66 years and 2 months, then 66 years, and the same in Africanus and Eusebius, that is, four times in all. If we bear this in mind, the other dates will explain themselves thus:

The highest number: 68 (in Eusebius only) = 66, 2 + 1, 4 = 67, 6. Some conjuror added the preceding low date to the high number, thinking he should thereby get the true sum total. The next date is — in Josephus, 59 (omitting the months); in Africanus, 60. The number is the same in both; but Africanus has made the odd months into a year, they being consequently above half a year. It can only be an historical, not a chronological date, for the monuments give us the 62nd year.

We arrive at it from Manetho himself in the following manner:

Reign before the expedition	1 year	4 months.
Term of the viceroyalty	5 ,,	1
Subsequent reign of Ramses or more, probably 9.	59 ,,	7

At all events the best authenticated number appears to be Josephus's 66 years, 2 months.

Besides these there are the dates of the reign of Ramses in Africanus and Eusebius, 51 and 55. If they are not both to be considered as errors of transcript instead of the one assigned to him in Josephus, $59+x$, one of them must be — the 9 years in Diodorus may perhaps be of service to us, or our explanation be so to them. According to the Sicilian historian, the expedition of Sesostris, transferred to Sethos and then to Sesostris, lasted 9 years; $51+9$ would give us the number 60. Be this as it may, it is again not a date representing the length of the reign, but an historical one, referring to some event in the life of Ramses.

The 55 years of Eusebius, if not a wrong reading, may thus be brought to 66:

the reign before the campaigns 1, 4.
the campaigns - - 9
subsequent reign - - $55+x$:
making altogether about 66 years.

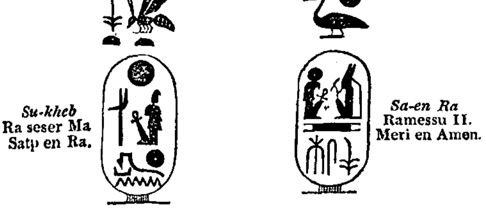
But we are here standing on doubly uncertain ground, because we have taken into the account an element for which there is no authority in Manetho, and we have to deal with a very negligent editor of the Lists.

We had come to the conclusion before, that the different data relative to the reign of Ramses, which occur in the historical work, clearly belong to two series, the first of which was appended to the 18th, while the other was placed at the head of the 19th Dynasty. The first position can be explained by the direct connexion between the Queens, the rivals of the last Dynastic Sovereign, the last of whom was the mother of Ramessu, the chief of the new Dynasty.

There is still one point to be cleared up. We have assumed that the entry which we find at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, "Sethos, 59—51—55 years," is a part of the registry of the reign of Ramses. It is perfectly obvious that these dates cannot belong to the father of Ramses. But it is worthy of remark that Josephus has after the name of Sethōs expressly added this explanation, "the same, who is also Ramses;" and that then in the historical narrative of his campaign which follows, and of the transactions between him and his brother, he never calls the King Ramses, but always SETHŌSIS. So Diodorus calls the great conqueror Sesoōsis. Pliny, in his quotations from the Alexandrian writers, which, though confused as usual, are still invaluable, calls the Ramesses Miamūn of the monuments which he ascribes to him, according to the best manuscripts, Sesōthis and Sesōsis, which must be reduced to Sethōsis, Sethos, Seti I. How can Ramses ever have been called Sethōs, which can be nothing but the Greek version of the genuine monumental name, Seti, and therefore of the name which, in Manetho's historical work and the genuine Lists, must have been given to his father, the second King, but not to Ramses himself, any more than to his son?

In order to answer this question satisfactorily, it is absolutely necessary for us to consider at once another passage which Josephus has quoted from Manetho. We have alluded to it, in general terms, in our examination of the Hyksos period, and shall be obliged to analyse the entire passage again, when we examine the accounts of the Exodus of the Children of Israel.

129



VI.

MANETHO'S OWN TESTIMONY IN FAVOUR OF THE SUCCESSION OF RAMESSES THE GREAT (II.), MENEPHTHAH, HIS SON, AND SETI II., HIS GRANDSON, AGAINST THE PRESENT LISTS.

THE remarkable passage to which we refer is the statement given by Manetho, as a popular Egyptian tradition, of the connexion between the Exodus of the Jews and an inroad of the shepherd tribes, which was the plague of Egypt for 13 years. After computing (in the words above cited) in his own manner the term, from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, to the epoch of the brothers, Armais and Ramesses, or Sesōthis, he proceeds to say: "After he" (Manetho) "has acknowledged that our fathers" (that is, according to Josephus, the Hyksos) "left Egypt many years before, he introduces a fictitious King, Amenōphis, and says that Amenōphis had a longing to behold the gods, *as Orus, one of his predecessors,* had; that he communicated his wish to a priest of his own name, Amenōphis, the son of a certain Papis, who had the reputation of possessing divine attributes, on account of his wisdom and knowledge of futurity. This Amenōphis, who had the same name, told him that his wish should be gratified when he had ridded the whole country of the lepers, and other persons who were an abomination.[174] The King, rejoiced at this, caused all persons afflicted with any ailment to be removed out of the country (of whom there were 80,000) to the stone quarries on the east bank of the Nile, where he made them and the other

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[174] We propose, with the critic's licence, to deduce from this a proof that Manetho was written after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The whole story evidently alludes to Louis XIV., and his pious councillors and panegyrists. Who can fail, indeed, to see the allusion to Saint Louis, in what Manetho says of Horus, the name of a god, which, as usual, is here assigned to a mythical King?

Egyptian lepers work. Among them," (he says,) "there were some priests of distinction, who were afflicted with leprosy. Now this Amenōphis, who was a man of wisdom and endowed with the gift of prophecy, fearing the wrath of the gods against himself and the King, if that act of violence should become public, said moreover: Certain persons will assist these poor wretches, and they will rule over Egypt 13 years. He did not venture, however, to tell the King this, but committed it all to writing, and then destroyed himself. Hereupon the King was in great tribulation. Manetho then proceeds in these words: 'Now after the poor wretches had passed a considerable time very miserably in the quarries, the King resolved to give up to them the city of Avaris, which had been evacuated by the shepherds, to employ and shelter them. This city, according to the (Egyptian) scribes, was from the first sacred to Typhon. So these persons having got possession of it, and finding it favourably situated for a revolt, made a priest of Heliopolis, Osarsiph by name, their leader, and submitting themselves entirely to his guidance, entered into a solemn league with him. The first enactment he made was that they should not worship any of the gods, nor abstain from any of the sacred animals which were held in the highest veneration in Egypt, but use them all for sacrifice and for food, and should hold no intercourse with any but the conspirators. After he had enacted these and other laws which were in direct opposition to the Egyptian customs, he bade them to make all possible exertions for putting the walls of their city in order, preparatory to going to war with King Amenōphis. He also attached some of the other priests and leprous persons to himself, and sent envoys to the shepherds, whom Tuthmōsis had expelled, to the city called Jerusalem, and communicated to them his own plans and those of his confederates, requesting them to invade Egypt and make common cause with them. He promised them admission into Avaris, the residence of their forefathers, and to furnish their army with abundance of provisions, to fight for them in case of necessity, and put them in possession of the country without any difficulty. The shepherds, in great delight, immediately collected together, to the number of 200,000 men, with the greatest alacrity, and very soon arrived at Avaris. Now when the King of Egypt heard of their having marched into the country, he became very uneasy, for he recollected the prophecy of Amenōphis, the son of Papis. After assembling large bodies of Egyptian troops, and consulting with his captains, he sent the sacred animals, which were held in the highest estimation and kept in the Temple, to the royal residence, and ordered the priests to conceal the images of the gods in the best place of security. But his son Sethōs, *who* WAS ALSO CALLED RAMESSES, *after the father* (of Amenōphis), and who was then five years old, he entrusted to the care of his friends. He put himself at the head of the other Egyptians, about 300,000 fighting men, but when the enemy came to attack them, he declined to fight, thinking that he should be fighting against the gods; so he fled and came to Memphis.. Taking from thence Apis, and the other animals which had been sent there, he decamped with his whole army into Ethiopia. The King of that country, who was strongly attached to him out of gratitude, received him hospitably, provided his troops with the best provisions his kingdom afforded, gave them cities and villages sufficient to contain them for the 13 years they were doomed to be driven out of Egypt, and likewise placed an Ethiopian army, to cooperate with the Egyptian, on the frontier. So it came to pass in Ethiopia. But the Solymites, who invaded the country in conjunction with the outcast Egyptians, dealt so cruelly with the people, that all who heard of their atrocities held them in detestation as rulers. Not content with burning the towns and villages, and plundering the temples and mutilating the images of the gods, they even fed upon the sacred animals, which had been from all times held in veneration; forced the priests to sacrifice and slay them, and then drove them naked into the streets. It is said, that Osarsiph[175], of Heliopolis, who, upon joining them, drew up a constitution and a code of laws for them, changed his name, and was called Moses (Μωΰσῆς).'

"I pass over," Josephus continues, "for brevity's sake, other stories told by the Egyptians about the Jews. Manetho proceeds to say, that Amenōphis afterwards returned with a great armament out of Ethiopia, as well as his son Rampses, who commanded another large army; that they fought with the shepherds and outcasts, conquered them, slew many, and pursued them as far as the coast of Syria. This and similar accounts has Manetho recorded."

The name then of the King who was expelled, was Amenōphis; his son, whom he rescued and concealed, when five years old, in Ethiopia, with the sacred animals, and who, 13th years after, assisted him in driving out the enemies of the empire, bore the name of Sethōs, "and was also called (after his grandfather Rampses) Ramesses." It is self-evident, that the latter part of this quotation is Josephus's own sapient remark. Manetho could not possibly make a distinction between the names of Rampses and Ramesses. There is therefore a gloss or some confusion at the beginning of the passage, where, after Ramesses Miamû and his successor Amenōphis (Menephthah), the history of Sethōsis I. is related with the blundering or interpolated addition. The historical series runs thus:

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[175] The name should probably be read Osarôph, approved by Osiris.

Ramses—Amenōphis—Sethōs.

Lepsius, in establishing that the name of Menephthah belongs exclusively to the son and successor of Ramses has made the remark, that there is no ground for believing in the existence of a series of three Kings, beginning with Ramesses and ending with Ramses the Great, for the Egyptian tradition as to this Amenōphis cannot have referred to any one but the son of Ramses. It is also clear, that, independently of the name, neither the years of reign, nor the monumental history of the father of Ramses, harmonize with his narrative. Seti I. reigned only nine years, and his reign was brilliant and victorious throughout. On the other hand, we find the empire falling to pieces, and counter-sovereigns springing up, in the time of Menephthah, called by the Lists Amenōphis = Menōphis = Amenōphath, and who, according to them, reigned twenty years. In this case, therefore, every thing harmonizes; in the other, nothing. Hence we must identify the names contained in that series as

Ramses the Great—Menephthah, his son—Seti (II.), his successor.

We may venture to add, that the narrative furnishes, in a very satisfactory manner, the link which was wanting in the evidence, for the continuation of the line down to Seti II. The principal result, however, deduced from it, is, that Sethōs is here used as the name of Seti II.; Seti I. must therefore also have been called so.

Thus we have at length arrived at a point from which we may venture to attempt a tabular restoration of the two most memorable Dynasties of the New Empire, by means of the Royal Lists compiled from Manetho's work, and thus to explain the principle on which these Lists were formed, and why they were almost necessarily misunderstood in aftertimes. In pointing out these particulars, we shall meet with the most detailed and obvious, as well as the last instances of interpolations from the historical work, which have made it so difficult to understand the chronology of the Lists. From this time forth they become simple registers of Kings, and represent merely the succession of the reigns which form the chronology, the epilogus of which expresses the length of the Dynasty in years. It is, thanks to Jewish and Christian research, rather than either the historical importance of the period, or the greater prolixity of the historian, that in the first two Dynasties of the New Empire, we find more than this, and less than this recorded. We find more, namely, invaluable remains of historic facts; and less, that is, no intelligible and unmistakeable exposition of the chronology. These were the two prevailing characteristics of the Lists of the Old Empire, but in the New, it is a solitary exception. Even though Manetho may possibly not have fully carried out the Greek method in his chronological lists as early as in the Middle Empire, he certainly did so in the New. The existence of Lists of a totally different kind is attributable to circumstances, to which we have already adverted — brief marginal notices of historical names and dates appended to the chronology, which was thereby early adulterated, and an endless tissue of blunders generated.

EIGHTEENTH

Original List of Manetho.

Number of the Dynasty.	Diospolitan Kings, XXI—229 Years.	Date of the Chronology.	Monumental Years.
I.	Amôs, *chief of the* line. AAHMES	25	XXII.
II.	Amenôphis, son AMN-HEPT	13	
III.	Tuthmôsis I. TET-MES	21	
IV.	Tuthmôsis II. TET-MES	22	
V.	Tuthmôsis III. TET-MES	26	
VI.	[Amenôphis II.] AMEN-HEPT, son of Tuthmôsis III.	9	
VII.	Tuthmôsis IV., TET-MES, son of Amenôphis II.	31	VII.
VIII.	Amenôphis III., AMEN-HEPT	37	XXXVI.
IX.	Orus (Hôrus), HER	32	VII.
		216	
I.	Ramesses I. RAMSSU	9	II.
II.	Sethôs I., SETEI	12	I.
III.	Ramesses II., RAM-SSU	66	LXII.
IV.	Menophthah, MENPTAH	20	IV.

DYNASTY.

The Lists of the Epitomists explained.

Consecutive Date.	17 Kings, 333 (288) Years. (16 „ 263) „	Date of Reign.
1	*Amôs* - - - - - - -	25
2	[whom we also find called:] *Chebrôs, (Chnebrôs?)* - - - -	13
3	*Amenōphis* - - - - - - -	21
4	*Amesses*, his sister (?) [reigned also for] Tuthmôsis I. (her husband) - - -	22
5	(*Misphre, Memphre*), [her daughter: reigned for her brother and husband] - - -	13
	[And afterwards for the younger brother, who is called:]	
6	*Mephra-Tuthmōsis* - - - - - -	26
7	*Tuthmôsis IV.*, son [of Amenōphis II.] -	9
8	*Amenôphis III.*, son [of Tuthmōsis IV.] the same whom the Greeks consider Memnon and the vocal stone - - - - -	31
9	*Orus* (Hôrus), son [of Amen. III.] - -	37
	First Appendix: (10—13): reigns conjointly with and after Horus:	
10 11 12	*Kencheres, Akencheres, Cherres, Chebres.* (i.e. Aakhenres, Aakheres) [Amenophis IV., son of Amenōphis III., after the death of Amenōphis III. jointly with Horus.]	12, 1 m. 12, 5 m. 12, 3 m. } 12
13	*Athôtis*, [daughter of Amenōphis III., reigned also after the death of Horus, her brother: she was mother of Ramesses I.] 9 years -	9
	Second Appendix: (14—17): Extracts from the history of the great Sethōsis (XIX., 1.) and his brother, of his son Ramesses, and his grandson Menephthah (?)	
14	*Armeses* (Armais), [brother of Sethōs was Viceroy] 5 years, 1 month - - -	5
15	*Ramesses* (Armais) [had reigned as usurper (?)] 1 year, 4 months - - - -	1
16	*Ramesses-Miamūn*, [whole reign] 66 yrs. 2 m.	66
17	*Menophis* (Amenōphis, Amenōphath) 19 yrs. 6 months - - - - - - -	19

NINETEENTH DYNASTY.

Number of the Dynasty.	Consecutive Number.	DIOSPOLITAN KINGS (V., 112 years). 7 reigns. 209 years.	Date of the Reign.	Date of the Chronology.	Monuments.
I.		Ramesses (I.) [Chief of the line, son of Athôtis, sister of Horus, who reigned herself a long time] - -	- -	9	RAMESSU, 2nd year.
II.		Sethos, his son - - - - -	- -	12	SETI, son, 1st year.
	1.	Sethōsis (instead of Ramesses) - -	59 50 51		
	2.	Rampses (Ramesses) reigned - [Succeeded by his son.]	66		
	3.	Ammenephthes - - (19, 6) -	20		
	4.	* The reign of *Ramesses* is also given at - - - - - -	60		
III.		Ramesses (II.) - - - - - -	- -	66	RAMESES-MIAMUN, son, 62nd year.
IV.		Menōphthâh (Menophthês) (19, 6)	- -	20	MENEPH-
	5.	Amenemsês (counter-sovereign) -	- -	- -	THAH, son, 4th year.
V.		Sethos (II.) - - - - - -	- -	5	SETI (II.), son.
	6.	*Phuôris* (i. e. *Nilus*, who was properly called *Marrês*, reigned after Sethos, in whose time Troy was taken, 7 yrs.) The seven reigns which are quoted in this Dynasty were the following: — 1—5. The five who form the historical chronology; 6. Then *Amenemsês*, counter-sovereign to the next; 7. Then the successor, who put an end to the disorder which had grown up, the so-called Phuôris-Nilus, the founder of a new Dynasty.		112	

SECTION IV.

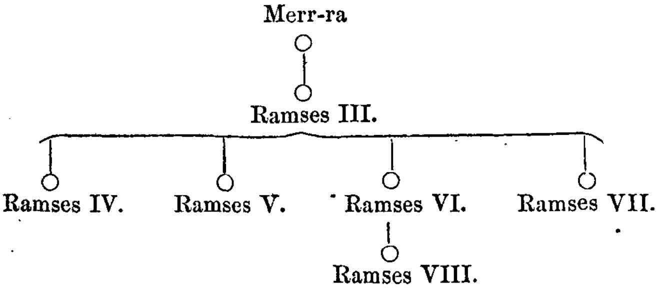
RESTORATION OF THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTIES.

I.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY.

IN this Dynasty, where we can obtain no assistance from the Lists, owing to the omission of all the names, the monuments offer us the most welcome information. In the previous attempts at restoration, the Ramessides of this Dynasty have generally been made use of for completing the 19th, just as its chief was made an appendage to the 18th.

Upon this point we have come to the conclusion that there is no ground whatever for supposing him to belong to the Dynasty at the end of which he stands, and where it is remarked, that in his time Troy was taken. We might very easily explain why the name of Merri-ra was placed here apart from the rest, just as that of Ammenemes I. was appended to the 11th Dynasty, but omitted altogether in the list of the 12th, of which he was the chief. The remark about the Homeric synchronism made a chasm between him and the following names, and as they, being all equally pronounced Ramses, were omitted by the epitomists to save the trouble of transcribing them, he remained as the sixth and last King in the 19th Dynasty, where that remark was set against his name. There is the less pretext therefore for doubting the assertion of the trustworthy Wilkinson, who says that he has seen a monument, on which Ramses III. is described as the son of *Merr-ra*. His name, moreover, occurs as an element in the throne-scutcheon of Ramses X., which indicates a dynastic connexion. This, combined with the genealogy of Ramses III., as corrected by Lepsius, makes the dynastic relationship as follows.



Lepsius has established the successional order of the other Kings, but their affinity cannot as yet be proved from the monuments. All the Scutcheons exhibit the same character—they are distinguished from those of the 18th and 19th Dynasties, by the minuteness of their execution and composite character, which was constantly on the increase. The style of the monuments is still very beautiful, though they likewise evince a constantly increasing tendency to elaborate detail, and at last a falling off as to design and sharpness.

Ramses VII. is the last King into whose Scutcheon *Set* was introduced, but here, as elsewhere, it has been almost always chiselled out; from henceforth it is never again met with on the monuments. The Lists agree as to the number of the Kings, which is twelve. Now we find exactly *eleven* Ramesses with a title, which evidently belongs to them, lately discovered by Lepsius at Turin, all of them Kings of this Dynasty from their style and name; which, like Set, is never met with subsequently in the royal Lists. It is questionable whether the number *twelve* is correct, or only that of the Ramses, as the name of the chief of the Dynasty has clearly been expunged, owing to the chronological note already cited, with which the second volume of Manetho probably ended, for the third opened with the twentieth Dynasty. There are instances in the Lists in favour of both hypotheses; we must therefore enter them both in our chronology, the result of which will be a difference of seven years, which is at present doubtful.

But the discrepancy as to the duration of the Dynasty is more considerable:

	Years.		Years.		Years.
Africanus	135	Euseb. in Syncell.	178	in Arm. vers.	172
		Difference	43		37

All these three must be carried on, the probable connexion between them being as follows. The number 135. is most improbable, because it makes the average too low (12 years for 11 reigns, 11 for 12), 178 + 7 185. This number explains the Epilogus of Africanus, who does not reckon the seven years of Merr-ra, by making a slight alteration $\overline{\mathrm{P\Lambda E}}$ (=PΠE) instead of $\overline{\mathrm{P\Lambda E}}$. Consequently 185 is the most probable number, with the addition of the reign of *Merr-ra;* and, according to the analogies of all the subsequent dates, it gives the true historical chronology.

Hence we propose the following restoration:

Restoration of the Twentieth Dynasty.

Diospolitan Kings — twelve — 185 Years.
(= (135 − 172 − 178) + 7).

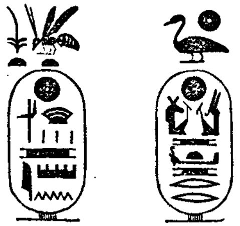
I.	Merr-Ra (Set-nekht) Merramn.	Phuorô, Nilus (Proteus)	7 yr.
II.	Ramessu-Hek-pen	Ramsês III. Son.	XVI. yr.
III.	Ramessu Merr-amn-hek ma	Ramsês IV. Brother.	
IV.	Ramessu Amnhikhepshf Neter-hek-pen	Ramsês V. Brother.	
V.	Ramessu Amnhikhepshf, … Neter-hek-pen	Ramsês VI. Brother.	
VI.	Ramessu Amnhikhepshf, Merr-Set	Ramsês VII. Brother.	
VII.	Ramessu Shama, Merr-amn	Ramsês VIII. Son of Ramsês VI.	III. yr.
VIII.	Ramessu Merr-amn Hek ma	Ramsês IX.	VI. yr. (Papyrus)

IX.	Ramessu Shama Merr-amn, Hek-neter-pen	Ramsês X.	XVIII. year (Papyrus)
X.	Ramessu Amnhikhepshf	Ramsês XI.	II. year.
XI.	Ramessu Amnhikhepshf Merr-amn	Ramsês XII.	
XII.	([Ramessu] Hek-ma Satp-n'-Ra, Amn-hikhepshf	Ramsês XIII.	

Keten, which Diodorus gives as the Egyptian name of Proteus, is probably derived from *Set-nekht* (Seth the Strong), the epithet of *Merr-Ra.* The present form of it has perhaps grown out of the original Ketna, which Diodorus took for the accusative case; and it again, by a slight mis-spelling, out of Set-na (CETNA instead of KETNA).

The great miser Rampsinitus can hardly be any other than Ramessu-Neter (*hek-pen*) V.: no other King has any title or epithet sounding at all like it.

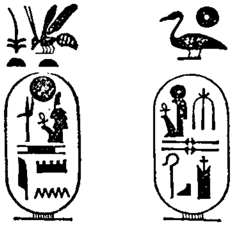
130



Su-kheb
Ra sesr shau
Meri n̄ Amen.

Sa-en Ra
Setnekht
Meri Amen.

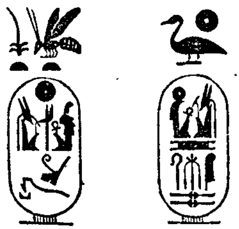
131



Su-kheb
Ra sesr Ma
Meri Amen.

Sa-en Ra
Rameses III. hek
Pen.

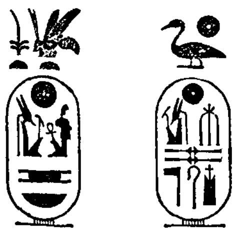
132



Su-kheb
Ra seser Ma
Satp n̄ Amen.

Sa-en Ra
Rameses IV.
Meri Amen hek Ma.

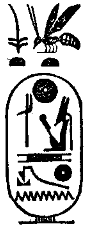
133



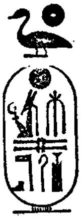
Su-kheb
Ra neb ma meri
Amen.

Sa-en Ra
Rameses V.
neter hek Pen.

134

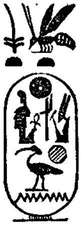


Su-kheb
Ra sesr Ma
satp en Ra.
Meri Amen.

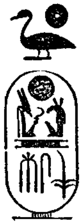


Sa-en Ra
Rameses VI.
Amen her khepsh
Netr hek Pen.

135

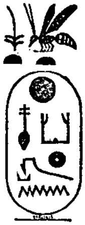


Su-kheb
Ra sesr Ma
Aakh n̄ Amen.

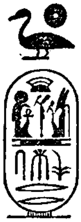


Sa-en Ra
Ramessu VII.
Amen her khepsh
Meri set.

136

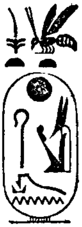


Su-kheb
Ra nefer kar
satp n̄ Ra.

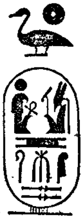


Sa-en Ra
Ramessu VIII.
shaen Ma
Meri Amen.

137

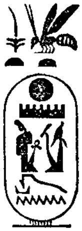


Su-kheb
Ra hek Ma
Satp n̄ Amen.

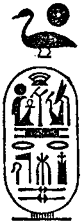


Sa-en Ra
Rameses IX.
Meri n̄ Amen
Hek Ma.

138

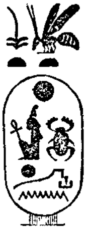


Su-kheb
Ra men Ma
satp n̄ Ptah.

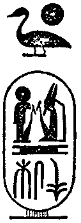


Sa-en Ra
Rameses X.
n̄ Ma Meri n̄ Amen
Neter hek Pen.

139

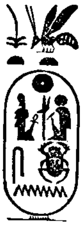


Su-kheb
Ra kheper Ma
satp en Ra.

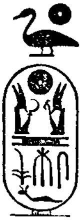


Sa-en Ra
Ramessu XI.
Meri Amen.

140

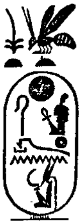


Su-kheb
Ra sesr Ma
skheper
en Ra.



Sa-en Ra
Ramessu XII.
Amen her khepsh
Meri Amen.

141



Su-kheb
[Rameses XIII.]
Ra hek Ma
Satp en Amen
her khepsh.

II.

THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY.

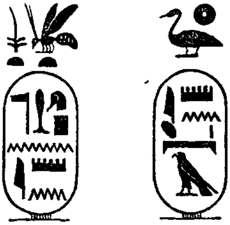
The state in which we find it in the Lists is so far satisfactory, that Africanus and Eusebius give the same epilogus with which the individual dates of reigns in the two texts of Eusebius agree. We evidently, therefore, do not give up Africanus, by following the dates of Eusebius. Some Egyptologers—Wilkinson, for instance—do not profess to know any monumental names which correspond with this Dynasty. Others, as Champollion and Rosellini, propose only two, and those incorrectly: Aasen, who never was King, and Manduhept, who belongs to the Old Empire—two facts which have been proved by Lepsius. Rosellini, indeed, was acquainted with two names which belong to it—Amensipehôr and Phisham; but he has employed them in filling up the vacant space in the 20th Dynasty. The restoration proposed by Lepsius, with the textual emendations which naturally follow from it, gives the following result:

Twenty-first Dynasty. Tanites. 7 Kings. 130 years.

1. Smendês (probably SI-MANDU or SMEN-TITI. (see Karnak I.)	26 years.
2. Phusemés (a PI-SHAM I. not yet discovered)	41
3. Nephercherês (a NEFRU-KAR-RA „ „)	4
4. Menophthês (a MENEPHTHAH II. „)	9
5. Osochôr (Phûchôr?) PE-HER SE-AMEN	6
6. Phinachês. PIANKH	9
7. Phusemês. PI-SHAM-MI-AMEN (II.)	35
Total	130 years.

From the small number of existing monuments—which is probably owing to the seat of government being changed—it is not to be wondered at, that they neither give us the lengths of their reigns, nor even any particulars as to their dynastic relationship. The three last Kings are called priests of Amon-Ra-Sonther. The first four, therefore, had probably the same designation, and the chief of the line was a high priest, elected out of the priestly caste, when the old royal race became extinct.

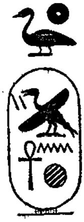
142



Su-kheb
Hent neter
Api en Amen.

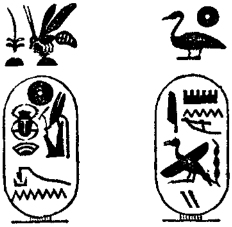
Sa-en Ra
Pe har
si Amen.

143



Sa-en Ra
Pi-ankh.

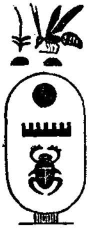
144



Su-kheb
Ra kheper sha
satp en Amen.

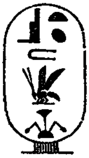
Sa-en Ra
Panem Meri
ñ Amen.

145



Su-kheb
Ra men kheper.

146



Hesi em-
kheb.

III.

TABULAR SYNOPSIS OF THE EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY FROM THE EARLIEST HISTORICAL SYNCHRONISMS UP TO THE FIRST YEAR OF MENES.

WE have established the following dates simply by means of an internal criticism of the Lists and Monuments:

The 18th	Dynasty	lasted, in	nine Reigns,	-	216 years.
The 19th	,,	,,	five	-	112
The 20th	,,	,,	twelve	-	185
The 21st	,,	,,	seven	-	130
			Total, in thirty-three Reigns	-	643 years.

General average of the length of the Reigns		$19\frac{1}{2}$ years.
Average length of the reigns in the	eighteenth dynasty	31
„ „ „	nineteenth „	$22\frac{2}{5}$
„ „ „	twentieth „	$15\frac{5}{12}$
„ „ „	twenty-first „	$18\frac{3}{7}$

Our synchronistic tables, which will be given as appendix to the Fourth Book, show that, by reckoning backwards, the 5th year of Rehoboam must coincide with the 21st of Sheshonk-Sesak, the chief of the following Dynasty, and that they both correspond with the year 962 B.C.

An examination of the synchronisms shows that the highest possible date at which we can fix it, is 963, the lowest 961. If then we assume 962, reckoning backwards, we obtain the following dates for the principal points in that portion of Egyptian chronology, which has already come under our notice:

	B. C.
First year of Sheshonk (XXII. I.)	982
End of the twenty-first Dynasty (lasted 130 years)	983
Beginning of the twenty-first Dynasty	1112
End of the twentieth Dynasty (lasted 185 years)	1113
Beginning of the twentieth Dynasty	1297
End of the nineteenth Dynasty (lasted 112 years)	1298
BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF MENOPHTHAH	1322
Beginning of the nineteenth Dynasty	1409
End of the eighteenth Dynasty (lasted 229 years)	1410
Beginning of the eighteenth Dynasty and the New Empire	1626
End of the Hyksos Dynasties (lasted 866 years)	1639
Beginning of the Hyksos Dynasties	2567
End of the Old Empire (last year of Amuntimæus XVIII. 3.) lasted 1076 years)	2668
Previous reign of Amuntimæus (62 years)	2630
Beginning of the thirteenth Dynasty (lasted 24 years: first two Kings)	2654
„ „ twelfth Dynasty (lasted 147 years: four Kings)	2801
„ „ eleventh Dynasty (lasted 16 years: one King)	2817
„ „ eighth Dynasty (lasted 128 years: seven Kings)	2915

	B. C.
Beginning of the seventh Dynasty (lasted 27 years: one King) - - - - -	2967
„ „ sixth Dynasty (lasted 107 years: three Kings) - - - - -	3074 ?
„ „ fourth (Pyramidal) (lasted 155 years: four Kings) - - - - -	3229
„ „ third Dynasty (lasted 224 years: nine Kings) - - - - -	3453 ?
„ „ first Dynasty (lasted 190 years: five Kings)	3643

Hence, consequently, the accession of Menes was 3643 B. C.

IV.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF MENOPHTHAH, OR THE BEGINNING OF THE LAST CANICULAR CYCLE OF 1461 YEARS, UNDER MENOPHTHAH, THE SON OF THE GREAT RAMSES.

IT will be the object of our inquiry in the following Book, which is dedicated to an examination of the astronomical and historical synchronisms, independently of each other as well as those of Egypt, to discuss more closely, to test, and to establish the accuracy of these dates. In the meantime we may premise, that the fixed point of ancient history, hitherto sought for in vain, has been established both astronomically and historically in the 19th Dynasty. This conclusion we have come to, after an accurate examination of the Lists and Monuments — a conclusion already indeed corroborated by a Jewish synchronism, which is undoubtedly historical — that the first year of the reign of Menophthah, the son of the great Ramses, coincides with the year 1322 B. C.

It is an established point with all chronologers, thanks to Freret, Biot, and Ideler[176], that the Sothiac period of 1461 Julian years, equal to 1460 Egyptian years of 365 days, ended in the year 139 of the Christian era. Censorinus states so expressly, and it is fully substantiated by astronomical computations. It commenced therefore in the year 1322 B. C. In that year also, according to our researches, the reign of the great Ramses commenced, whose name we must read, in conformity with the monuments, Menephthah, or with the Greek version, Menophthah. A starting point like this must have been one of the highest importance to the Egyptians, and therefore registered in their annals. For their vague year was made to correspond with the solar year by means of that Sothiac cycle, without any intercalary days — the additional quarter of a day, that is, one day in four years, evidently makes exactly a year of 365 days, in four times 365, or 1460 years. We may therefore properly designate this system of chronology, which commences 1322 B. C., the era of Menophthah, with the beginning of whose reign it coincides. For the same reason, we find the era of Augustus mentioned in Egypt, because the first of Thoth, the beginning of the Egyptian year, which was previously moveable, became fixed in his time, when the method of calculation by intercalary periods of four years was introduced. The natural starting point of the previous chronology must consequently have been the commencement of the Sothiac period of 1461 years, and therefore have been called the era of Menophthah.

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[176] Ideler, Handbook of Chronology, I. 136. seq.

The Egyptians did indeed so designate it, a fact which we wish to establish here at once. To Larcher the honour is due of having been the first to give publicity to a passage from the unprinted MS. 2390, in the Parisian Library, which contains an astronomical work of Theon, the Alexandrian astronomer of the 4th century. The passage alluded to runs thus: "there intervened between Menophres and the end of Augustus a period of 1605 years."

It has been long ago and repeatedly proved that nothing else can be understood by the epoch of Menophres, but the beginning of the Sothiac period, in which the moveable first of Thoth coincided with the *Heliacal* rising of Sirius, which only occurs once in 1461 years. It is a no less undisputed fact that "the end of Augustus" means the end of the Augustan era, or the beginning of that of Diocletian, which is 283 complete years after the commencement of the Christian era. If we deduct these 283 years from Theon's date, 1605, we get the year 1322 B. C., as the first year of Menophthah — the same conclusion as resulted from our own researches.

King Menophres, therefore, is no longer an enigma. Our readers will have already perceived, before we notice it, that Menophres is a slight mis-spelling of Menophthes, owing to a confusion of frequent occurrence in Greek: ΜΕΝΟΦΘΗϹ instead of ΜΕΝΟΦΡΗϹ.

We shall point out in the Book of Synchronisms the whole series of important results derived from this discovery. We content ourselves at present with establishing the fact, that the era of that cycle was called by Egyptian astronomers, the era of Menophthes. Now as there is no other Menephthah in this period, but the son of the great Ramses, his reign must have commenced with that year according to astronomical data. A simple examination of the Egyptian lists and monuments, however, conducted upon the critical principles we have laid down and carried out, had already led to the same conclusion.

Our computation, therefore, reckoning backwards to the year 1322, must be said to be corroborated by astronomy.

SECOND SUBDIVISION.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. AND XXVI. DYNASTIES.

THIRD AND FOURTH HISTORICAL EPOCHS.

FROM THE END OF THE REIGN OF SOLOMON TO THE YEAR BEFORE CAMBYSES.

150+89+6+50+160=455 YEARS.

SECTION I.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE XXII.—XXIV. DYNASTIES; OR, FROM THE END OF THE REIGN OF SOLOMON TO THE YEAR BEFORE CAMBYSES.

THE method and nature of our inquiry assumes a totally different aspect in this section. We have Lists without any interpolations, composed of successive Dynasties, and consecutive reigns. The synchronisms prove this. The Monuments are by no means so numerous, as in the preceding six centuries and a half, but by some good fortune, which is occasionally most surprising, we derive assistance from them of the most essential kind at the very conjuncture where we stand most in need of it.

Africanus constantly maintains his character. Eusebius is in this period more negligent and arbitrary than in almost any other.

As the dates and names of the five middle Dynasties are connected in various ways, we shall first of all give the complete Lists of the period, in their present shape.

Manetho's Lists XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. Dynasties.

Succession of Kings.	Africanus.	Eusebius.		
		In Syncellus.	In the Armenian version.	In the Canon.
	9 Kings — altogether 120 years.	3 Kings — 49 years.		XXIInd Kings of
I.	Sesonchôsis - - 21	Sesonchôsis - 21	As	As
II.	Osorthôn - - 15	Osorthôn - - 15	in	in
III IV. V.	Three others - - 25	Takelothis - - 13	Syncellus.	Syncellus.
VI.	Takelothis - - 13			
VII. VIII. IX.	Three others - - 42			
	116	49		
	4 Kings — 89 years.	3 Kings — 44 years.		XXIIIrd Tanite
I.	Petubatês - - 40 "in his time the beginning of the Olympiads."	Petubastis - - 25	As	Petubas - - 26
II.	Osorchô - - 8 "whom the Egyptians call Hercules."	Osorthon - - 9 "whom the Egyptians call Hercules."	in	Osorthon - - 9
III.	Psammûs - - 10	Psammûs - - 10	Syncellus.	Psammês - - 10 in his fifth year "the Egyptians first had supremacy at sea for 30 years."
IV.	Zêt (Cod. B. 34. ΑΔ.) 31			
	89	44 "altogether 44 yrs."	wanting	
				XXIVth One
I.	Bokkhôris - - 6 "in his time a lamb spoke: 990 years."	Bocchôris - - 44 "in his time a lamb spoke."	As in Syncellus.	Bokkhoris - - 44 2nd year: he gives the Egyptians a constitution. 30th year: the Milesians gain the supremacy at sea and build Naukratis.
	3 Kings — 40 years.	3 Kings — 44 years.		XXVth Æthiopian
I.	Sabakon - - 8 "took Bokkhôris prisoner and buried him alive."	Sabakon - - 12 "took Bocchôris prisoner and buried him alive."	As	As in Syncellus.
II.	Sebichos, son - - 14	Sebichos, son - 12	in	
III.	Tarkos - - 18	Tarakos - - 20	Syncellus.	"Tarakus came with an army out of Æthiopia and slew Sebichus."
	40	44		

RESTORATION ACCORDING TO THE LISTS AND MONUMENTS.

ROSELLINI 1833.	Yrs.	B.C.	WILKINSON 1835.
Dynasty. Bubastis.			*Diospolitan Kings.* 3 Kings (according to Eus.) lasted at least 60 yrs.
I. SCISCIONK I.=Sesak, Sisak -	21	972	SHESHONK—Shishak, begin. 978 (=Rahob 5.)
II. OSORKON I. - - -	15	951	OSORKON—Zerah - - 945 (XIth yr.) (Battle with Asa - 941)
III. SCISCIONK II. at least - -	29	936	
VI. TAKELOT. at least - - -	25		TAKELOTHE - - - 925 (XVth year.)
VII. OSORKON II.			
Dynasty. Kings.			*Diospolitan Kings.*
According to Africanus 80 years -	852	764	OSORKON II. - - - 908
			SHESHONK II. - - - 890 about 860 (XXIXth year.)
			(Other Kings? Tnephactus in this or the following Dynasty.)
Dynasty. Saite.			
According to Eusebius 44 years - -	763	720	AMUNSE PEHOR, Bokkhoris-Pehor (Bakhor) (Asychis of Herodotus?) - 812
Dynasty. Kings. According to Eusebius - -	44	„	*Æthiopian Kings—89 years.*
I. SCIABAK= - - - -	12	719	SABAKOFTEP or SABAKOPH 778 (50 ys.)
II. SCIABATOK=Sevechus, Sethon of Herodotus, Sewe, So of Scripture	12	707	SHEBEK, Sebechon, Sevechin, son. Perhaps before Sabakoftep - 728
III. TAHRAKA=Tarhaka of Scripture - - - - - - -	10	695	TEHRAH, Tirhaka - - - 714 690 The Sethos of Herod: reigned contemporaneously at Memphis.
			Note. It seems, that these 3 Kings were contemporary with the 26th Dyn.; for Sabako put Nechao, the father of Psammetichus, to death.

MANETHO'S LISTS.

Succession of Kings.	AFRICANUS.	EUSEBIUS.		
		In Syncellus.	In the Armenian version.	In the Canon.
				(XXVIth
	Saite Kings—9.	Saite Kings—9.	Saite Kings—9.	
I.	Stephinates - - 7	1. Ammeres Æthiopian - 12 2. Stephinathis 7	1. Ammeses Æthiopian - 18 (margin, 12.) 2. Stephinathis 7	1. Ammeres Æthiopian - - - 12 2. Stephinathis - 7
II.	Nechepsôs - - 6	3. Nechepsôs - 6	3. Nechepsôs - 6	3. Nechepsùs - 6 was skilled in medicine; his writings on Pharmacy are extant.
III.	Nechaô - - - 8	4. Nechaô - 8	4. Nechus - 8 (margin, 6.)	4. Nechaùs - - 8
IV.	Psammètichos - - 54	5. Psammetichos 45	5. Psammetichôs 44	5. Psammetichus - 44 *at the 44th year: "Josiah defeated by Nechao:* I wonder how Psammetichus got here."
V.	Nechaô II. - - 6 He took Jerusalem and carried King Josiah prisoner to Egypt.	6. Nechaô II. - 60 (like Afric.)	6. Nechaus II. 6 (as in Syncellus.)	6. Nechaô II., who is also Nechepsus 6
VI.	Psammûthis, another 6	7. Psammuthis another - - 17	7. Psammûthis II. who is called also Psammetichôs - 17	7. Psammuthis II. "who is also Psammatichus" - 17
VII.	Uaphris - - - 19 The Jews who remained after Jerusalem was taken by the Assyrians fled to him for protection.	8. Uaphris - 25 (like Afric.)	8. Vaphres - 25 (as in Syncellus.)	8. Vaphres - - 25
VIII.	Amôsis - - - 44	9. Amôsis - 42	9. Amôsis - 42	9. Amosis - - 42 "one of the seven celebrated Magi according to the Egyptians."
IX.	Psammecheritês 6 months.			
	150 yrs. 6 mths. "altogether 150 years. 6 months."	168 years. "altogether 163 years."	173 years. "altogether 167yrs" (according to a marginal reading under the first King).	167 years.

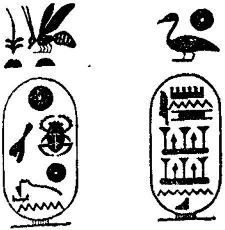
THE GREEK HISTORIANS.		THE RESTORERS OF THE LISTS.	
HERODOTUS.	DIODORUS.	ROSELLINI.	WILKINSON.
Dynasty.)			
Dodecarchy.	— yrs. Anarchy - 2 Dodecarchy - 15	9 *Kings.* Yrs. B.C. 1. Stephinates - 7 675	*Saites.* After the death of Sethos Dodecarchy. But as Necho, the father of Psametichus, was slain by Sabako, we must assume that the three Kings, Stephinatis, Nechepsus, Nechao I., were contemporary with the XXVth Dynasty.
		2. Nechepsus - 6 668	
Necho, the father of Psammetichus, slain by the Æthiopians		3. Nechao I. - 8 662	
Psammetichôs son of Necho - - - 54 (The Scythians in Syria.)		4. Psammitichus Son - - - 45 654 PSAMETIK I.	Psametik I. - 664—611
Necho, Son - - 16		5. Nechao, Necho Son - - - 6 609 NEKO II.	Neco - - - 610 (Battle with Josiah 610.)
Psammis - - - 6		6. PSAMETIK II. Son - - 15 603	Psametik II. - - 604
Apries - - - 25		7. HOPHRE, HOPHRA (RAMESTO) - - 19 588	Psametik III. - - 598 (Pharaoh Hophra, who takes Sidon. The identity of the two not certain.)
Amasis - - - 44		8. AAHMES, OOHMES - 44 569	Ames-Neitse - - 570 married the daughter of Psametichus III., was not of low birth, as Herodotus says.
Psammenitos - - 6 months.		9. PSAMETIK III. 6 m. (succeeded by Cambyses, 525.)	Psammicherites or Psammenitus - - 525
		150 yrs. 6 m.	

I.

THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY.

The notices in the Lists are unfortunately incomplete here, even in Africanus. On two occasions several reigns are added up together, and the epilogus given, but the names not mentioned. In this manner mistakes may easily have crept in; as is evidently the case, indeed, from the extant monumental dates. Before Lepsius commenced his researches, the distinction of Dynasties was so little understood, that Wilkinson, most unwarrantably and inconceivably, assigned to the following Dynasty the monuments of the younger Osorkon and Sheshonk, in which there was not a single name corresponding to the latter. By a strange conjunction, however, two genealogies were found, one in the British Museum, the other on a monument in Egypt, seen by Rosellini, which elucidate each other by the branches common to them both. Lepsius, who was the first to read and explain the former, by connecting the two together, has established the whole Dynasty and their names. At present we merely give the pedigree as adjusted by him, and all the highest years of the reigns, and wait for his exposition, which may shortly be expected.

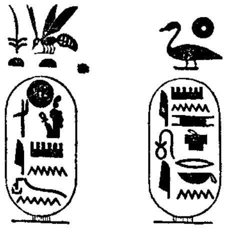
147



Su-kheb
Ra-hut
kheper
Satp en Ra.

Sa-en Ra
Sheshonk I.
Meri en Amen.

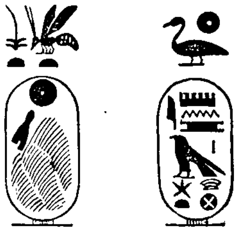
148



Su-kheb
Ra sesr Ma
Satp en
Amen.

Sa-en Ra
Uasarkan I.
Meri en
Amen.

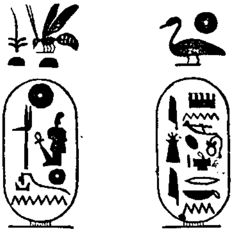
149



Su-kheb
Ra hut
. . . .

Sa-en Ra
Ha sha seb
Meri en
Amen.

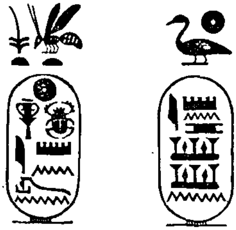
150



Su-kheb
Ra sesr Ma
Satp en Ra.

Sa-en Ra
Ses Uasarkan II.
su Bast
Meri en Amen.

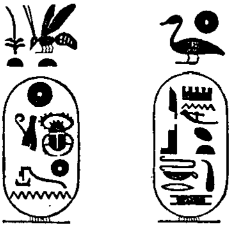
151



Su-kheb
Ra.sesh kheper
Satp ǹ Amen.

Sa-en Ra
She-shonk II.
Meri ǹ Amen.

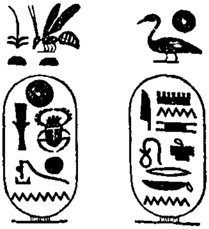
152



Su-kheb
Ra hut-kheper
Satp ǹ Ra.

Sa-en Ra
Takelut I.
Meri ǹ Amen
Sa ǹ Hesi.

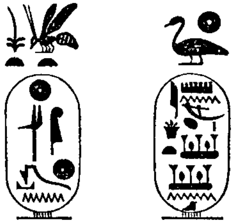
153



Su-kheb
Ra kherp
kheper
Satp en Ra.

Sa-en Ra
Uasarkan III.
Meri en Amen.

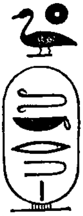
154



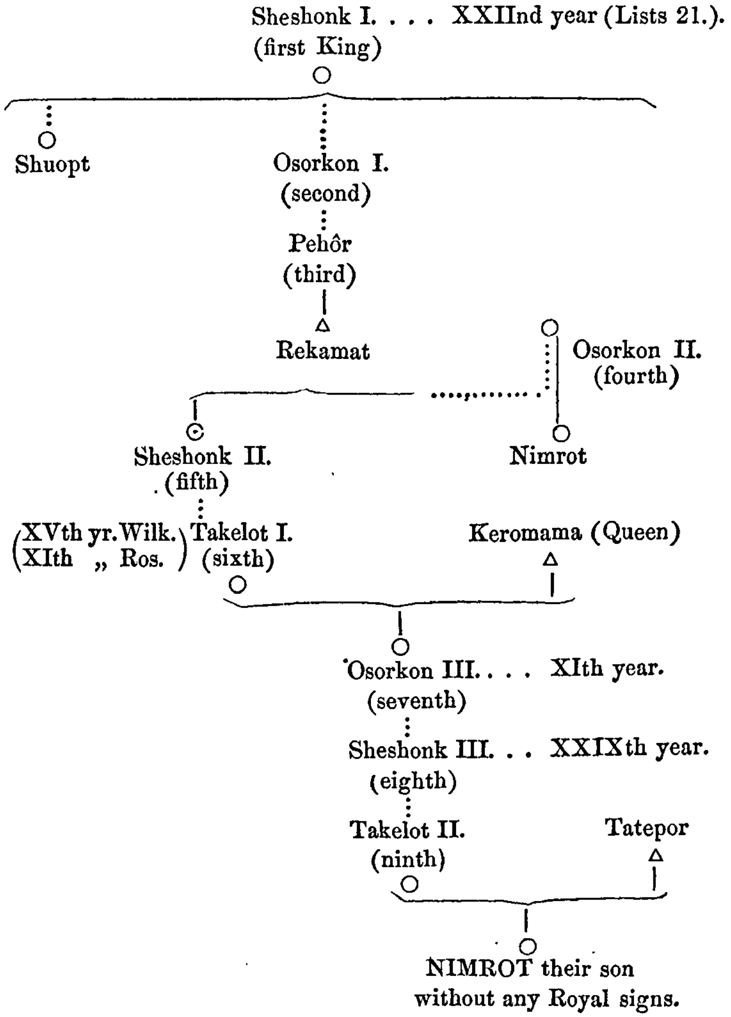
Su-kheb
Ra sesser Ma
Satp en Ra.

Sa-en Ra
Sheshonk III.
Sa Bast
Meri en Amen.

155



Sa-en Ra
Tekelut.


Sheshonk I. . . . XXIInd year (Lists 21.).
(first King)
Shuopt
Osorkon I.
(second)
Pehôr
(third)
Rekamat
Osorkon II.
(fourth)
Sheshonk II.
(fifth)
Nimrot
XVth yr. Wilk.
XIth „ Ros.
Takelot I.
(sixth)
Keromama (Queen)
Osorkon III. . . . XIth year.
(seventh)
Sheshonk III. . . XXIXth year.
(eighth)
Takelot II.
(ninth)
Tatepor
NIMROT their son
without any Royal signs.

Hence we obtain the following Table of the dates of reigns:

1. As the Monuments give the 22nd year of Sheshonk I., $\overline{KA}$ must be altered to $\overline{K\Delta}$, that is - - - 24 years.
2. We have the fifteenth year of Takelot I., consequently $\overline{I\Gamma}$ should probably be $\overline{K\Gamma}$ - - 23

3. There are 42 years assigned to the last three Reigns.

Of the seventh we know already - - -	11 years
eighth „ „ - - -	29
that is, of the two together - -	40

This renders it the more improbable that the ninth King should have reigned the two years that are wanting, for it would be very singular if those two dates should in both cases represent the very last years of their reigns. We must, therefore, alter $\overline{\text{MB}}$ into $\overline{\text{NB}}$, 52 years.

Hence neither of the two data in the Lists can possibly be correct, neither the epilogus of 116 years, the product of all the actual single numbers, nor even the statement of Syncellus, that the sum total is 120 years. But the ratio between these dates and the general average length of reigns would in itself have led us to suspect their accuracy—nine reigns in 120 years would make the singularly low average of 13⅓ years. The question, therefore, is which of the dates is the incorrect one? $\overline{\text{PK}}$ (120) cannot be intended for an epilogus of the individual numbers; and therefore it must be made the basis of the inquiry. The most common and simplest corruption of $\overline{\text{K}}$ is either $\overline{\Lambda}$ or $\overline{\text{N}}$: 130 is impossible, as will appear from the following synopsis:

1. *Sheshonk* I., first reign - - - - -	24 years.
2. *Osorkon* I., second reign - - - - -	15
6. *Takelot* I., sixth reign - - - - -	23
7th, 8th, 9th reigns - - - - - - -	52
Epilogus of the 6 reigns -	114
3, 4, 5 in the Lists - -	25
	139 years.

The emendation to $\overline{\text{PN}}$, on the other hand, has everything in its favour, as it makes the length of the three reigns 36 years ($\overline{\Lambda \text{F}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{KE}}$), which is a fair average number. The following restoration will appear from this to be the only probable one:

Twenty-second Dynasty.

9 Bubastite Kings. 150 years.

				Yr. of Reign.
I.	Sesônchis I.,	SHESHENK, SHESHEK, Sesak, the chief of the Line - -	24	XXII.
II.	Osorkôn I.,	OSERKAN, SERKENA, Serakh, most probably a Son - -	15	
III.	- -	PEHER, most probably a Son	36	
IV.	- -	OSERKAN II. - - Son		
V.	- -	SHESHENK II. - - Son		
VI.	Takelôthis,	TAKELET I. most probably a Son	23	XV.
VII.	- -	OSERKAN III. - - Son	52	XXI.
VIII.	- -	SHESHENK III. most prob. a Son		XIX.
IX.	- -	TAKELET II. most probably a Son		
		Reigned altogether -	150 years.	

II.

THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY.

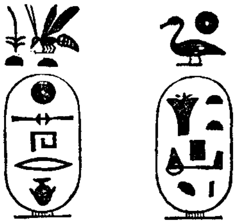
Up to this time none of the four Kings of Africanus were known to exist on the monuments; but Lepsius has discovered the Scutcheons of the first two, and shown that of the third to be a Scutcheon previously supposed to belong to the 29th Dynasty, where it was assigned to King Psammuthis, who reigned one year. But this is exceedingly improbable, from its occurrence on buildings to the south-east of Karnak along the lake. *Zet* is probably a Sethōs, i. e. Seti, in this case transcribed in strict conformity to the Egyptian idiom. He is likewise so called by Herodotus, who has merely introduced him in his series of three Kings as the third instead of the first, and thereby confounded him with Tirhaka, to whose march into Judea he ascribes the consternation at Jerusalem and retreat of Sennacherib.

Thus we have the following restoration:

Twenty-third Dynasty. Tanites. 4 Kings. 89 years.

I.	Petubastes	— PET-PACHT	40 years.
II.	Osorchô	— OSERKNA	8
III.	Psammûs	— P-SI-MUT	10
IV.	Zet, Sethōs		31
		Altogether	89 years.

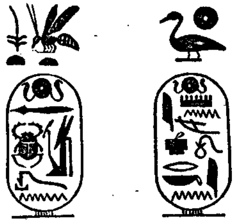
156



Su-kheb
Ra-s'her-het.

Sa-en Ra
Pet su bast.

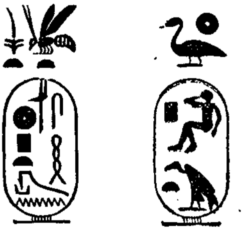
157



Su-kheb
Ra naa kheper
Satp en Amen.

Sa-en Ra
Uasarken IV.
Meri Amen.

158



Su-kheb
Ra-seser
Satp en Ptah.

Sa-en Ra
Psumu.t.

SECTION II.

I.

THE CONNEXION BETWEEN THE TWENTY-FOURTH, TWENTY-FIFTH, AND TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES.

There is the most intimate connexion between the criticism of these three Dynasties. They fully verify also the data of Manetho, as well as the fidelity with which Africanus has transmitted them, which is above suspicion. A casual remark, dropped by Eusebius without reflexion, is of the highest importance in elucidation of their historical and chronological connexion.

In the first place, no monument has yet been discovered of the short reign of Bocchoris, the Saite, a King of the 24th Dynasty. This is the less surprising when we consider his contest with the Ethiopians, in which he was defeated. All Greek writers characterise him as a wise and liberal-minded legislator, who was anxious to define by legal enactments the rights of the people, and they panegyrise him accordingly. Diodorus and Plutarch call him the son of Tnepacht. His father made a campaign with an Egyptian army in Arabia. We do not see exactly why Manetho's statement, that he was the chief of the line, should be doubted on this account. It might as well be questioned, on the same grounds, whether Pepin was the first King of his House. His cruel execution by the Ethiopians is also mentioned by Diodorus.

The Egyptian name was undoubtedly Pe-hôr. The second element of the word, as noticeable above in the case of the Pehor of the 21st Dynasty, in the Greek transcript was strongly aspirated.

But who was this Ethiopian? Manetho assigns to the 25th Dynasty three reigns, instead of the 50 years' reign of Sabacō alone:

Sabakôn—Sevechos—Taraka.

Rosellini and Wilkinson have supposed that two Scutcheons corresponded with the first two names, one of which they read Shabak, and the other Sciabatok or Sabakoph. Lepsius's criticism of the monuments precludes all doubt as to the second name being merely a wrong reading.

We have then one Shebek, and indeed the twelfth year of his reign. There can be no doubt, therefore, that he was the second of the three Ethiopians.

Manetho, again, cannot have called the first King by any other name than Shebek. There can be no doubt, too, that he alluded to the description given of him by Herodotus, which he could have had no difficulty in explaining. The Epitomists adopted the latter name, which was more classical and better known, in preference to the genuine Egyptian one, because it enabled them to make a distinction between him and his successor. As they introduced the name in the Greek accusative case, Manetho's original remark probably ran in something like the following manner:

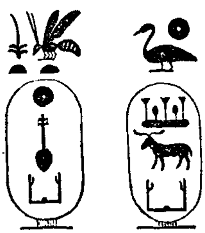
"Sevechos, he whom Herodotus calls Sabakō."

We have already repeatedly encountered similar instances of haste and negligence. There are monuments extant which record the 20th year of Tirhaka, the well-known ally of Hezekiah, among others some buildings in the great temple-palaces of Thebes.

The chronology, therefore, is easily restored as follows:

	Years.	
1. Sevech I. SHEBEK NEFRUKARRA - -	8	
2. Sevech II. SHEBEKRA...KAR. V., Hebr. Seve, Sô	14	XII.
3. Tarkos, THRK, i. e. Tirhaka - - - -	28	($\overline{\text{KH}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{IH}}$) XX.

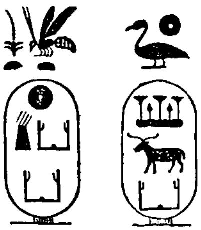
159



Su-kheb Ra-nefer kar.

Sa-en Ra Shabak I.

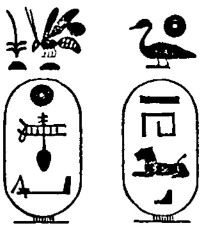
160



Su-kheb Ra-tet Karu.

Sa-en Ra Shabak II.

161



Su-kheb Ra shu Tum nefer.

Sa-en Ra Taharuka.

In this manner the phrase made use of by Herodotus, "the *fifty years of the Ethiopian*," would seem to be justified, though the expression is not quite accurate. *The Ethiopian* should be *the Ethiopian Dynasty;* and the mistake arose probably from his having recorded it on the authority of a *verbal* communication.

We need not, therefore, apply his remark, that Nechao, the father of Psammetichus, was put to death by "the Ethiopian," to Sabakō, which is contrary to the truth of history; nor reject the whole as fabulous, which would be contrary to all probability.

We are not to suppose, indeed, that he meant an Ethiopian King of this Dynasty at all; for, according to Manetho, there was a fourth Ethiopian reign after those three. Eusebius has transmitted this invaluable piece of information, by heading the List of the Psammetici—according to the MSS. at least—in a manner at variance with his own account of the genealogy of the 26th Dynasty and the number of their reigns, with

Ameris, the Ethiopian . . . 12 years (Arm. vers. 18.).

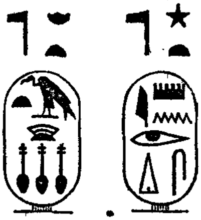
It is the same honest carelessness to which we are indebted for the account of the tyrant Othoes, at the head of the 6th Dynasty. We have no difficulty, therefore, in identifying him with the rival Ethiopian Sovereign, who kept up a long struggle with the founders of the New Egyptian Dynasty, and, seemingly, for a long time successfully.

The first three reigns are mentioned in Manetho as

1. Stephinates, 7 years; 2. Nechepsos, 6 years;
3. Nechao, 8 years.

As the Great Psammetichus succeeded the latter, he is doubtless the Nechao mentioned by Herodotus. His statement is not, indeed, quite correct, inasmuch as the reign of the rival did not last beyond his time, but ceased at least two years before his death. We detect, however, but one inaccuracy in the period, and that not a very striking one, anterior to the point where his own historical and connected knowledge begins (as he himself informs us) — it is merely the word execution instead of defeat and pursuit.

162



Hem neter Mut. sha neferu.

Tuaut neter Amen-artas.

There can be no doubt, therefore, of the reality of a *fourth* Ethiopian reign, of at least 12 years: and it must necessarily have existed, in order to reconcile the whole system of our chronology. But Lepsius has proved it also by the monuments. He has discovered a queen AMENARTAS, belonging to this epoch, who consequently ruled in the Thebaid at least, if not as far as Memphis, during that epoch. We are thus brought down to the first twelve or eighteen years of the Saite Kings of the 26th Dynasty — the period preceding the reign of the great Psammetichus. It is called by the Greek historians the time of the Dodecarchy. Herodotus does not specify its length. Diodorus makes it last fifteen years, and it was preceded by two years of Anarchy. According to Manetho, it comprised 7 + 6 + 8 years, in three reigns, consequently altogether 21 years, during the first 12 or 18 of which the Ethiopian rule was maintained in a portion of the country.

Before entering into a further comparison of the dates, we must remind our readers how very premature it would be to consider the statements of Manetho and those of the Greek writers as two separate versions, wholly contradictory, one or other of which must be considered untrue and fictitious. Manetho, like all framers of lists, could only represent the succession according to the years of reign which were admitted to be Dynastic. In Dynastic Lists there is neither Anarchy nor Dodecarchy. In a Monarchy like the Egyptian, any name whatever has a Dynastic right to be inserted into the chronological succession in any place which the historian describes as being without a reign, or as a divided sovereignty. Louis XVIII. first set his foot on French soil in the nineteenth year of his reign. Louis XVII. does not appear at all in French history — and yet the Dynastic computation is equally correct as the historical account, and *vice versâ*. This is the case in Manetho throughout. In his Lists the Dynastic right of the Ethiopians ceased in the reigns of the three Kings of the 25th Dynasty. Then came the first Kings of the succeeding, Saite, Dynasty. Manetho, however, did not omit to mention in his historical work, that Queen Amneris, the Ethiopian, reigned during the first twelve or eighteen years of that Dynasty. It is possible that twelve Princes or more may have exercised authority and maintained themselves in Lower Egypt, as well as they could, each of them probably being supported by one of the principal towns. For these there was no place in the Lists. The unanimous statements of the Greek writers, now extant, which are in the essential points clearly historical, prove indeed that this was really the case; unfortunately there are no works of the Alexandrian School remaining, which treat of this period. It is quite in character with the Epitomists to take no notice of it; it is merely an exception where such very irregular marginal notes, like those in Eusebius, find their way into the text. His greatest admirer even must admit, that his own canon proves him to have misunderstood these marginal notes, for he has actually admitted into the chronology Amneris with her twelve years in the Canon, and thus got into a dilemma which he does not attempt to disguise. The dilemma is this, that he makes the battle of Megiddo, in which Josiah was defeated by Nechao, to take place in the last year but one of Psammetichus. He certainly did his best to curtail the chronology, and in this instance conscientiously; for he must have found the number 44 mentioned in the life of Psammetichus as forming an epoch, and therefore adopted it — possibly as the term of his undivided sovereignty, after having reigned ten years with a co-regent. Otherwise it would have been just as easy for him to have deducted a few more years, in order to escape this undeniable proof of the incorrectness of his synchronistic calculations. So far was he from taking a critical view of the lists, supposing he understood them, that he did not perceive the absurdity of placing an Ethiopian King at the head of a Dynasty, which he himself recorded as composed of "Nine Saite Kings!" We are ready to admit, that he may not have found in the Lists the unfortunate Psammenitus, the last King, who was excluded in consequence of the interpolation of the name of the intruder; but how was it possible to lose sight of him, when Africanus had entered him because Manetho had done so, and when Herodotus had also mentioned him, and indeed with the same date, six months! All he looked to was the number, nine: he had nine Kings in the heading and nine in the list. We have seen that he did not always take care to avoid even such discrepancies.

II.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY: NINE SAITE KINGS.

AFTER these preliminary remarks, the explanation of the first part of the Dynasty will offer no difficulty.

The first three reigns, in twenty-one years, represent the struggle of the national kings against their Ethiopian conquerors, who put Bokkhoris the Saite to death, as well as the Dodecarchy, which maintained itself in Lower Egypt during this period. Herodotus does not profess to know how long it lasted, his authorities did not go back beyond Psammetichus. By comparing him with Africanus, however, we shall see what pains he took to find authorities, and with what good sense and good faith he quoted them. He and Africanus agree throughout, except in two instances. According to Africanus, that is, to Manetho, Uaphris-Apries only reigned 19 years, according to Herodotus 25; the latter number is doubtless chronologically incorrect, but as certainly was not given without a reason. This is the only discrepancy which has hitherto been inexplicable. The other, the case of Nechao II., to whom Herodotus assigns a reign of 16 years, and our present Lists only six, is merely an apparent discrepancy. The Jewish and Babylonian synchronisms would oblige us to alter the number 6 in the Lists to 16, even were the express statement of Herodotus not in existence.

Providence, however, has furnished us direct proof of the correctness of these traditions and synchronisms, in one of the most invaluable of Egyptian monuments. There is in the Egyptian museum at Florence a sepulchral Stele of a certain Psammetichus, discovered by Rosellini, and secured by him for his national gallery, which contains the following inscription:

1. "He was born in the 3d year, in the month Paōni (the tenth), on the first day, of King Nekō II.
2. "He lived 71 years, 4 months, 6 days.
3. "He died in the 35th year, in the month Paōpi (the second), on the 6th day of King Aahmes."

If we fill up the intervening reigns from Manetho, according to our restoration, we shall obtain the following chronological Table:

1. Psammetichus was born when Nechao II. had reigned 2 years, 9 months, and 1 day (reckoning the beginning of his reign, as the Egyptians did, from the first month of the year in which he ascended the throne).

	Yrs.	mon.	dys.
Accordingly, of the 16 years of his reign, supposing them to have been complete years, Psammetichus had still to live	13	3	0
2. Again, Psammetichus II., giving him 6 complete years	6	0	0
Uaphris, giving him 19 complete years	19	0	0
3. Lastly, Aahmes	34	1	6
Making a sum total of	72	4	6

that is, exactly one year too much. Now we do not believe either that the sepulchral Stele is wrong, or that Manetho has made a false statement. He, like all Egyptian annalists, registered the length of reigns to the very months and days, upon which calculation the Epitomists framed their Lists of years as accurately as they could. Supposing them then to have found this notice in Manetho,

Psammuthis	5	years,	6	months
Uaphris	18	„	6	

they might very properly reckon the complete years each time, that is 6 and 19, and yet the sum total would only give to the heir of Psammetichus 71 years, 4 months, and 6 days. It may be assumed as certain, judging even by the instances in the 18th and 19th Dynasties, that the Epitomists *on the whole*, gave the real sum of the Dynasty, because they omitted the same number of odd months in other reigns.

Wilkinson found the 44th year, that is, the last, of Amasis-Amōsis — other Egyptologers have only discovered the 35th.

Strange to say, numerous as are the monuments of

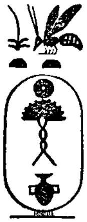
Psammetichus, the restorer of the empire — in every respect as remarkable a man as the great Sesostris of the Old Empire — no mention is made of any one year of his long reign. Lepsius, on his last examination of the treasures of the Turin Museum, has at length been enabled to fill up this perplexing hiatus from the dates of the Judicial Papers belonging to that collection, issued during his reign; they extend to his 45th year. Upon these data we offer a comparative restoration of the Dynasty in the following manner:

TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY.

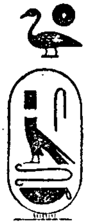
Nine Saite Kings, 160 Years.

Succession of Kings.	Manetho.	Monuments.	Highest year of the Monuments.	Jewish Synchronisms.	Babylonian Synchronisms.
I.	Nentephinates - - 7	AMENARTAS Æthiopian counter-Queen. According to Manetho for 12 or 18 yrs. (According to Diodorus, before Psammetichus 2 yrs. Anarchy, 15 Dodecarchy, altogether 17 years.)			
II.	Nechô - - - 6				
III.	Nechaô, father of Psammetichus - 8		XLV.		
IV.	Psammêtichos - - 54	PSAMTIK I. (Ra uah hat.)			
V.	Nechaô II. - - 16	NEKU	IV.	In the sixth yr. of his reign defeats King Josiah at Megiddo, and takes Jerusalem = 31st year of Josiah, B. C. - - 607	In the eighth yr. of his reign is defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, near Karchemish (Circesium), on the Chaboras = 21st year of Nabopalassar, B. C. 605
VI.	Psammûthis - - 6 (Psammetichos II.)	PSAMTIK (Ra-nefru-het.)	IV.		
VII.	Uaphres - - - 19	RA UAH HAT.	- - -	(Hophra of Scripture.)	
VIII.	Amôsis - - - 44	AAHMES	XLIV.		
IX.	Psammecheres *i. e.* Psammeticho-Cheres III. - - ½	PSAMTIK	-		
	161 years, 6 months, altogether.				

163

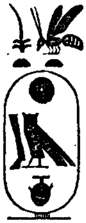


Su-kheb
Ra-uah hat.

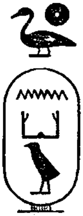


Sa-en Ra
Psametik I.

164

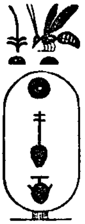


Su-kheb
Ra gam hat.

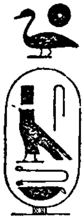


Sa-en Ra
Nekau II.

165

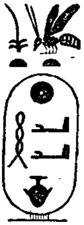


Su-kheb
Ra nefer hat.

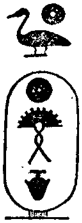


Sa-en Ra
Psametik II.

166

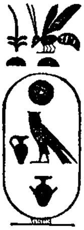


Su-kheb
Ra haa-hat.

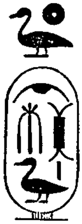


Sa-en Ra
Ra uah . hat.

167

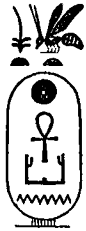


Su-kheb
Ra nem hat.

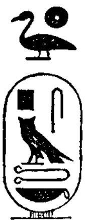


Sa-en Ra
Aahmes II.
Sa en Nit.

168



Su-kheb
Ra ankh kar en.



Sa-en Ra
Psametik III.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE

FROM THE TWENTY-SECOND DOWN TO THE TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY.

Egyptian Chronology.		Synchronisms.
Beginning of the 22nd Dynasty: 9 Kings, 150 years.		
1. Sheshonk-Sesak, 24 years	982—959	5th of Rehoboam. Jerusalem taken.
Sheshonk-Sesak, 21st year	962	Joel.
2. Osorkon-Serach, 15 years	958—944	Asa, 946—906, defeats Serach.
End of the 22nd Dynasty	833	
Beginning of the 23rd Dynasty: 4 Kings, 89 years	832	
End „ „	744	
The 24th Dynasty: Bocchoris, 6 years	743—738	
The 25th Dynasty: 3 Kings, 50 „	737—688	
Sevech I. (Sabakô) 8 „	737—729	Nahum.
Tirhaka 28 „	715—688	Jerusalem besieged by Sennacherib. The 14th year of Hezekiah = the 9th of Tirhaka=the third of Sennacherib=707.
Hastens to the relief of Jerusalem	707	
The 26th Dynasty: 160 years, 9 Kings	687—528	
Necho II., in his sixth year defeats Josiah	607	Josiah mortally wounded at Megiddo in the 31st year of his reign.
Hophra (Uaphris) fifth year	586	Jerusalem sacked = the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar, the 11th of Zedekiah.
Amasis, 34th year	538	Leave to return — first year of Cyrus, reigned 9 years. 527 = the third year of Cambyses.

THIRD SUBDIVISION.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE LAST FOUR DYNASTIES OF MANETHO: XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX.

FIFTH HISTORICAL EPOCH.

$120+6+21+38=185$ Years.

I.

SYNOPTICAL TABLE OF THE PYRAMIDS OF EGYPT.

Original Dimensions in Egyptian Cubits of [illegible] English Feet each, and their equivalent Lengths in English Feet.

EXTERIOR.								INTERIOR.										
Perpendicular Height.		Apothem or Slant Height.		Angle of Sides with Base.	Area of Base.		Inclined Entrance Passages.										Apartments.	Remarks.
							Situation of Mouth.	Perpendicular Height of Mouth above Base.		Total Length.		Height.		Width.		Inclination.		
Cubits.	Feet.	Cubits.	Feet.		Sq. Cubits.	Sq. Yards.		Cubits.	Feet.	Cubits.	Feet.	Cubits and Parts.	Feet.	Cubits.	Feet.			
-	-	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	Centre of north front, at base	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]partment below base	Ba[illegible] only remaining.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	In north front, 14 cubits east of centre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]rincipal apartments, and [illegible] of construction in superstructure, and 1 below base	Pr[illegible]ortion of height to base as 5 to 8.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Centre of north front	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]nte-room and 1 sepulchral chamber, both in rock.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	In north front, 3 cubits west of centre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]nte-room and 1 sepulchral chamber, both in rock	Py[illegible]mid ascribed by Herodotus to the daughter of Cheops.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	In north front, 3 cubits east of centre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]nte-room and 1 sepulchral chamber, both in rock.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Upper passage — in north front, 25½ cubits east of centre Lower passage — in rock in front of pyramid	[illegible] -	[illegible] -	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]epulchral apartment and 1 smaller ditto, both in rock.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Upper or original entrance — passage in rock Lower entrance — passage from centre of north front	- [illegible]	- [illegible]	- [illegible]	- [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] apartments in rock, below base	[illegible] original intention seems to [illegible] been to construct a smaller [illegible]amid; hence the necessity of [illegible]ing another entrance-passage, [illegible]ich was made from the interior.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Centre of north front	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] sepulchral apartment in rock.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	Entrance in rock in north front, 7 cubits west of centre	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ante-room and 1 sepulchral apartment, both in rock	Bo[illegible] these pyramids are built in [illegible]ps or degrees, having a platform at top 11 cubits square; [illegible], according to Diodorus, for the wives or daughters of Mycerinus.
[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	Entrance in rock in north front, 4 cubits west of centre	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ante-room and 1 inner apartment undivided, both in rock	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Un[illegible]pened.
-	-	-	-	Lower part [illegible] Upper part [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Di[illegible]o, built in two inclinations.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	In centre of north front	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]partments destroyed.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	In centre of north front	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]partments destroyed	He[illegible]ght to base as 5 to 8.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	In centre of north front	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]partments destroyed.	
-	-	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	Uncertain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[illegible] apartment in rock	Ba[illegible] only remaining.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Un[illegible]pened.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	In centre of north front, in rock	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]rincipal apartments and 2 smaller ditto, all in rock.	
[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	Base of each Story 73 30 0	[illegible]	[illegible]	In northern front, 22 cubits east of centre, at base	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] large apartment, 2 small ditto, and many recesses for sarcophagi, all in the rock below the base	Bu[illegible]t in steps or degrees, having a platform at top, originally measuring 50 cubits by 25. In addition to the inclined passage, there are three other entrances; viz. two on the northern and one on the southern side. This is the only pyramid not built to face the cardinal points, its north face being turned 4° 35′ east of true north.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Two small ruined pyramids.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Unopened.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ditto.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Apartments in rock	Di[illegible]o, supposed to be the pyramid of Asychis. Built of crude bricks, with an external casing of stone. Height to base as 5 to 8.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	In north front, 7½ cubits east of centre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] apartments in superstructure	
[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Two entrances, one in centre of north front The other from the west front, 26 cubits south of centre	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] apartments in superstructure and 1 below base	Bu[illegible]t in two inclinations. The original intention seems to have been to construct a pyramid of [illegible] cubits base and [illegible] high; but this plan was changed at the height of [illegible] cubits, and the edifice completed at a flatter angle.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Un[illegible]pened.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Un[illegible]pened. Built of crude brick, having had an external casing of stone.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Un[illegible]pened.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Di[illegible]o.
-	-	-	-	Face of each Story 74 10 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Un[illegible]pened. Built in steps or degrees.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Un[illegible]pened. Built of crude brick and stone, on a knoll of rock.
-	-	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Py[illegible]amid of Illahoon. Unopened. Built of crude brick, having had an external casing of stone.
-	-	-	-	63 30 0	Each [illegible]	Each [illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Sup[illegible]osed to be the pyramids mentioned by Herodotus, ii. 149.
-	-	-	-	-	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Bu[illegible] in degrees or steps.

To face p. 424.

SYNOPTICAL TABLE OF THE PYRAMIDS OF EGYPT.

			EXTERIOR. Present Dimensions. In English Feet and Decimals.			EXTERIOR. Original Dimensions in Egyptian Cubits of 1·714 English Feet each, and their equivalent Lengths in English Feet.* Each Side of Base.		Perpendicular Height.		Apothem or Slant Height.		Angle of Sides with Base.	Area of Base.		Inclined Entrance Passages.			INTERIOR. Total Length.		Height ‡		Width.		Inclination.
No.	Names.	Latitude N.	Each Side of Base.	Perpendicular Height.	Area of Base in Sq. Yards.	Cubits.	Feet.	Cubits.	Feet.	Cubits.	Feet.		By Cubits.	By Yards.	Situation of Mouth.	Perpendicular Height of Mouth above Base. Cubits.	Feet.	Cubits.	Feet.	Cubits and Digits.	Feet.	Cubits.	Feet.	
1	Aboo Roash	30° [illegible] 30″	320·0	-	11377·77	200	342·8	-	-	-	-	-	40000	13041·61	Centre of north front, at base	-	-	100·0	171·4	-	-	-	-	22° 35′ 0″
2	Great Pyramid of Gizeh	29 58 51	746·0	450·75	61835·11	448	767·424	280·0	479·640	358·575	614·222	51° 50′ 35″	200704	65417·72	In north front, 14 cubits east of centre	30·0	51·39	200·0	342·8	2 2	3·915	2·0	3·426	26 33 54
3	North Pyramid east of ditto	29 58 14	135·0	45·0	1730·11	100	171·4	65·5	111·696	81·610	139·798	52 34 2	10000	3260·41	Centre of north front	6·0	10·278	42·0	71·988	2 2	3·915	2·0	3·426	33 31 0
4	Middle ditto ditto	29 58 12	122·5	55·0	1720·03	100	171·4	65·0	111·480	81·610	139·798	52 15 2	10000	3260·41	In north front, 4 cubits west of centre	4·0	6·852	30·0	51·39	2 2	3·915	2·0	3·426	34 5 0
5	South ditto	29 58 10	120·0	61·0	1600·0	93	159·309	60·0	102·78	73·909	126·053	52 15 27	8649	2819·98	In north front, 3 cubits east of centre	1·5	2·560	21·0	43·103	2 2	3·915	2·0	3·426	29 0 0
6	Second Pyramid of Gizeh	29 58 4	690·75	447·5	53015·06	412	706·707	267·5	457·271	337·292	577·937	52 21 38	169744	55330·55	Upper passage — in north front, 25½ cubits east of centre Lower passage — in rock in front of pyramid	24·0 -	41·112 -	70·0 58·5	119·91 100·2	2 2 2 2	3·915 3·915	2·0 2·0	3·426 3·426	25 55 0 22 15 0
7	Third Pyramid of Gizeh	29 [illegible] 51	333·879	203·0	12385·97	206	352·078	128·0	219·268	166·555	285·236	51 10 36	42436	13835·84	Upper or original entrance — passage in rock Lower entrance — passage from centre of north front	- 7·5	- 12·847	- 61·0	- 104·488	2 2 2 2	3·915 3·915	2·0 2·0	3·426 3·426	27 34 0 26 2 0
8	East Pyramid south of ditto	29 [illegible] 50	126·0	63·35	2110·0	84	143·982	54·5	93·538	68·606	117·604	52 25 7	7056	2300·24	Centre of north front	2·2	3·915	36·0	61·668	2 2	3·915	2·0	3·426	27 12 0
9	Middle ditto ditto	29 [illegible] 50	102·78	69·0	1173·74	60	102·78	[illegible]	69·22	-	-	-	3600	1173·74	Entrance in rock in north front, 7 cubits west of centre	-	-	16·0	27·408	2 0	3·426	1·6	2·202	27 0 0
10	West ditto ditto	29 58 50	102·78	64·0	1173·74	60	102·78	40·0 at least	69·02	-	-	-	3600	1173·74	Entrance in rock in north front, 4 cubits west of centre	-	-	28·0	47·984	2 2	3·915	2·0	3·426	30 0 0
11	Zowyet el Arrian	29 56 31	300·0	41·0	10000·0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	Reegah	29 54 50	123·336	49·3	1690·19	72	123·330	-	-	-	-	Lower Part 75° 20′ Upper, [illegible]	5184	1690·19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	North Pyramid of Abooseer	29 54 21	216·0	118·0	5184·0	150	256·95	95·0	162·784	121·027	207·436	51 42 35	22500	7335·90	In centre of north front	-	-	8·0	13·704	2 3	4·139	2·2	3·915	27 5 0
14	Middle ditto	29 54 32	214·0	107·0	5041·0	160	274·08	100·0	171·3	128·062	219·271	51 20 25	25600	8346·63	In centre of north front	10·0	17·13	30·0	51·39	2 3	4·139	2·2	3·915	24 41 0
15	Great ditto	29 54 31	325·0	165·0	11736·11	210	359·73	133·0	227·929	169·452	290·271	51 42 35	44100	14378·44	In centre of north front	16·0	27·408	34·0	58·249	2 3	4·139	2·2	3·915	26 3 0
16	Small ditto	29 54 21	54·5	20·0	330·03	44	75·272	-	-	-	-	-	1936	631·21	Uncertain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	Sakkarah Pyramids, No. 1	29 53 8	210·0	59·0	4900·0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	Ditto No. 2	29 53 2	210·0	108·0	4900·0	135	231·390	85·5	146·471	108·555	186·069	52 22 42	18225	5942·10	In centre of north front, in rock	-	-	46·0	78·798	2 3	4·139	2·2	3·915	26 51 0
19	Ditto No. 3	29 52 50	E. & W. 350 N. & S. 348	190·0	13553·55	E. & W. 230 N. & S. 205	393·00 351·163	[illegible]	200·421	-	-	Part of each Stage 73 30 0	47150	15372·80	In northern front, 53 cubits east of centre, at base	-	-	105·0	179·429	-	-	2·0	3·426	23 20 0
20	[illegible]	[illegible]	120·0	28·0	1600·0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	Ditto ditto	-	120·0	28·0	1600·0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	Sakkarah Pyramids, No. 4	29 52 46	220·0	62·0	5377·78	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	Ditto No. 5	29 51 56	280·0	40·0	8961·44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	Ditto No. 6	29 51 44	270·0	80·0	8100·0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	Ditto No. 7	29 51 47	140·0	27·0	2177·78	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	Ditto No. 8	29 51 43	240·0	87·0	6400·0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	Ditto No. 9	29 51 2	285·0	72·0	9069·44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	Nth. Brick Pyr. of Dashoor	29 49 40	300·0	90·0	10000·0	200	342·80	125·0	214·125	160·079	274·314	51 20 25	40000	13041·60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	North Stone ditto	29 48 8	700·0	326·5	54444·44	420	719·88	200·0	342·8	290·0	496·77	43 36 11	176400	57512·64	In north front, 7½ cubits east of centre	56·0	95·929	120·0	205·68	2 2	3·915	2·0	3·426	27 56 0
30	South ditto ditto	29 48 4	615·0	319·5	42025·0	360 Part of upper Portion 236	616·08 404·258	[illegible]	[illegible]	-	-	54 14 46 42 59 26	129600	42253·0	Two entrances, one in centre of north front The other from the west front, 26 cubits south of centre	20·0 47·0	34·28 80·642	130·0 130·0	222·65 222·69	2 0 2 0	3·426 3·426	2·0 2·0	3·426 3·426	26 10 0 26 36 0
31	Small ditto ditto	29 47 59	120·0	68·0	2300·0	100	171·4	60·0	102·78	79·168	135·780	50 11 41	10000	3260·41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
32	South Brick ditto	29 46 17	300·0	156·0	10000·0	200	342·6	156·0	267·328	182·30	312·421	57 20 2	40000	13041·60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
33	North Pyramid of Lisht	29 [illegible] 58	360·0	80·66	14400·0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
34	South ditto	29 27 21	450·0	69·5	22500·0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
35	Pyramid of Meydoon	[illegible] 20	[illegible]	224·5	52211·11	-	-	-	-	-	-	Part of each Stage 74 10 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	Pyramid of Illahoon	[illegible] 55 50	560·0	130·0	34844·44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
37	Pyramid of Howara	[illegible] 19 5	300·0	106·0	10000·0	224	383·73	-	-	-	-	-	50176	16359·44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	Pyramids of Biahmu	[illegible] 22 30	Only a few stones remaining.			Each 79	119·91	-	-	-	-	63 30 0	Each [illegible]	Each [illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	[illegible] called "El Kolla"	[illegible] 10 0	59·0	26·5	386·67	35	59·995	-	-	-	-	-	1225	399·40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

THIRD SUBDIVISION.

THE SUCCESSION OF THE LAST FOUR DYNASTIES OF MANETHO:

XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX.

THE last four Dynasties of Manetho are merely a series of Persian Kings, interrupted by the revolts of the Egyptians, from the third year of Cambyses down to the twentieth of Ochus. It being impossible in a chronological investigation to pass them by altogether, it is fortunate that we are enabled to test their accuracy by the astronomical Canon of Ptolemy. The result of this analysis (made of course from the text of Africanus) is very satisfactory—the agreement, indeed, is so striking, that we shall at once collate the lists and monuments with the Canon and the Greek writers in one Table.

The synchronistic Tables in Eusebius and Syncellus, and all those which have been formed after them down to our own times, from the year preceding the Macedonian Conquest, in the Egyptian series at least, proceed in a very irregular manner, namely, by arbitrary alterations and distortions of the traditional dates. The complete synchronistic Tables, on the contrary, in our concluding volume will show more clearly than can be done here, that by following Africanus and the monuments, and by adhering strictly to the Canon of Ptolemy, we have no difficulty in tracing the succession of the dynasties down to the epoch of the conquest of Egypt by Alexander.

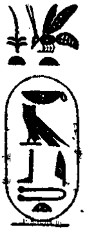
Number of the Kings.	MANETHO.			
	AFRICANUS.	In SYNCELLUS.	EUSEBIUS in the Armenian Version.	In the Canon.
	The XXVIIth Dynasty. Persians.			
	Eight Kings.	Eight Kings.	Eight Kings.	
I.	Cambyses rules over Egypt from the third (Γ instead of E) year of his reign 6	1. Cambyses was King of Egypt in the fifth year of his reign - - 3	1. Cambyses was Sovereign of Egypt in the 5th year of his being King, 3 years.	Written after the 6th year of Cambyses. Cambyses was Lord of Egypt in the 6th year of his being King (some 5, some 7) altogether 8 yrs. } therefore $\frac{2}{4}$ Up to Darius, Son of Xerxes - - 111 years.
II.	Darius, son of Hystaspis 36	2. The Magi - - 7 3. Darius - - - 36	2. &c., &c., just as in Syncellus.	2 Brothers, Magi, 7 m. (Ol. 65, 1) reckoned 1 yr. Darius - - - 36 (first year double, on account of the Magi, (Ol. 65, 1 and 2) 22 years. Egypt revolts.
III.	Xerxes the Great - 21	4. Xerxes, the Son of Darius - - - 21		Xerxes - - - 21 1 year. Egypt subjected.
IV.	Artabanos - - - 7 m			Artabanus - - - 7 m. are not reckoned.
V.	Artaxerxes (I.) - - 41	5. Artaxerxes Longimanus - - - 40		Artaxerxes Longimanus 40
VI.	Xerxes II. - - 2 m.	6. Xerxes II. - - 2 m.		Xerxes II. - - 2 m.
VII.	Sogdianos - - 7 m.	7 Sogdianus - - 7 m.		Sogdianus - - 7 m.
VIII.	Darius, the Son (II.) of Xerxes - - - 19	8. Darius, Son (II.) of Xerxes - - - 19		(both are reckoned in the 19 years of Darius II.). Darius Nothus - - 19 $\frac{12}{13}$th= Amyrtæus, King, 7 yrs.
	124 yrs. 4 m. That is =chronol. 123 years, as IV. VI. VII. are already reckoned in III. V. VIII.	" 120, 4 "	" 120, 4 "	without Cambyses 117, „ Cambyses 3, 4 120, 121 Camb. 7=1493 Abr. } 111 D. 11, 12=1604 „ }
	The XXVIIIth Dynasty. Saite.			
I.	Amyrteus - - - 6	Amyrtaios - - - 6	Amyrtæus - 6	Nectanebus reigned from the 13th to the 19th year of Darius Nothus, consequently has no place in the chronology if the 19 are reckoned to the other.
	The XXIXth Dynasty. Mendesian Kings - 4			
	4 Kings.	4 Kings.	4 Kings.	
I.	Nepherites - - - 6	1. Nepherites - - 6	Nepherites - 6	Nepherites - - 6
II.	Achoris - - - 13	2. Achoris - - 13	Achoris. - 13	Achoris - - 12
III.	Psammuthis - - 1	3. Psammuthis - - 1	3. Psammuthes 1 4. Muthes - 1	Psammuthis - - 1
IV.	Nephorites - - - 4 m.	4. Nepherites - - 4 m. 5. Muthis - - 1 year	5. Nepherites [4 m.	Nepherites 4 m. (included), consequently altogether 19 years in the chronology.
	altogether 20 years 4 m.	altogether 21 years 4 m.	altogether 21 years 4 m.	" altogether 19 years."

The Monuments.		The Restorers of the Lists.		Synchronisms.
Monumental Names.	Highest Year.	ROSELLINI.	WILKINSON.	The Canon of Ptolemy and the Greeks.
				Cambyses 8 years. (Consequently for Egypt from the 3—8, 6 years.) According to Herodotus, he reigned 7 yrs. 5 m., add to these the 6 m. of the last King of Egypt - - - 6 7 years 11 m.
KEMBATH	VI.	Kamboth 3 years - 525	Canbosh - - 525 = 4th year of his reign.	Cambyses - - 6 (See above.)
NTERIUSH	XXXVI	The Magi - 7 m. 522 Ntariuse 36 years 522	Ndariosh - - 521 Revolt in Egypt.	Darius I. - - 36
CHESHE-ARSHA	(XVI.) XII.	Chscearscia (Chocirse) 21 years 485	Khsheersh - - 485 Conquest of Egypt 484	Xerxes - - - 21
ART-CHESH-SESH	XVI.	Artchscesse 40 years 464	Artksheshes, Inarus and Amyrtæus - 472 Kings of Egypt - 463 Inarus crucified. Amyræus flies.	Artaxerxes 4. - - 41
		Xerxes II. - 2 m. 424 Sogdianus - 7 m.	Xerxes II. - 2 m. } 425 Sogdianus - 7 m. }	
NTERIUSH (Meri-amn-ra)		Darius Nothus 19 yrs. 405	Darius Nothus 19 yrs. 424	Darius II. - - 19
		"altogether 120, 4"		123
MERI-TET NAKHT her-em-hebi.		Mihôrt, Amihort 6 yrs. 404	Aomahorte (?) - - 414 recalled by the Egyptians.	Artaxerxes II. Memnon 46 yrs. - 46 =Artax. - - 6
NEPHERITES HAKOR.		Nophrôpth 6 yrs. 398 Hakôr, Hakori 13 „ 392 Psimut 1 yr. 379	Nefarrot - - - 408 Hakori - - - 402 Pse-Maut - - - 389 (Psammûtis).	=Artax. 7 yrs. =Artax. 13 „ =Artax. 26 „
		Naifnui - - 4 m. 379 Muthis - - 1 yr. 378	Nepherrotes - } 388 Mûthis - - }	=Artax. 27 „
		"together 21 yrs. 4 m."		

Number of the Kings.	MANETHO.			
	Africanus.	**In Syncellus.**	**Eusebius** in the Armenian Version.	In the Canon.
	The XXXth Dynasty.—Sebennyte Kings, 3.			
I.	Nectanebés (I.) - 18	1. Nectanebes - - 10	Nectanebes - 10	Nectanebus - - 18
II.	Teos - - - - 2	2. Teôs - - - 2	Teos - - 2	Teos - - - - 2
III.	Nectanebus II. - - 18	3: Nectanebus - - 8	Nectanebus. VIII.	Nectanebus - - 19 After these years Nectanebus flies into Ethiopia and Ochus reigns in Egypt.
	"altogether 38 years."	"altogether . 20 years."	"altogether 20 y."	"altogether 39 years."
	Pseudo-Man. XXXIst Dynasty. 3 Kings.			
I.	*Ochus* - - - - 2	Ochus - - - - 6	The same.	Ochus 20—26 - - 7
II.	Arges (Arses) - 3 read 2	Arges (instead of Arses)		Arses - - - - 3
		Son - - - - 4		
III.	Darius - - - - 4	Darius - - - - 6		Darius - - - 6
	"Γ" (read H) - 8	16		16

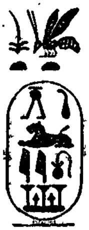
Twenty-seventh Dynasty. Persians.

169



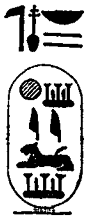
Su-kheb
Kambat.t.
[Cambyses].

170



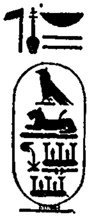
Su-kheb
Hantariusha
[Darius].

171



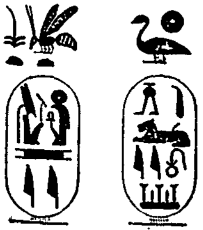
Neter nefer neb ta.
Khshirsha
[Xerxes].

172



Neter nefer neb ta.
Artakhashassha
[Artaxerxes].

173

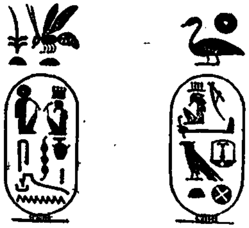


Su-kheb
Meri Amen
Ra.

Sa-en Ra
Hantariusha
[Darius II.]

Twenty-eighth Dynasty. Saite.

174



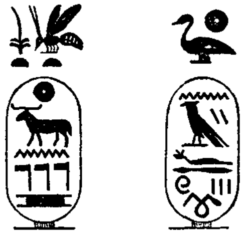
Su-kheb
Ra smen-hat-
satp en Han[pe].

Sa-en Ra
Nekht her heb
Meri[en] Han[pe].

The Monuments.		The Restorers of the Lists.		Synchronisms.
Monumental Names.	Highest Year.	ROSELLINI.	WILKINSON.	The Canon of Ptolemy and the Greeks.
NEKHT-NEB.F		Nehsctefneb 18 yrs. 377	Nakhtnebo - - 387	=Artax. 28 yrs. 45
		Teos (Tachos) 2 yrs. 379	Teos (Tachos) - - 369 Agesilaus and the Egyptians defeat the Persians 362. Tachos deposed by Agesilaus 362	=Artax. 46 „ Ochus I. 21 „
		Nectanebes II. 18 yrs. 357	Ochus succeeds Artaxerxes - - - 360 Nectanebo is defeated and flies - - - 340	=Ochus - - 2 „ 19 Ochus 19 =Ol. 110. 1.
		"together - 38 years."		
		Ochus - 2 yrs. 339 Arses - 3 (?) 337	Ochus in 20th year - 340 Arses - - - - 338	Ochus 20. 21 - 2 Aragus - - - 2
		Darius - 3 (?) 322	Darius Codom. : 336 332	Darius - - - 4
		altogether 8 years. (?)		8
		Alexander 324.	(Alex. Lord of Egypt 332+323).	
		Ptol. Phil. 284.	(Ptol. Phil. 284).	

Twenty-ninth Dynasty. Mendesian.

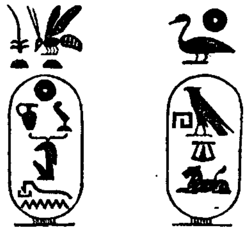
175



Su-kheb
Ra en Ra Meri neteru.

Sa-en Ra
Naifaurut.

176

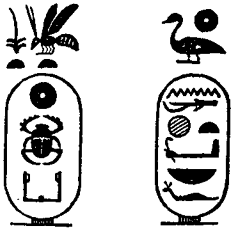


Su-kheb.
Ra num Ma satp ñ Num.

Sa-en Ra
Hakar.

Thirtieth Dynasty. Sebennytic.

177



Su-kheb
Ra kheper kar.

Sa-en Ra
Nekhtneb u.

CONCLUSION.

Thus, by carrying out our own system in the treatment of the Lists, and by comparing the names and dates with the monuments, we have reached our goal at last, without doubt or difficulty, toilsome as our path might be at the outset. Manetho's Chronology of the New Empire has been restored, and, we may venture to hope, has everywhere been most conclusively verified by contemporaneous monuments. All that remains to be done is the far more agreeable task of giving an historical exposition of the Reigns and Dynasties so adjusted, a task reserved for the subsequent volume.

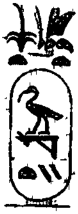
SERIES OF ROYAL SCUTCHEONS.

THE following Series of Royal Scutcheons are those which have been employed in the body of the work, but which in the German edition were given in Plates at the end. In order to facilitate reference, the whole series has been arranged here in their supposed chronological order.

THE OLD EMPIRE.

DYNASTIES I.—XII.

GODS.



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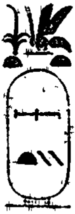
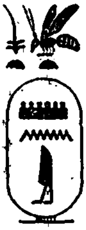
THOTH.



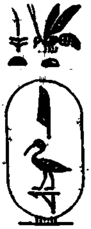
Gaga.
HEMITHEI.

FIRST DYNASTY.

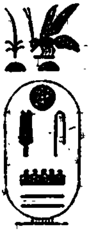
THINITE.



Meni.
MENES.



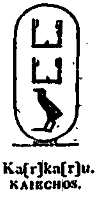
Atet.
ATHOTHIS.



Rasmenteti hem
SEMEMPES.

SECOND DYNASTY.

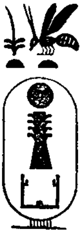
THINITE.



Ka[r]ka[r]u.
KAIECHOS.

THIRD DYNASTY.

MEMPHITE.



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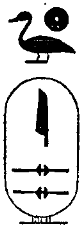
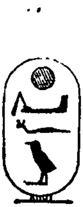


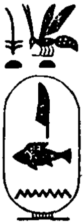
Assa.

ASSES TOICHROS.



Khufu.

ANOYPHIS.



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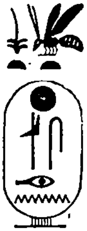

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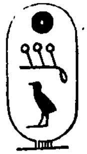
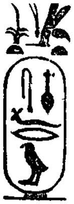


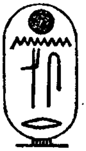
Sahu ra.

SIRIOS.



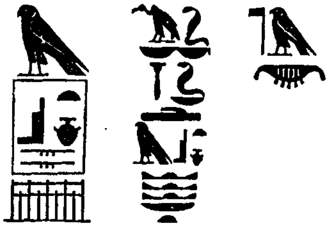
Senefru.

CHNUBOS-GNEVROS.



Ra en seser.

RASOSIS.



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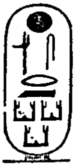

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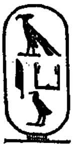
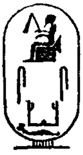


Aakaru.

ACHES.



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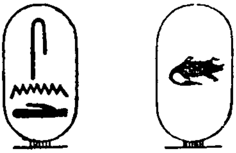

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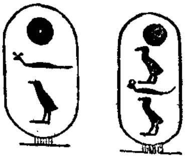
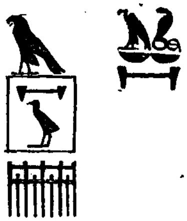
FOURTH DYNASTY.

MEMPHITE.



Khufu.

CHEOPS.



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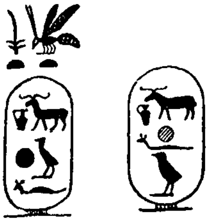

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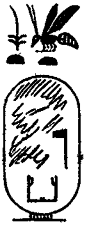

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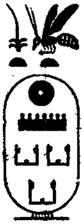

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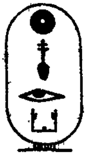
MENCHERES.



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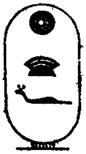

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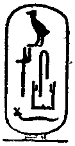
CHABRYES.
CHEPHREN.

FIFTH DYNASTY.

ELEPHANTINE.



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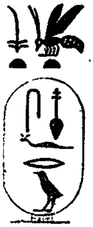
UCHOREUS.



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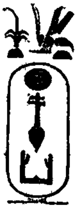

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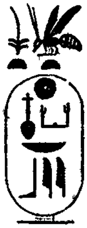

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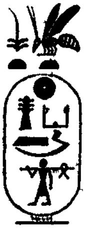
Nebi.



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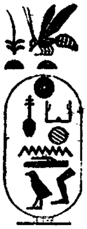
Ma.



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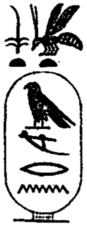
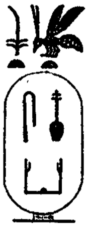
Khentu.

NEPHERCHERES.



Har-mer en.



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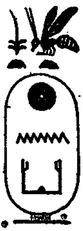

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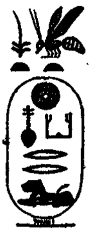

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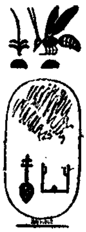
Rer.



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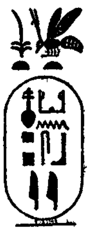

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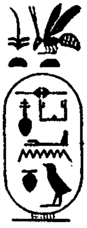
Pepisnab.



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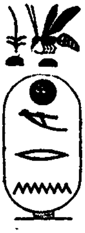
Annu.



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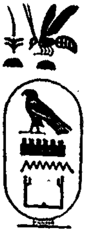
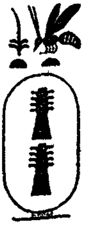
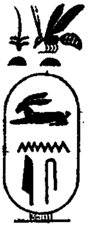


Har men kar.
MENCHERES.



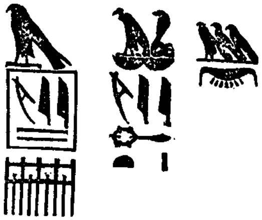
Tetu.
TATCHERES.



Unas.
ONNOS.

SIXTH DYNASTY.

MEMPHITE.



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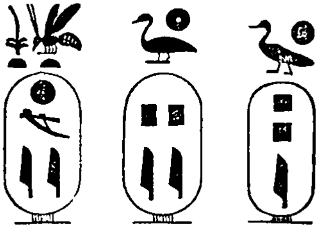

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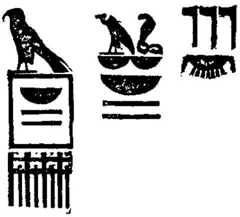

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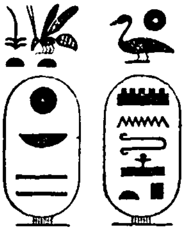

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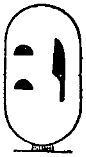

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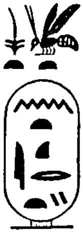


Nitakar.
NITOCRIS

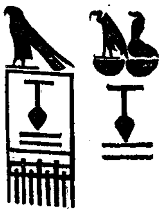
SEVENTH DYNASTY.

MEMPHITE.

. . . .

EIGHTH DYNASTY.

MEMPHITE.



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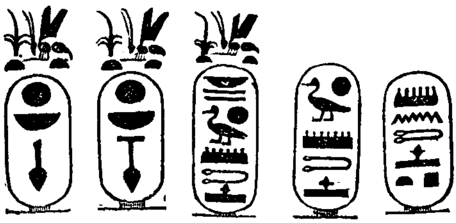


(. . . . . Mentuhept. . . . . .)
MENTESUPHIS.

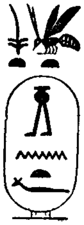
NINTH AND TENTH DYNASTIES.

HERACLEOPOLITAN.

. . . .

ELEVENTH DYNASTY.

DIOSPOLITAN.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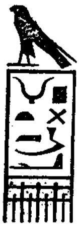
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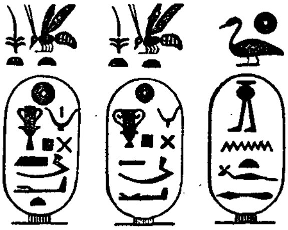
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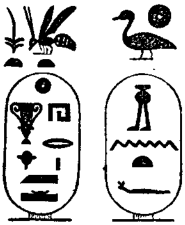
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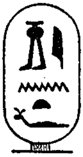
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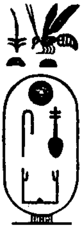
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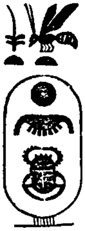
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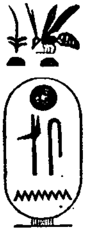
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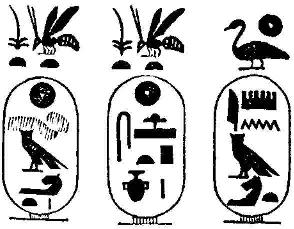
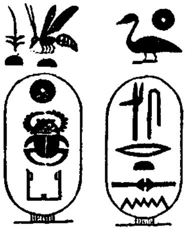
TWELFTH DYNASTY.

DIOSPOLITAN.


(. . Amenemha I. . .)
AMMENEMES.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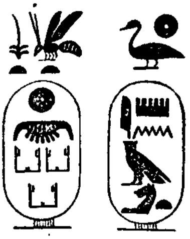
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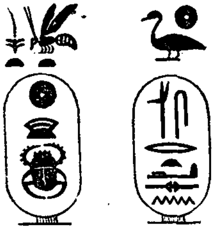

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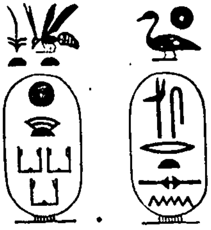

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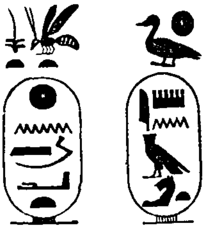
SESOSTRIS.



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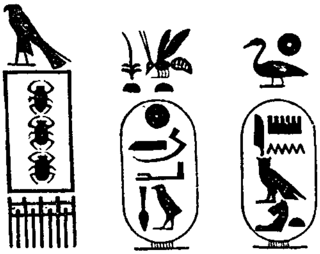
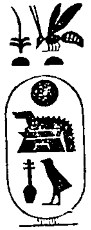


(. Amenemha IV. .)



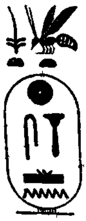
Sebeknefru.
SKEMIOPHRIS.

THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.

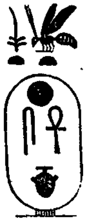
DYNASTIES XIII.—XVII.

THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH DYNASTIES.

Scutcheons from the Lists of Karnak, with Monumental Names.



Shet en ra.



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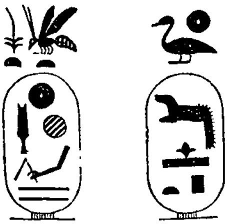

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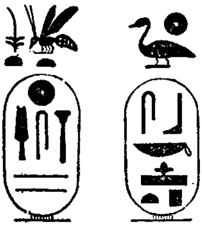

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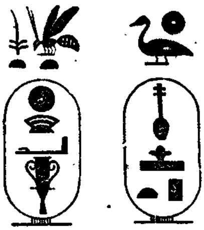

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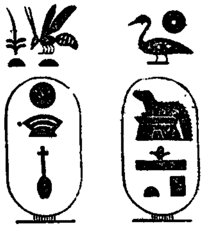

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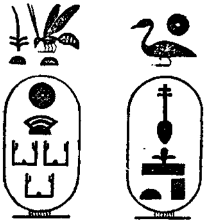

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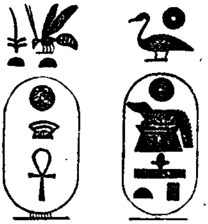
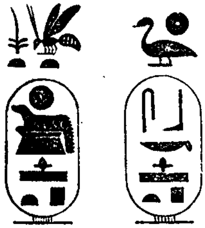
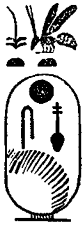


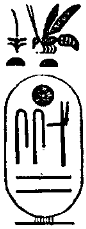
Sebekhept IV.



Sebekhept V.



Ra s.nefru



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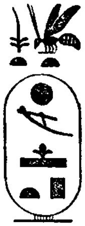
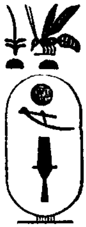
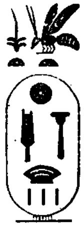


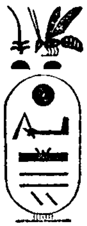
Ra meri karu.



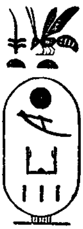
Ra meri kherp



Ra khet sha-u.



Ra khu teti.



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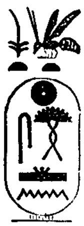
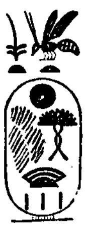
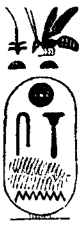


S-uah-en ra.



Ra s-suah sha-u.
[kherp.]



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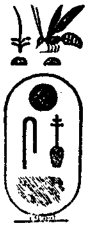
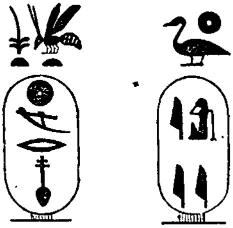
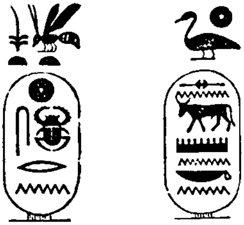


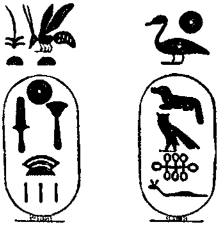
Ra s-nefru-
. . .

Single Kings from contemporary Monuments.

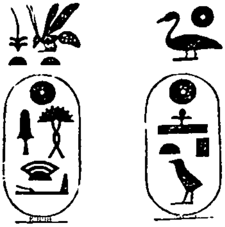




Senkemen.ken (?).

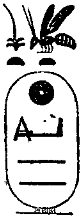


Sebek em saf.

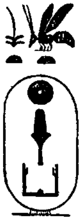


Ra heptu.

Turin Papyrus.



Ra khu te-ti.



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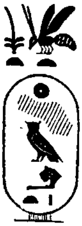
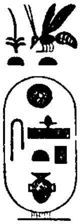
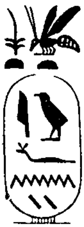


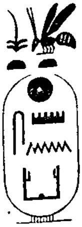
Ra Amenemha.



Ra s-hept hec.



Aufni.



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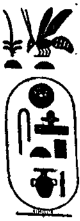

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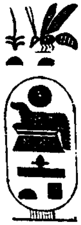

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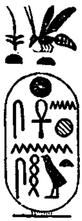
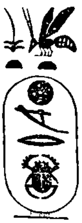


Ra s.ankh-en-Sehtu.



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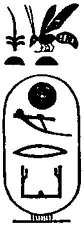

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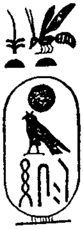
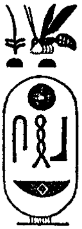
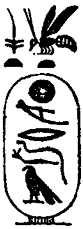
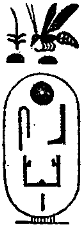


Ra nahsi.


Ra s.'heb.


Ra mer tef-u.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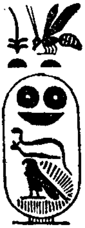
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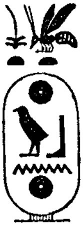
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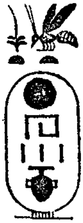
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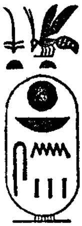
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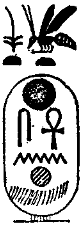
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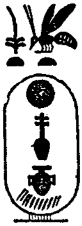
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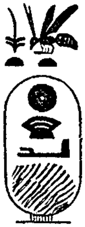
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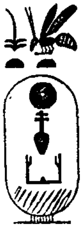
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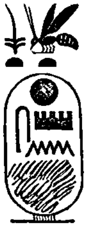

Ra s.men . .

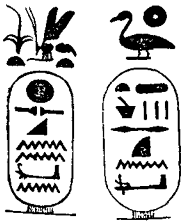
FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH DYNASTIES.

HYKSOS.

. . .   .

SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY.

THEBAN.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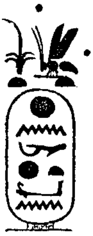
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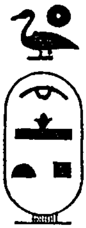
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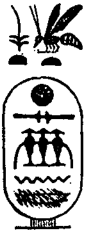
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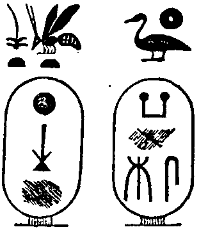
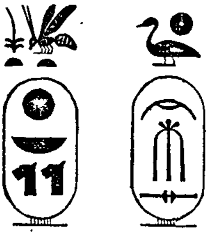

Kames.

THE NEW EMPIRE.

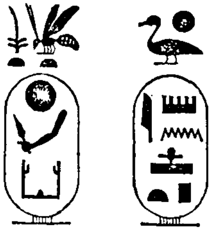
DYNASTIES XVIII.—XXVI.

EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

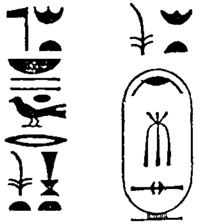
DIOSPOLITE.



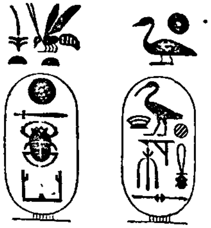
Aahmes I.
AMOSIS.



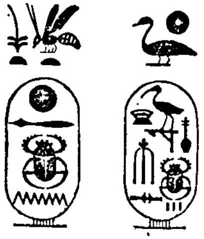
Amenhept I.
AMENOPHIS.



Aahmes.

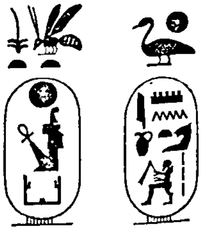


Tetmes I.

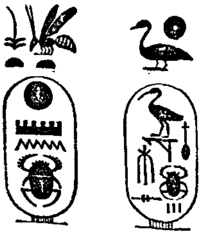


Tetmes II.

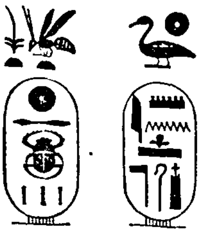
(. . UTHMOSIS. . .)



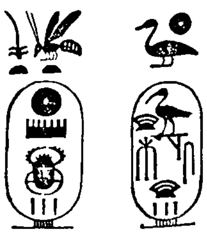
Ha.t-asu.



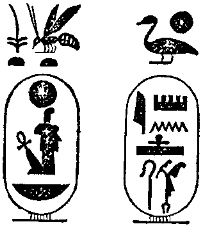
Tetmes III.
TUTHMOSIS.



Amenhept II.
AMENOPHIS.



Tetmes IV.
TUTHMOSIS.



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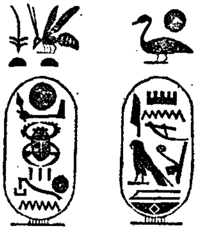
AMENOPHIS.



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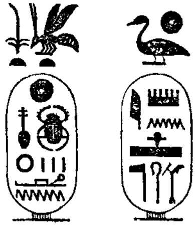

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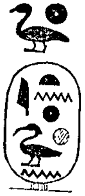

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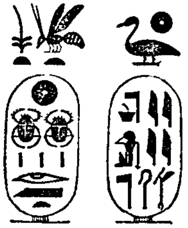

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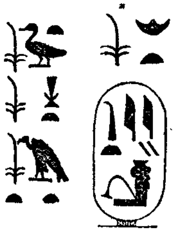

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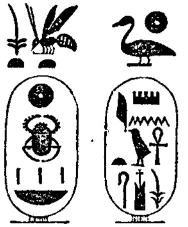

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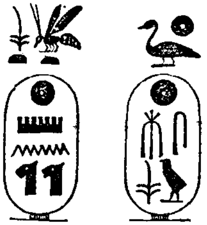

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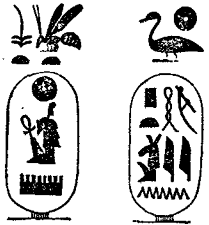

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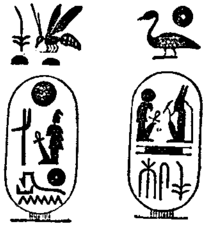

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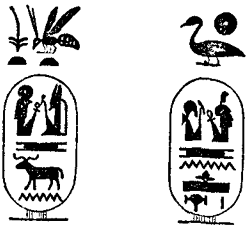

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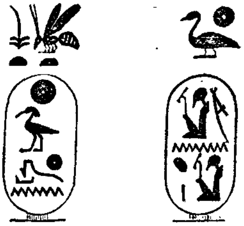

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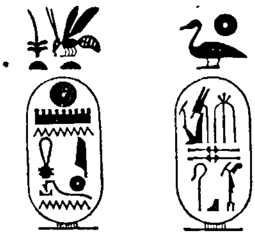

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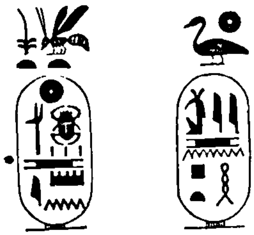

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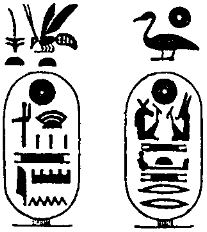

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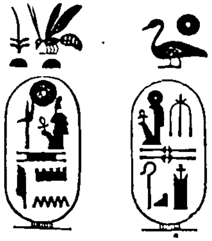

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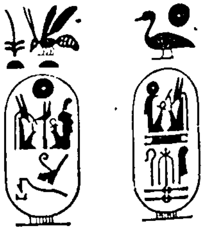

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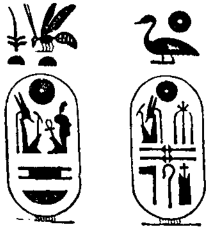

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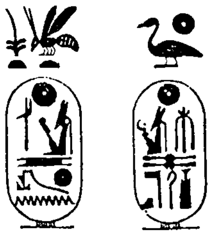

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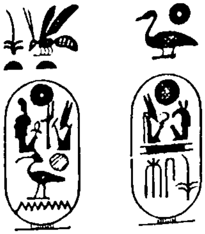

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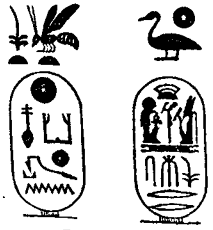

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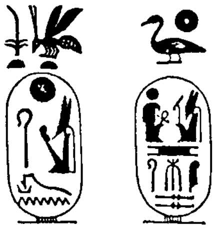

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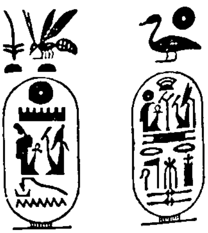

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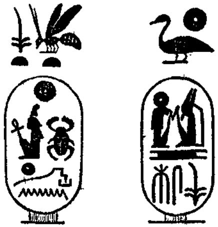

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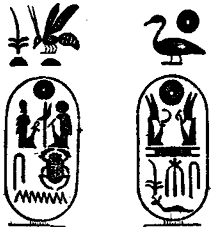

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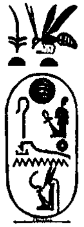

Rameses XIII.

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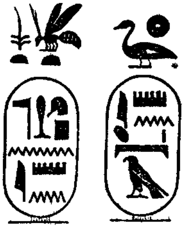

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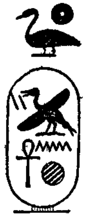

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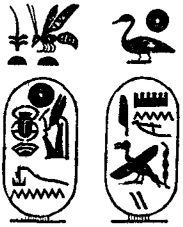

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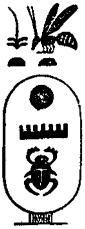

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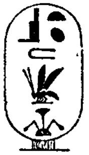

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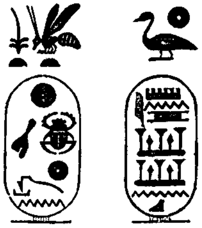

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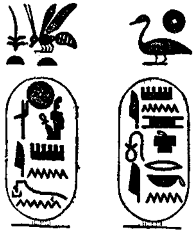

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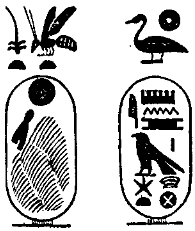

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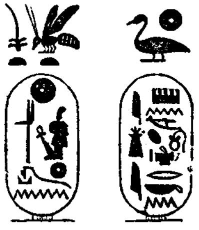

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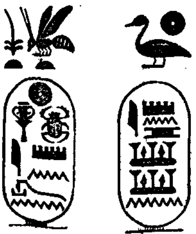

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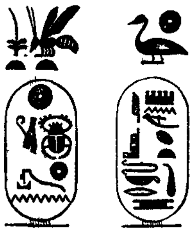

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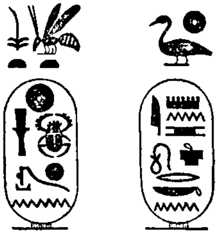

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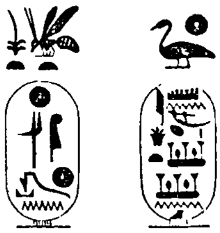

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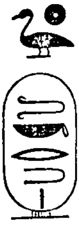

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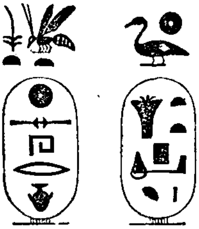

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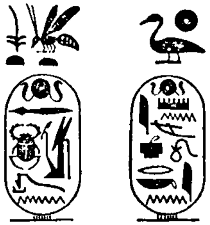

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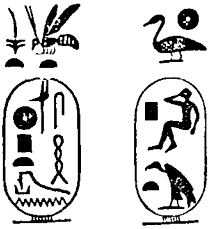

Psumu.t.
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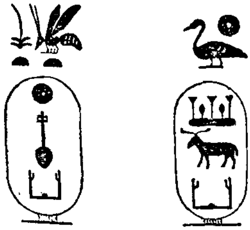
SAITE.

. . . .

BOCCHORIS.

TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY.

ETHIOPIAN.



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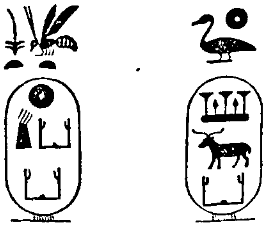

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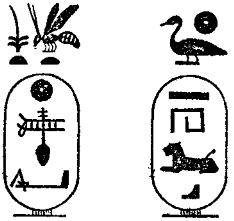

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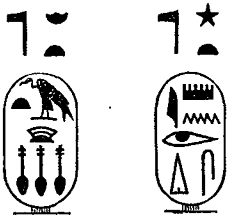

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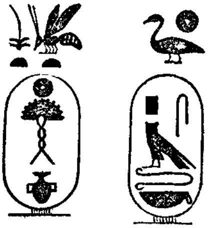

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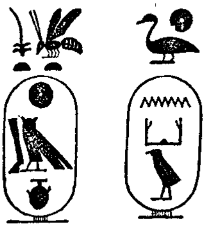

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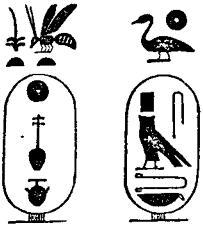

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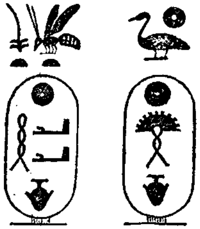

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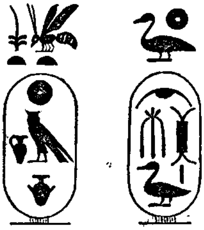

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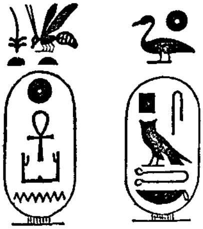

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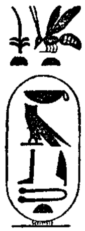

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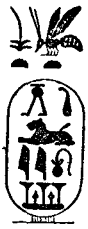

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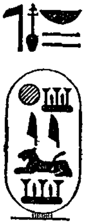

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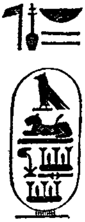

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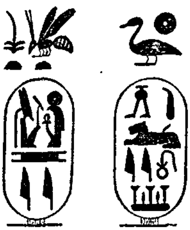

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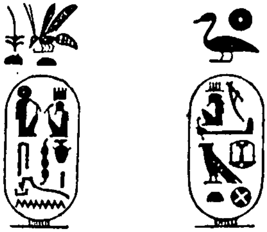
TWENTY-EIGHTH DYNASTY.

SAITE.



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AMYRTÆUS.

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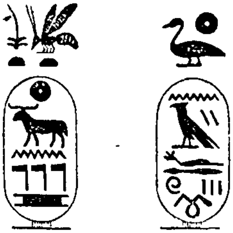
MENDESIAN.



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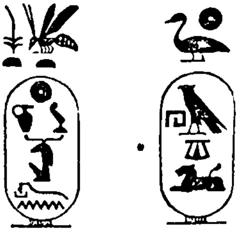

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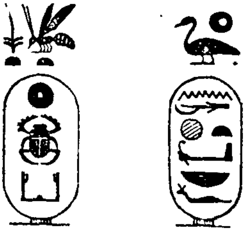

Nekhtnebef.
NECTANEBES.

APPENDIX.

PERRING'S MANUSCRIPT COMMUNICATIONS ON THE MEASUREMENTS OF THE PYRAMIDS.

II.

ON THE ORIGINAL MEASURES OF THE PYRAMIDS.[*]

In the following pages I have endeavoured to give the original dimensions of the Pyramids of Gizeh, according to the measures by which they were planned.—The general agreement of these proportions and dimensions is very obvious, and though they may be found in some instances to differ slightly from the dimensions taken by me in 1837, yet it must be borne in mind that actual admeasurements, however carefully taken in the present state of dilapidation of these mighty monuments, can only be considered as approximation, and allowance must again be made for irregularity and incorrectness on the part of the workmen who erected them. The dimensions therefore previously given by me are those actually taken, and the following those that seem (from a consideration of the proportions) to have been originally intended by the architects.

The Synoptical Table accompanying this comprises all the Pyramids of Egypt, and gives in a condensed form the principal admeasurements and proportions of these vast edifices, and affords at a glance a comparison of these monuments with each other, with sufficient materials to judge whether the external form and angle of the entrance passages (as has been erroneously supposed) have any relation to astronomical purposes.

In Vol. III. p. 105. of Col. Vyse's "Operations at the Pyramids of Gizeh" are contained my reasons for adopting the following length of a cubit and its subdivisions:—

	English Feet.
1 Digit - - - - -	= 0·06117185
4 Digits = 1 Handbreadth or Palm -	= 0·244714
28 Digits = 7 Handbreadths = 1 Royal Cubit	= 1·713

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[*] Compare what has been said in the text upon this subject, and Böckh, "Metrologie," p. 234., and especially upon the measurements of Pliny.

GREAT PYRAMID OF GIZEH.

	Cub.	Egypt. Cub.	Engl. Feet.
Each side of Base - - -		448·000	767·424
Perpendicular height from Base to floor of Passage leading to Queen's Chamber -	40		
from do. to floor of King's Chamber - -	40		
from do. to top of Campbell's Chamber - -	40		
from do. to Apex of Pyramid	160	280·000	479·640
Length of Diagonal of Base - -		633·567	1085·216
of Apothême bisecting face -		358·575	614·232
of Corner or Edge of each face -		422·780	724·047

The proportion then that seems to have regulated the exact form of this pyramid (and several others) was a ratio of height to size of base of 5 to 8, and this gives on a direct section, as half the base : perpendicular height : : the apothême or slant height : the whole base. Or for each side it may be thus stated, as rad : tang : : sec : 2 rad. It is remarkable that Herodotus divides the length of the base into 8 parts called by him πλέθρα, by which term we may suppose him to have translated some Egyptian measure of 56 cubits; a supposition in some degree confirmed by Pliny*, who says the base of the Pyramids covered an area of 8 jugera or acres, which could not have been Grecian or Roman, as shown by his own measurements.

This Egyptian jugerum or acre seems, therefore, to have contained 8 square Egyptian plethra.

The base of the pyramid covered, then, an area of 8 Egyptian jugera, or 64 square plethra = 200704 square cubits = 588939·54 English sq. feet, or 13 acres 2 roods 3 perches.

Area of each triangular face = 80320·8 sq. cubits = 235690·81 English square feet; consequently in proportion to the base as 1 to 2·5.

Area of the four faces or total surface of pyramid = 321283·2 square cubits = 942763·24 English sq. ft. = 21 a. 2 r. 19 p.

Solid contents above base, without deducting chambers, passages or rock = 94159664 cubic feet.

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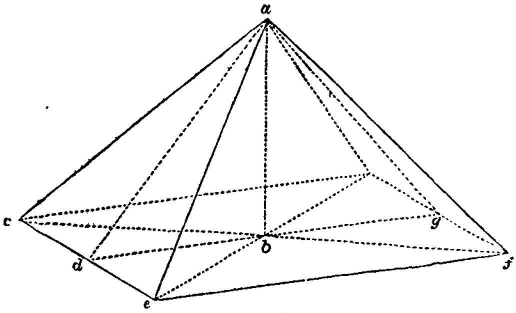
* See at the end, Note on Pliny's Measurements of the Pyramids.

Pliny alone of the ancients seems to have actually measured the Pyramids.

Angles of Inclination of Sides and Passages.

Having obtained the external angles and also those of the inclined passages of all the Pyramids of Egypt, I compared them and took their differences from each other in the hope of finding a common difference which might furnish a clue to the ancient mode of dividing the circle; but no result was obtained, and it may therefore be concluded that the Egyptians, at the time of the erection of these monuments, did not possess any division of the circle by degrees, but that the angles of these buildings were regulated by the proportion between the base and perpendicular of a right-angled triangle in fact, that the tangential measure and not the abstract admeasurement of the angle was considered.



Angle of face with plane of base	$\angle adb$	51°20′25″
of two opposite faces at vertex	$\angle dag$	77 19 10
of edge with diagonal of base	$\angle acb$	41 28 23
of opposite edges at vertex	$\angle caf$	97 3 14
of base of triangle forming face	$\angle aef$	58 0 25
of vertex of triangle forming face	$\angle eaf$	63 59 10

The above exterior angles are the results of the proportion before stated of base *dg* to height *ab* as 8 to 5, or as radius to tangent on each side as 4 : 5. — The proportion that seems to have regulated the angle of the entrance passage was 2 : 1, that is, two horizontal to one perpendicular, and this gives the angle as having been intended for 26° 33′ 54″; but the upper passage does not appear to have had the same inclination, but rather to have been constructed so as to attain the required height of 80 cubits from the base to the floor of the King's Chamber, and to have had, therefore, an angle of 26° 18′, as shown on my published plans.

I now proceed to the measurement of the interior.

	Egyptian		English
	cubits.	palms.	feet and dec.
Perpendicular height from base of pyr. to mouth of entrance passage	30	0	51·39
Distance from centre of pyr. eastward to centre of entrance passage (¼ of a plethron)	14	0	23·982
Width of entrance passage*	2	0	3·426
Height of entrance passage	2	2	3·915
Length from mouth of entrance to commencement of upper passage measured along the top	50	0	85·65
Total length of inclined entrance passage	200	0	342·6

The lower passages and apartments are too unfinished to show their exact dimensions, but the intended length of the horizontal passage seems to have been 16 cubits and the subterraneous apartments to have been 27 long, 16 wide, and the floor of it to have been 60 cubits below the base of Pyramid.

	Egyptian		English
	cubits.	palms.	feet and dec.
The upper passage has the same height and width as the entrance passage, *viz.* 2 cubits, 2 palms, by 2 cubits, and its length from the intersection of its roof with the entrance passage is	75	0	128·475
The great passage is continued at the same angle as the above, and its length seems to have been determined by the height it was required to attain.			
The length from lower end to step at top is	88	0	150·774

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* In this case, as in some others, the actual dimensions exceed those originally intended, from the removal of the surface in smoothing or finishing off after the stones were laid.

	Egyptian cubits.	Egyptian palms.	English feet and dec.
Breadth of centre part between ramps	2	0	3·426·
Ramp on each side: height - -	1	0	1·713
width - -	1	0	1·713
Total width of passage:			
immediately above ramps	4	0	6·852
at roof - - -	2½	0	4·282
Total height from floor to roof perp. to inclination - - -	15	0	25·695
Length from step to passage leading to King's Chamber - - -	3	0	5·139
Passage leading to King's Chamber:			
length -	13	0	22·269
breadth -	2	0	3·426
height -	2	1	3·67
King's Chamber: length - -	20	0	34·26
breadth - -	10	0	17·13
height - -	11	2	19·332

The Sarcophagus is somewhat smaller in size than the passages through which it had to pass.

The air channels measure 2 palms, 2 digits, by 2 palms; the southern one, which is straight for the chief part of its length, seems to have been laid at an inclination of 1 horizontal and 1 perpendicular, that is, an angle of 45°.

The course of the northern one is not straight.

The chambers of construction were not made of any particular size or proportion, but the total height including the King's Chamber, that is from its floor to the apex of the roof of Campbell's Chamber is exactly 40 cubits, and it may also be remarked that the heights from the roof of the King's Chamber to the roof of the 2nd chamber and from that to the roof of the 4th chamber are each of them equal to the height of the King's Chamber.

	Egyptian cubits.	Egyptian palms.	English feet and dec.
From end of upper passage to Queen's Chamber: length - -	74	0	126·762
width - -	2	0	3·426
height before step	2	2	3·915
height after step -	3	2	5·628

This passage is, as I have before stated, 40 cubits above the base of the Pyramid.

		Egyptian		English
		cubits.	palms.	feet and dec.
Queen's Chamber:	width N. and S. -	10	0	17·13
	length E. and W. -	11	0	18·843
	height of sides -	8	4	14·68
„ Recess of east end:	width at bottom	3	0	5·139
	width at top -	1	0	17·13
	height - -	9	0	15·417
	depth - -	2	0	3·426

The rise of the roof above the sides is ⅓rd the width of the room, or 3 cubits 9 digits, showing that the inclination of the roof-blocks resulted from a proportion of 1½ horizontal to 1 perpendicular.

SECOND PYRAMID.

	Egyptian			English
	cubits.	palms.		feet and dec.
Each side of base - - -	412	0	=	705·756
Perpendicular height - - -	267	0	=	457·371

For the adoption of these dimensions the reasons do not appear very evident, but they may have been and probably were influenced by some peculiar circumstances connected with the building.

I however consider that beyond the pyramidal base of the edifice the lower granite courses extended so as to cover an area equal to ⅞th of that of the Great Pyramid:

	Egypt. cubits.		Eng. feet.
Length of diagonal of base - -	582·656	=	998·083
of apothême bisecting face -	337·232	=	577·677
of edge of each of the faces -	,395·172	=	676·929

Area of supposed granite platform 7 Egyptian Jugera = 56 sq. Egyptian Plethra or - - 175·616 square cubits.
Area of Pyramidal base - - 169·744 square cubits
= 497·835 Engl. sq. ft. = 11a. 1r. 28p.
Area of each face = 203·849 Engl. sq. ft.
Area of the four faces = 815·396 Engl. sq. ft.
Solid contents above base 75,906·087 cub. ft.

Angle of face with plane of base -	< *a d b*	52°	21′	38″
of two opposite faces at vertex	< *d a g*	75	4	44

of edge with diagonal of base	< *a c b*	42	30	25
of opposite edges at vertex -	< *c a f*	94	59	10
of base of triangle forming side	< *a e f*	58	34	52
of vertex of - -	< *e a f*	62	50	16

	Egyptian		English
	cubits.	palms.	feet and dec.
Upper entrance passage:			
Centre of passage from centre of front	25½	0	43·681
Bottom of entrance perpendicularly above base - - -	24	0	41·112
Total length of inclined entrance passage - - - -	70	0	119·91
breadth - - - -	2	0	3·426
height - - - -	2	2	3·915
Horizontal passage: Total length from incline to Belzoni's Chamber -	110	0	188·43
breadth - - - -	2	0	3·426
height - - - -	3½	0	5·995
Belzoni's Chamber: length - -	27	0	46·251
breadth - -	9½	0	16·273
height at sides -	11	2	19·333
The rise above this to the centre of the roof is ⅓rd the width of the room as in that of the Queen's Chamber in the Great Pyramid.			
From east end of chamber to passage -	5	0	8·565
Sarcophagus: External length -	5	0	8·565
breadth nearly -	2	0	3·426
Lower inclined passage: External length	56	0	95·928
Lower horizontal - - -	30	0	51·39
Lower entrance - - -	58½	0	100·2
These passages are all 2 cubits wide, and 2 cubits 2 palms high.			
Inclined passage to lower chamber: length - - - -	13	0	22·269
Lower chamber: length - -	20	0	34·26
width - -	6	0	10·278
height at sides -	3½	0	5·998
in centre -	5	0	8·565

The rise of the pitch of the roof was therefore a fourth the width of the room.

THIRD PYRAMID.

	Egypt. cubits.		Eng. feet.
Each side of base	206·000	=	352·878
Perpendicular height	128·000	=	219·294
Diagonal of base	291·238	=	499·045
Apothême bisecting face	165·556	=	283.598
Edge of each of the faces	193·912	=	332·172

The base was therefore exactly one half of that of the second Pyramid and the lower course may have projected so as to cover an area of 14 square plethra, being a fourth of the area of that of the second Pyramid.

Area of pyramid at base 42436 square cub.
=124522·6 English square feet - = 2 a. 3 r. 17 p.
Area of each face: 500037·84 square feet English.
of four faces: 200151·36 „ „
Solid contents above base: 9101124 cubic feet.

Angle of face with plane of base	< *a d b*	51°	10′	36″
of two opposite faces at vertex	< *d a g*	77	38	48
of edge with diagonal of base	< *a c b*	41	18	25
of opposite edges at vertex	< *c a f*	97	23	10
of base of triangle forming face	< *a e f*	58	6	44
of vertex of triangle forming face	< *e a f*	63	46	32

	Egyptian		English
	cubits.	palms.	feet and dec.
Inclined entrance passage: length	61	0	104·493
breadth	2	0	3·426
height	2	2	3·915
Horizontal passage to ante-room: length	2½	0	4·282
Anteroom: length N. and S.	7	0	11·991
breadth E. and W.	6	0?	10·278
height	4	1	7·096
From anteroom to end of portcullis	8	0	13·704
Passage from portcullis to large apartment:			
length	24	0	41·112
breadth	2	0	3·426
height	3	3	5·863

In forming this passage (from the interior) a small inclination was given it, apparently for the easier conveyance of the stone to the large apartment. From the apartment it was taken out by the upper passage.

		Egyptian cubits.	Egyptian palms.	English feet and dec.
Great apartment:	total length E. and W.	27	0	46·251
	breadth N. and S.	7	3	12·725
	height east end	9	2	15·906
	height west end	7	0	11·991
	ceiling below external base	11	0	18·840
	distance of entrance passage from east end	5	0	1·565
Descending passage into sepulchral chamber:				
Distance from east end of great apartment		10	0	17·13
Total length including portcullis		19	0	32·547
Horizontal passage:	length	5	6	10·029
	breadth	2	4	4·402
	height	4	0	6·852
Sepulchral chamber:	length N. and S.	12	4	21·532
	breadth E. and W.	5	0	8·565
	height at sides	5	1	8·809

The centre of the room is 1½ cubits higher.

The sarcophagus, with its lid on, was a little smaller than the passages by which it entered.

Upper Passage from the Great Apartment.

		Egyptian cubits.	Egyptian palms.	English feet and dec.
Distance from ceiling of apartment to top of passage		1	0	1·713
Horizontal part:	length	10	0?	17·13
	breadth	2	0	3·426
	height	2	5	4·646
Inclined part:	length	37	0	93·28
	breadth	2	0	3·426
	height	2	2	3·915

III.

NOTE ON PLINY'S MEASUREMENTS OF THE PYRAMIDS.

GREAT PYRAMID.

Base. " Octingentos octoginta tres pedes" Sillig's text and Cod. Bamberg.
" Octingentos" Reg. II. III. Ed. Pr.
" Septingentos" Broterius ex Reg. V.
" Altitudo a cacumine ad solum" 725 feet.

800 or 883 base to 725 perpendicular height is not in the ratio of 8 to 5 as are the actual proportions, nor are

800 or 883 base to 725 apothême or slant height in the ratio of 8 to 6,4, as are also the proportions; nor again

800 or 833 base to 725 edge or corner of pyramid in the ratio of 8 to 7,55, as are the actual proportions, but—

Taking the Roman foot used by Pliny at 0,96 of an English foot, 800=768 English feet, the true length of base having been 767,424 feet.

The height given (725 feet) seems too minute to be considered as an estimated quantity; yet it does not agree with either perpendicular height, apothême or length of edge of each face of pyramid.

Sillig does not give any other reading; but if we could venture to make the emendation 755 for 725, the former corresponds within a few inches to the inclined height or length of angle or edge of each face of pyramid from base to apex.

SECOND PYRAMID.

Length of each side of base 737½ feet.

Sillig gives no other reading.

737½ Roman feet=708 English feet, the true length having been 705,767 feet.

THIRD PYRAMID.

" Assurgit 363 pedibus inter angulos."

I do not here consider that Pliny intends 363 feet of altitude, but rather to say, "It rises up, having 363 feet between the angles," that is, each side being of that length.

363 Roman feet = 348·48 English feet, the true length having been 352·878 feet.

Area of Great Pyramid.

"VIII iugera" Codex Bamberg, and Sillig's text.
"septem iugera" Codd. Barb. Reg. II. III. Ed. Pr.

I do not find the seventh of the area of the Great Pyramid corresponds in any way to the dimensions of the edifice in cubits.

The base of the Pyramid of the Labyrinth is stated to have covered six arouras; this, taking Herodotus' measure of an aroura, would be 60,000 square cubits.

On looking over my rough notes, made whilst at the pyramid of Howara, I find that I considered the base may have been about 380 feet square. This is so nearly the half of the base of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, that we cannot avoid the inference that such was intended. It then follows the area was the fourth of the Great Pyramid, or 50,176 square cubits, being, according to my supposition, equal to 2 Egyptian jugera. Herodotus mentions the aroura as a square of 100 cubits = 10,000 square cubits, and this is confirmed (or copied) by Horapollo. But may not this measure have been used for land only?

Herodotus gives 160 cubits for the height of the pyramid of the Labyrinth; and as I make the base to have been 224 cubits, this is very possible, and the proportion of base to height would be 7 to 5, the resulting angle of which is 55° 0′ 30″ nearly. I may here mention, however, that the dimensions of Herodotus do not ever seem to have been actual admeasurements.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 74. note, for "ΓΗϹΑΝΔΡΟϹ" read "ΤΗϹ ΑΝΔΡΟϹ."
85. line 17. for "Karnak s. AN" read "Karnak 5. AN."
87. line 1. for "Meydoomn" read "Meydoom."
91. line 19. for "invention" read "advancement."
101. line 5. from bottom, delete "AND LAST."
147. line 12. from bottom, for "monuments" read "measurements."
195. line 3. for "former" read "latter."
201. line 18. for "48th" read "54th."
241. line 4. from bottom, for "tablet" read "statue."
249. line 11. delete "in order."
265. line 20. for "*notification*" read "*notation*"
287. line 6. from bottom, for "AMNMHA" read "SSRTSN."
326. line 19. for "*Ismandes*" read "*Imandes.*"
335. line 2. from bottom, for "deviates a little to the right and left" read "deviates but little to the right or left."
425. line 9. from bottom, for "and simple" read "however silly."
446. line 5. from bottom, for "929" read "922."

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